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A TOPOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY  
OF ANCIENT ROME







A TOPOGRAPHICAL  
DICTIONARY OF  
ANCIENT ROME

*By*

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER

*Completed and revised by*

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## PREFACE

THE project of compiling a Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome had for many years been in the mind of the late Professor Platner, and before the Great War he had already invited my collaboration. Whereas, however, I was unable at that time to take any share in its preparation, he, having been rejected for service in Europe on grounds of health, despite repeated attempts to take an active part in the war, even before the entry of the United States, applied himself to the task with characteristic energy. In June 1920, he was able to write to me that he had 85 to 90 per cent. of the matter done; and in August 1921, he sailed for Europe with his wife in order to give the book its finishing touches by a few months' work in Rome, in which I was looking forward to being associated with him, and especially to discussing the many problems which could only be examined on the spot, and settling the line which should be taken in regard to the adoption of one solution or another. A sudden illness, however, overtook him on the voyage, and in twenty-four hours he was dead. Mrs. Platner lost no time in placing the typescript in my hands for completion and preparation for press: and I accept unreservedly the entire responsibility for the long delay that has occurred in its publication, which has of necessity made my own task considerably heavier. Besides completing the work as it was handed to me by the compilation (1) of the articles on aqueducts, gates, and roads, which had been allotted to me from the first, (2) of a number of important and difficult articles relating especially to the Forum and Palatine, such as Basilica Aemilia, Comitium, Curia, Domus Augustiana, Domus Aurea, Forum Romanum, Palatinus Mons, Rostra, etc., which Professor Platner had obviously intended to write during or after his visit to Rome (for no drafts of them were in existence), I felt bound to check the whole text carefully, verify all the references, and add such additional information as I myself possessed or as came to light subsequently. As a result, my own share in the work may now be estimated at from 20 to 25 per cent. On the other hand, it is no inconsiderable advantage, I think, that I have been able to include references to a number of important works that have appeared in the interval, such as Professor Hülsen's *Chiese di Roma*, which he was good enough to allow me to see in proof. But that is the least part of the debt of gratitude that is due to Professor Hülsen. He has read the book through twice, in slip and in page proof, and has made a very large number of most valuable suggestions, which, where

they have not yet found their way into print, are quoted by his name. In this way the veteran scholar, whose seventieth birthday we celebrate to-day, has paid the best tribute in his power to the memory of the late Professor Platner, whose esteem for him was shown by the dedication of his *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, the first edition of which dates from 1904, *Christiano Huelsenio Topographiae urbis Romae Antiquae magistro peritissimo*. Personally, I cannot find words to express my indebtedness to one who, with Professor Lanciani, has been my master in Roman Topography for over thirty years.

But my obligations do not end there. So truly had Professor Platner gauged the need for such a work that the news of its impending publication roused keen interest in the minds of many scholars: and no less than five more of them have been good enough to read through the proofs: Dr. Gilbert Bagnani, Professor Giuseppe Lugli (the author of *The Classical Monuments of Rome and its Vicinity*, vol. i. The 'Zona Archaeologica'), Mr. H. M. Last, Mrs. S. Arthur Strong, and Professor A. W. Van Buren. To all of them I offer my grateful thanks for the service which they have done to the book, and especially to the first named, who has compiled the 'Chronological Index to Dateable Monuments' which will be found at the end.

I am much indebted to Mr. I. A. Richmond for various suggestions in regard to the Aurelian walls and their gates. His forthcoming work on the subject, *The City Wall of Imperial Rome*, which I have had the advantage of seeing in MS., will treat of the subject in full detail.

No attempt has been made to distinguish Professor Platner's original text from any alterations or additions that have been made to it. I must, however, assume full responsibility for the footnotes and addenda, and in these the rare divergencies of opinion between us are indicated, sometimes, but seldom, by the addition of my initials.

But even with all the help I have received, and despite the time and care that has been bestowed on proof correction by others besides myself, I cannot pretend that a work so full of quotations and references, a mass of minute detail, can possibly be free from numerous errors. And with a view of inviting the help of scholars towards making the work more perfect, it has been arranged that copies should be obtainable interleaved at a slight additional cost: so that, if the book ever attains the distinction of a second edition, it may be made more useful by enlisting the aid of as many students of the subject as are willing to co-operate.

Finality, and even completeness, in such a subject as the present is of course an impossible ideal. To take only a single instance, the serious student of topography is greatly handicapped by the lack of scientific reports on the great bulk of the excavations conducted on the Forum and on the Palatine by the late Commendatore Giacomo Boni during the past twenty years: and though the publication of his results has been placed in the hands of a competent commission, which has appointed Professor Alfonso



Bartoli to undertake the task, it will of necessity take a considerable time. Nor is the formation of a new plan of Rome a profitable enterprise at the present moment. The Marble Plan of Rome, which was provisionally put together by the efforts of Hülsen and Lanciani for the Historical Congress of 1903,<sup>1</sup> is now being subjected to a thorough study by a competent committee, of which the former is a prominent member. Further excavation is necessary, in order to make sure that no further fragments are hidden beneath the mass of debris that covers the south-east corner of the Forum Pacis (see p. 387), and without their aid, it may be difficult to gain a great amount of additional information. But until the attempt has been made, the revision of Lanciani's great plan, the *Forma Urbis Romae*, published in 1893-1901, cannot be satisfactorily undertaken.<sup>2</sup> In this connexion I may perhaps be allowed to express the earnest hope that the publication of the *Storia degli Scavi* of Lanciani, which now goes as far as the death of Clement VIII (Aldobrandini) in 1605, may soon be continued.

From the considerations adduced, it will be clear that the moment is not yet ripe for a general treatise on the topography of the city, nor indeed would such an undertaking be advisable for a considerable time.

Mrs. Platner has throughout taken the keenest interest in the preparation of the work for press, and its publication at a price within the reach of students would not have been possible without the liberal subvention which she has placed at the disposal of the Delegates of the Press.

For the illustrations themselves I have to record my obligations to Messrs. Allyn and Bacon, of Boston, U.S.A., the publishers of Professor Platner's earlier work, who have generously supplied electrotypes from the original blocks which figured in that work; and to the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction, the German Archaeological Institute, the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Miss D. L. Blaisdell, Miss Dora E. Bulwer, the late Mr. W. A. Casson, Mr. Percival Hart, the late Mr. J. H. Ten Eyck Burr, and the firms of Alinari and Anderson of Rome, for various photographs which they have kindly permitted me to reproduce.<sup>3</sup> But when all is said and done, it is to Professor Platner that the work owes its inception and the greater part of its execution: and it may fairly be hoped that its usefulness to students will be such that it will long keep his memory alive even among those who had not the great privilege of his friendship. What that meant to his colleagues is well expressed in the *Memorial adopted by the Faculty of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University*, of which he had been for thirty-six years a member, which aptly closes with the words: *Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus tam cari capitis?*<sup>4</sup>

T. A.

November 29th, 1928.

<sup>1</sup> See *Atti del Congresso di Scienze Storiche*, (1907), i. 112; DAP 2. xi. 119, 120.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1912, 107.

<sup>3</sup> See the lists, pp. xi-xiii. Several of them were taken some time since, and have been purposely selected as being more interesting.

<sup>4</sup> Much of the foregoing has appeared in the *Atti del I Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani*, held at Rome in April 1928.





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## NOTE

THE method of quotation from periodicals is that followed by Professor Platner himself in his earlier work, but many other abbreviations have been introduced ; and, in order to effect a further saving in space, the names of the authors of articles have as a rule been omitted.<sup>1</sup> Further, it has not been thought necessary to refer to the accounts of the same discovery in both the *Notizie degli Scavi* and the *Bullettino Comunale*, except when (as sometimes happens) one account tacitly corrects or supplements the other, so that scholars cannot safely refrain from consulting both.<sup>2</sup> While I am on this subject, I may remark that those writers who introduce new and more accurate modes of subdivision or quotation often display singularly little consideration for the convenience of students. Thus Schreiber, in his republication of Vacca's *Memorie*,<sup>3</sup> quite correctly divides No. 60 into two parts : but instead of calling the second half No. 60a, he starts a new numbering for the later *Memorie*, without adding a comparative numbering in the margin, which causes the greatest inconvenience to those students who are not fortunate enough to possess a copy of his article. In the text I have given Fea's numbering (*Miscellanea*, i. 52 *sqq.*) and Schreiber's in brackets where it differs.<sup>4</sup>

It should be remembered that, even if the methods used in the older books are erroneous and require gradual supersession, the student may lose a good deal of valuable time if they are not at first retained as well as the new ones.

It is, for instance, a great pity that both Jordan and Ulrichs should in the same year have published the text of the *Mirabilia*, with a slightly different numbering of the chapters. I have in this case followed the former.

Nor does it often happen that authors who publish second editions of their works are considerate enough to give the paging of the first in the

<sup>1</sup> This has not been done with any idea of denying to their authors the credit that is fairly due to them : but, in order to meet the criticism brought by Cantarelli against Professor Platner in regard to this matter (BC 1905, 286 ; 1911, 307), it may be pointed out that it would have been necessary, for consistency's sake, to give the names of the writers of articles in encyclopaedias such as DE, DS, and RE, which would have added still further to the bulk of what is already a quite sufficiently large and costly volume.

<sup>2</sup> See my remarks in PBS iii. 3, 4, 41, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Sächsische Berichte*, 1881, 43 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> As an instance where I have myself been led into confusion I may refer to the *Catalogue of the Museo Capitolino*, where on p. 21 the numbering is Fea's, and on p. 38 Schreiber's.

margin. Wissowa's *Religion und Kultus der Römer* is one of the works which has given me most trouble in the preparation of the present book.<sup>1</sup>

And there are other aids to students which are urgently needed. I myself feel that it might have been useful to add to the present work a list of the false denominations of the buildings of Rome—of those names which have been current from Renaissance times or even earlier,<sup>2</sup> and which, though now demonstrably incorrect, will yet be found in many of the books, especially those of a century or two back, which may fall into the hands of the advanced scholar. Certainly the need is even greater in regard to works of art: for, if modern criticism has discovered that a statue which, for example, has been known from the sixteenth century up to the last few years as an Antinous, is in reality an Apollo, one may search in vain for it under its old and commonly current denomination in the index to any museum catalogue. Of course, on the other hand, I have no desire to encourage the uncritical acceptance of these rejected appellations. For example, the existence of a temple of Juno Martialis near the Forum is maintained by Pichler (*Numism. Zeitschr.* v. (1873) 92-101), who is followed by Bernhart (*Handbuch zur Münskunde*, 126): but the assertion that it was in Rome is made by no better an authority than the so-called Sextus Rufus (Richter 9). It is a pity that a presumably up-to-date numismatic work (though Roman topography is not the author's strong point) should insert a statement which acts on so insecure an authority.

As a contrast, Von Domaszewski's criticism of the topographical allusions in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* errs, perhaps, on the side of undue severity. I have generally quoted him in the several articles: but it may be worth while to refer to his discussion once more in a general way.<sup>3</sup> Whether he is right in considering all the biographies to be the work of a single author, who was the curator of a library known as the Bibliotheca Ulpia, situated in the thermae Traianae at Nemausus (Nîmes), and posterior in date to the Gaulish poets of the sixth century A.D., may well be questioned. And he is certainly going too far in suggesting that all the topographical information which is not directly copied from other authors was taken from a commentator who had before him a plan of Rome<sup>4</sup> drawn under Antoninus Pius, on which the Aurelian Wall had later been added. But even Hohl, who sharply criticizes Von Domaszewski's views in regard to the date and composition of this work, is ready to allow 'that the articles on the topo-

<sup>1</sup> I must express my own regret that I have not inserted references to Dessau's invaluable *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* throughout, as well as to CIL.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Palatium Decii, a name which comes from the interpolated *acta* of S. Lorenzo (cf. HJ 376; IICH 292).

<sup>3</sup> *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie*, 1916, Abh. 7, 15; 1917, Abh. 1; 1918, Abh. 6, 13; 1920, Abh. 6. An index of passages discussed, at the end of the last article, makes reference easy.

<sup>4</sup> He adds that the author may even have had this plan before him in the porticus attached to the library!

graphy of Rome, etc., contain many remarks on points of detail which deserve consideration.' <sup>1</sup>

An inevitable consequence of the adoption of the system of a dictionary has been the omission of such discoveries as cannot be associated with any building the ancient name of which is known to us. The most striking example is the house found near the Villa Farnesina, not far from the tomb of C. Sulpicius Platorinus, which has yielded to the Museo delle Terme the beautiful stuccoes and wall-paintings of the Augustan period which are among its chief treasures.<sup>2</sup> These of course would have found their place in a complete topographical manual, which might also have on occasion gone beyond the Aurelian Wall, which has been taken as the general limit. On the other hand, I have made considerable additions to the list of *domus*, after going carefully through the inscriptions on lead pipes published in CIL xv. and have admitted far more names than Hülsen had included in the *Nomenclator* attached to KH.

I would add in explanation that when a pipe is found on the top of an isolated hill like the Capitol or Aventine, there is some considerable presumption that the building to which it led was not far off : while in regard to other pipes I have thought it worth while to add a number of names that had previously been omitted, even though they did not allow of the exact fixing of the site of the house. I should probably not have done this had CIL xv. been indexed. It may freely be admitted that a good many of the names entered under *domus* might as well have been placed under *horti*, especially those on pipes found on the right bank of the Tiber.

In the text, a star immediately after the name means that the Addenda et Corrigenda should be consulted.

<sup>1</sup> *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, cc, 197.

<sup>2</sup> Paribeni *passim* (cf. esp. p. 186). Other examples will be found in NS 1922, 222-226, and BC 1926, 235-269.





## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AA Archäologische Anzeiger, Berlin 1889- . (Appendix to Jahrbuch des Instituts.)
- AJA American Journal of Archaeology. 1st series 1885-1896; 2nd series 1897- .
- AJP American Journal of Philology. 1880- .
- AL Anthologia Latina (Bücheler and Riese). Leipzig 1894-1906.
- Altm. W. Altmann, Italische Rundbauten. Berlin 1906.
- Ann. d. Inst. Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica. Rome 1829-1885.
- Ant. Denk. Antike Denkmäler herausg. vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut. Berlin 1887- .
- Arm. M. Armellini, Chiese di Roma (ed. 2). Rome 1891.
- AR Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. Leipzig 1898- .
- ASA Anderson, Spiers, and Ashby. The Architecture of Ancient Rome. London 1927.
- ASRSP Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria. Rome 1879- .
- Atti Atti del Congresso di Scienze Storiche (1903). Vol. V. Rome 1904 (Boni).
- BA Bollettino d'Arte (Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione). Ser. i. Rome 1907-1920; Ser. ii. Rome 1921- . (Cr. Cronaca delle Belle Arti.)
- Babelon. E. Babelon, Monnaies de la République Romaine (ed. 2). 2 vols. Paris 1885-6.
- BC Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma. Rome 1872-.<sup>1</sup>
- BCr Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana. Rome 1863-1923. See Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana.
- Besnier M. Besnier, L'Ile Tiberine (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 87). Paris 1902.
- BM. Rep. British Museum. Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Republic. 3 vols. London 1910.
- BM. Aug., etc. British Museum. Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire. Vol. I. London 1924.
- Boyd Boyd, Public Libraries in Rome. Chicago 1915.
- BPW Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. Berlin 1881- (now called Philologische Wochenschrift).
- Bull. d. Inst. Bullettino dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica. Rome 1829-1885.
- Cap. British School at Rome. Catalogue of the Museo Capitolino. Oxford 1912. (Quoted by page number.)
- CGL Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum. Leipzig 1888-1923.
- Chron. Chronographus anni 354 in Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctorum Antiquissimorum. Vol. IX (ed. 2, Mommsen; Chronica Minora, i.) 143-148. Berlin 1892.

<sup>1</sup>The first vol. began in Nov. 1872 and continued to the end of 1873.

- CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.<sup>1</sup> Berlin 1863- .
- CJ Classical Journal. Chicago 1905- .
- Cohen H. Cohen, Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire. 2nd ed. 8 vols. Paris 1880-1892.
- Cons. British School of Rome. Catalogue of the Museo dei Conservatori. Oxford 1926. (Quoted by page number.)
- CP Classical Philology. Chicago 1906- .
- CQ Classical Quarterly. London 1907- .
- CR Classical Review. London 1887- .
- CRA Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Paris 1857- .
- Cur. Curiosum Urbis Romae Regionum XIV cum Breviariis suis; one form of the so-called Regionary Catalogue (the 'Notitia' being the other). See Preller, Regionen; Jord. ii. 1-178, 546-582; Richter, 371-391.
- DAP Dissertazioni dell' Accademia Pontificia. Ser. 1, Vols. I-XV, Rome 1821-1880; Ser. 2, Vols. I-XV, Rome 1881-1923.
- DE Dizionario Epigrafico, pubblicato da E. De Ruggiero. Rome 1895- .
- D'Esp. Fr. H. D'Espouy, Fragments de l'Architecture Antique. 2 vols. Paris 1896-1905.
- D'Esp. Mon. H. D'Espouy, Monuments Antiques. 3 vols. Paris 1906. And Supplement 1923.
- DMH Descriptio Murorum Honoriana (the description of the walls of Rome appended to the Einsiedeln Itinerary (see Eins.), published by Jord. ii. 578-582, which is generally attributed to the time of Honorius).
- DR E. de Ruggiero, Il Foro Romano. Rome 1913.
- DS Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités. 6 vols. Paris 1887-1919.
- DuP Topographical Study in Rome in 1581; a series of views by Étienne Du Pérac (edited by T. Ashby for the Roxburghe Club, London 1916).
- Durm J. Durm, Baukunst der Römer. ed. 2. Stuttgart 1905.
- EE Ephemeris Epigraphica. Berlin 1872- .
- Eins. Itinerarium Einsidlense (the Einsiedeln Itinerary); see Jord. ii. 329-356, 646-663; Lanciani in Mon. L. i. 437-552; Hülsen, La Pianta di Roma dell' Anonimo Einsidlense, in DAP 2. ix. 379-420 (whose text is followed).
- Fest. Festus (ed. Müller). Leipzig 1839.
- FUR Forma Urbis Romae Regionum XIV. ed. Jordan. Berlin 1874.
- GA Gazette Archéologique. Paris 1875-1889.
- Gilb. O. Gilbert, Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom in Altertum. 3 vols. Leipzig 1883-1890.
- GMR Guilielmus Malmsburiensis (William of Malmesbury), De numero portarum et sanctis Romae in Rolls Series, Vol. II, 406-408.
- GMU Id. ed. Urlichs, Codex Topographicus Urbis Romae, 87-88.
- Heemskerck Die römische Skizzenbücher Marten van Heemskercks (ed. Hülsen and Egger). 2 vols. Berlin 1913-1916.
- HC Ch. Hülsen, The Roman Forum. Translated by Jesse Benedict Carter. ed. 2. Rome 1909.
- HCh Ch. Hülsen, Le Chiese di Roma. Florence 1927.

<sup>1</sup> CIL. i<sup>2</sup>. p. refers to vol. i. part i. (the Fasti); CIL. i<sup>2</sup>. refers to vol. i. part ii. (the inscriptions).

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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- HF W. Helbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen Roms, ed. 3 (revised by Amelung). 2 vols. Leipzig 1913. (Cited by numbers.)
- HFP Ch. Hülsen, The Forum and the Palatine (translated by H. H. Tanzer). New York 1928.
- HJ H. Jordan, Topographie der Stadt Rom in Altertum. Vol. I, Part 3 (by Ch. Hülsen). Berlin 1906.
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- LP Liber Pontificalis in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Gesta Pont. Rom. vol. i (ed. Mommsen). Part I (all published). Berlin 1898.
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- NA Nuova Antologia. Florence and Rome 1866- .
- Not. Notitia (see Curiosum).
- Not. A. Notitia, Appendix.

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- OJ *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*. Vienna 1898- .
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- Reg. Regionary Catalogue (*Curiosum* and (or) *Notitia*).
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- YW The Year's Work in Classical Studies. London 1908- .
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<sup>1</sup> An enlarged and revised translation by Dr. G. Bagnani under the title *The Classical Monuments of Rome and its Vicinity*, Vol. I, The "Zona Archeologica" has recently appeared.



## A

ACCA LARENTIA, ARA: see SEPULCRUM ACCAE LARENTIAE.

ADONAEA: the name<sup>1</sup> found on a fragment of the Marble Plan (44) which seems to belong to a large complex of buildings covering an area of about 110 by 90 metres. Its location is not certainly known, though some authors (LR 167-170; BC 1910, 1-41; ZA 219-220) place it at the east angle of the Palatine, in the large area known as Vigna Barberini (see DOMUS AUGUSTIANA). On the other hand, on grounds of material, it appears that the fragment will not fit in at this part of the plan (DAP 2. xi. 113-118); and, if this is so, its site must be considered quite uncertain (HJ 87; Mitt. 1890, 77; 1896, 206).

ADONIDIS AULA: a hall or garden in the Flavian palace in which Domitian is said to have received Apollonius of Tyana, but nothing is known of its character (Philost. vit. Apoll. Tyan. vii. 32; HJ 87; Mitt. 1896, 206).

AEDES TENSARUM: mentioned only in one inscription, a military diploma (CIL iii. p. 845 II.); but probably the same building is referred to in another (ib. p. 1963, XVI.: post thesarium veterem). This was on the Capitol and served to house the chariots, *tensae* (Fest. 364), in which the statues of the gods were carried in processions (Jord. i. 2. 52; BC 1910, 49-52). Cf. also Suet. Vesp. 5 ut tensam Iovis optimi maximi e sacrario . . . deduceret.

AEDICULA CAPRARIA: mentioned in the Notitia among the monuments of the southern part of Region VII, but otherwise unknown (HJ 459). It may have stood in or near the VICUS CAPRARIUS (q.v.).

AEMILIANA: a district outside the Servian wall in the southern part of the campus Martius, but whether near the Tiber, or near the via Flaminia just north of the porta Fontinalis, cannot be determined (Varro, RR iii. 2. 6; Tac. Ann. xv. 40; CIL xv. 7150; cf. Cic. de rep. i. 9; HJ 490). It was ravaged by a great fire on 21st Oct., 38 A.D. (Suet. Claud. 18; BC 1916, 220; 1918, 247; AJA 1908, 42; ILS 9427; BPW 1920, 310).

AEOLIA: *balnea* belonging to a certain Lupus, which are mentioned only by Martial (ii. 14; cf. i. 59). The name was perhaps derived from a picture of the island of Aeolus on the wall of the baths, or from its draughts (HJ 502), and in the latter case it may be simply a joke.

<sup>1</sup> It is maintained in Ἀγγελος, ii. 44-50, that they are garden courts and not connected with the cult of Adonis.

**AEQUIMELIUM**: an open space on the lower part of the south-eastern slope of the Capitoline hill, above the vicus Iugarius (Liv. xxiv. 47. 15 ; xxxviii. 28. 3). According to tradition this was the site of the house of Sp. Maelius that had been levelled with the ground by order of the senate, and the word itself was derived from his name (Varro, LL v. 157 ; Cic. de domo 101 ; de div. ii. 39 ; Liv. iv. 16. 1 ; Dionys. xii. 4 ; Val. Max. vi. 3. 1 ; de vir. ill. 17. 5). In Cicero's time it was the market-place for lambs used in household worship (Jord. i. 1. 165 ; Mommsen, Roem. Forsch. ii. 202 ; BC 1914, 111).

**AERARIUM SATURNI**: see SATURNUS, AEDES.

**AESCULAPIUS, AEDES**: the temple of Aesculapius erected on the island in the Tiber soon after 291 B.C. In consequence of a pestilence in Rome in 293 an embassy was sent to Epidaurus in 292 to bring back the statue of the god Aesculapius. This embassy returned in 291, bringing not the statue, but a serpent from Epidaurus that, on reaching Rome, abandoned the ship and swam to the island (Liv. x. 47 ; xi. ep. ; Val. Max. i. 8. 2 in ripam Tiberis egressis legatis in insulam . . . transnavit) ; Ovid. Met. xv. 736-741 ; Plut. q.R. 94 ; Plin. NH xxix. 72 ; de vir. ill. 22). According to another tradition the first temple was built *extra urbem*, the second *in insula* (Plin. NH xxix. 16 ; Rend. Linc. 1917, 573-580 ; AJA 1919, 431). The whole island was consecrated to Aesculapius (see **INSULA TIBERINA**), the temple built, and dedicated on 1st January (Ov. Fast. i. 290-292 ; Hemerol. Praen. Ian. 1 ; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 305 ; Fast. Ant. ap. NS. 1921, 83). It was usually called *aedes*, but also *templum* (Val. Max. i. 8. 2 ; Ov. Fast. i. 290 ; de vir. ill. 22 ; Plin. cit.), *fanum* (Liv. xliii. 4), and Ἀσκληπιεία in Greek (Dionys. v. 13).<sup>1</sup> Besides being the centre of the cult and of the sanatorium that developed on the island (Fest. 110), this temple, being outside the pomerium, was also used as a place for the reception of foreign ambassadors, as those of Perseus in 170 B.C. (Liv. xli. 22), and for such meetings as that between the senators and Gulussa (Liv. xlii. 24). From a reference in Varro (LL vii. 57 equites pictos vidi in Aesculapii aede vetere et ferentarios adscriptos ; Urlichs, Malerei vor Caesar 10) and some inscriptions (CIL vi. 6, 7, 12) it appears certain that the first temple was rebuilt or restored towards the end of the republic ; perhaps when the pons Fabricius was built in 62 B.C. the first temple was decorated with frescoes (Varro, loc. cit. ; Liv. xliii. 4). It is altogether probable that there was further restoration during the empire, perhaps under Antoninus Pius (HJ 144), but there is no direct evidence therefor (cf. Besnier, L'Île Tibérine 176, 191-192 ; JRS 1911, 187-195).

There are no certain remains of this temple, but it probably occupied the site of the present church of S. Bartolomeo, and some of the columns of the nave probably belonged to the temple or its porticus. A considerable number of inscriptions relating to the temple or to votive offerings in it

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cass. Dio xlvii. 2. 3.

have been found in the vicinity (CIL vi. 7-20 ; <sup>1</sup> 30842-30846 ; IG xiv. 966), and many terracottas, most of which have been dispersed. A signum Aesculapii (Suet. Aug. 59) is mentioned as standing near the temple in the time of Augustus, but such statues of the god were undoubtedly numerous in and around the temple, as well as elsewhere in Rome. (For the legend of the serpent and the temple itself, see Besnier, op. cit. 152-202 ; HJ 633-635 ; Gilb. iii. 72-73 ; Jord. Comm. in honor. Mommsen 356-369 ; DuP 59 ; for the cult of Aesculapius on the island, the inscriptions and votive offerings, Besnier 203-238). For some reliefs which may refer to it, see Besnier 181 sqq. ; Bull. d. Inst. 1879, 7 ; Mitt. 1886, 167-172 ; Strong, Roman Sculpture 269 ; Scultura Romana 241.

**AESCULETUM** : a grove of oaks in the campus Martius (Varro, LL v. 152), in which the assembly met in 287 B.C. to pass the Hortensian laws (Plin. NH xvi. 37). If the VICUS AESC(U)LETI (q.v.) took its name from the grove, it must have been a little north of the modern ponte Garibaldi (HJ 521-522).

**AGER L. PETILII** : property lying *sub Ianiculo*, but otherwise unknown, where the tomb (q.v.) and books of Numa were said to have been found in 181 B.C. (Cic. de legg. ii. 56 ; Liv. xl. 29 ; Val. Max. i. 1. 12 ; HJ 626).

**AGER TURAX** : see **CAMPUS TIBERINUS**.

**AGER VATICANUS** : see **VATICANUS AGER**.

**AGER VERANUS** : the name given in the middle ages (Acta S. Laurentii AA.SS. Aug. 10) to the site occupied by the catacombs of S. Cyriaca and later by the church of S. Lorenzo and the modern cemetery, campo Verano ; this district probably took its name from its owner in classical times (PBS iii. 89).

**AGGER** : see **MURUS SERVII TULLII**.

**AGONUS** : according to Festus (254) this was the earlier name of the collis Quirinalis, derived from *agere* 'to offer sacrifice,' but this was probably simply an invention of the antiquarians (Jord. i. 1. 180 ; Walde, Etym. Wörterb. s.v.). Cf. Fest. 10, where an even more absurd suggestion is made, that *agonus*=mons.

**AGRI NOVI** : see **CAMPUS ESQUILINUS**.

**AGRIPPAE TEMPLUM** : see **PANTHEON**.

**AIUS LOCUTIUS, ARA** : an altar erected in 390 B.C. by order of the senate at the north corner of the Palatine in infima Nova via, opposite the grove of Vesta. It was dedicated to the deus indiges, Aius Locutius (Loquens, Cic. de div. ii. 69), the speaking voice. Tradition agreed in relating that in 391 a plebeian, M. Caedicius, heard at night at

<sup>1</sup> CIL vi. 7=i<sup>2</sup>. 800=ILS 3836. CIL vi. 1080=31236 is referred to this locality and to Caracalla by von Domaszewski (SHA 1918, 13. A. 140) : cf. also the coins of L. Rubrius Dossenus (B.M. Rep. i. 312. 2459 sqq.). See CIL vi. 30842, 30843, 30845=i<sup>2</sup>. 26-28=ILS 3834-3836 ; 30846=i<sup>2</sup>. 29 ; PT 262-265 (also for the terracottas).



this point a voice that warned the Romans of the invasion of the Gauls. No attention was paid to this warning until after the event, when the altar was built in expiation (Cic. de div. i. 101 ; ii. 69 ; Varro ap. Gell. xvi. 17 ; Liv. v. 32. 6, 50. 5, 52. 11 ; Plut. Cam. 30 : νεὼν φήμης καὶ κληδόνας : de fort. Rom. 5 : ἔδην). Besides *ara*, this altar is also referred to as *sacellum* (Liv. v. 32) and *templum* (ib. v. 50, 52), but there is no doubt that it was an enclosed altar in the open air. This altar has no connection with that found on the south-west slope of the Palatine near the Velabrum, dedicated *sive deo sive deivae* (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 801=vi. 110=30694)<sup>1</sup> with which it has sometimes been identified (HJ 46 ; RE i. 1130 ; Roscher ii. 191, and literature cited).

ALBIONARUM LUCUS, a grove somewhere on the right bank of the Tiber, consecrated to the Albionae (Fest. 4 : Albiona ager trans Tiberim dicitur a luco Albionarum quo loco bos alba sacrificabatur), who were probably connected with the protection of the fields (RE i. 1316 ; Roscher i. 223 ; HJ 626 ; Wissowa, Rel. 245).

ALMO: the modern Acquataccio, a stream that rises between the via Latina and the via Appia, receives the water of the modern Fosso dell'Acqua Santa (some of which is nowadays derived by a crosscut from the Marrana Mariana : see AQUA IULIA), flows north-west and west for six kilometres and empties into the Tiber about one kilometre south of the porta Ostiensis. It formed the southern boundary of Region I, and in it the ceremony of bathing the image of Cybele took place annually on 27th March (Cic. de nat. deor. iii. 52 ; Ov. Met. xiv. 329 ; Fast. iv. 337-340 ; Lucan i. 600 ; Mart. iii. 47. 2 ; Stat. Silv. v. 1. 222 ; Sil. Ital. viii. 363 ; Amm. Marcell. xxiii. 3. 7 ; Vib. Sequest. 146, Riese ; Prudent. Peristeph. x. 160 ; Claudian de bell. Gild. 120 ; Gregor. Magn. reg. xiv. 14 ; RE i. 1589 ; T. ix. 32, 33, 40).

ALTA SEMITA: the name given in the Regionary Catalogue to the sixth region of Augustus. This lay between the imperial fora, the east boundary of Region VII, and the north-west boundary of Region IV, and included the Viminal, the Quirinal, the valley between the Quirinal and the Pincian, and the lower slope of the latter hill. This region took its name from that of its principal street, the Alta Semita, which ran north-east along the ridge of the Quirinal to the porta Collina, corresponding with the modern Via del Quirinale and Via Venti Settembre<sup>2</sup> from the Piazza del Quirinale eastward. The north-eastern part of this street was probably called VICUS PORTAE COLLINAE (q.v.), if we may infer this from an inscription (CIL vi. 450) found near S. Susanna (Jord. i. 1. 510). The ancient pavement lies at an average depth of 1.83 metres below the present level (HJ 418 ; BC 1889, 332 ; RhM 1894, 387 ; Mitt. 1892, 312).

<sup>1</sup> = ILS 4015. The earliest record of this altar is in a notebook of Sir William Gell (ii. 30 ; see Mem. A.P. i. 2. 139, n. 35), who adds, "it exists in the Vigna Nussiner, near the church of S. Anastasia."

<sup>2</sup> The name changes at the Quattro Fontane.



AMICITIA, ARA : an altar erected in 28 A.D. by order of the senate, dedicated to the *amicitia* of Tiberius, probably as illustrated in the case of Sejanus (Tac. Ann. iv. 74: ita quamquam diversis super rebus consulerentur, aram clementiae, aram amicitiae effigiesque circum Caesaris ac Seiani censuere; cf. Wissowa, Rel. 337). Its site is entirely unknown.

AMPHITHEATRUM : a form of building that originated, apparently, in Campania, but was developed in Rome after the end of the republic. It was widely diffused throughout Italy, and has always been regarded as a distinctly Roman structure. It was intended primarily for gladiatorial contests and venationes, which had previously taken place in the forum. Around the open area of the forum temporary seats had been erected, forming an irregular ellipse. This was the reason for the shape of the amphitheatre, and for the name itself which means 'having seats on all sides.' This word, however, does not occur before the Augustan era, and was at first applied to the circus also (Dion. Hal. iv. 44); in the inscription on the building at Pompeii (the earliest extant example) we find *spectacula* used (SJ 128).

The amphitheatres erected in the city of Rome itself were the following :

AMPHITHEATRUM CALIGULAE : begun by Caligula near the Saepta, but left unfinished, and abandoned by Claudius (Suet. Cal. 21) : see AQUA VIRGO.

AMPHITHEATRUM CASTRENSE.\* This name, found only in the Regionary Catalogue (Region V), belongs without doubt to the structure of which some remains are still visible, near the SESSORIUM (q.v.). *Castrense* is to be explained as meaning 'belonging to the imperial court,' and the brickwork is that of the time of Trajan<sup>1</sup> (AJA 1912, 415, 417), who was especially fond of buildings of this kind. It is possible that this is the *θέατρον μέγα κυκλοτερές πανταχόθεν* mentioned by Pausanias (v. 12. 6) as one of the most important buildings of Trajan.

It was elliptical in form, with axes 88.5 and 78 metres in length, and constructed entirely of brick and brick-faced concrete. The exterior wall consisted of three stories of open arcades, adorned with pilasters and Corinthian capitals. When the Aurelian wall was built, the amphitheatre was utilized as a part of the line of fortification, the wall being joined to it in the middle of the east and west sides. The outer half of the building was thus made a projecting bastion, and the open arcades of the exterior were walled up, the ground level outside being at the same time lowered. The inner half was evidently pulled down, so that little use can have been made of the edifice at that time.

Drawings of the sixteenth century represent all three stories, but since that time the upper one has entirely disappeared and all but a few fragments of the second. The cavea and the wall of the arena have also been destroyed, so that the remaining portion consists of the walled-up arcades

<sup>1</sup> Rivoira (RA, 44-46) puts it in the first half of the third century.

of the lowest story (HJ. 248-249; RE iii. 1773; LR 386; LS iii. 164; DuP 132). See III. 1, which shows its condition in 1615; ASA 96.

AMPHITHEATRUM FLAVIUM: \* ordinarily known as the Colosseum,<sup>1</sup> built by Vespasian, in the depression between the Velia, the Esquiline and the Caelian, a site previously occupied by the *stagnum* of Nero's domus Aurea (Suet. Vesp. 9; Mart. de spect. 2. 5; Aur. Vict. Caes. 9. 7). Vespasian carried the structure to the top of the second arcade of the outer wall and of the *maenianum secundum* of the cavea (see below), and dedicated it before his death in 79 A.D. (Chronogr. a. 354, p. 146). Titus added the third and fourth stories<sup>2</sup> (ib.), and celebrated the dedication of the enlarged building in 80 with magnificent games that lasted one hundred days (Suet. Titus 7; Cass. Dio lxvi. 25; Hieron. a. Abr. 2095; Eutrop. vii. 21; Cohen, Tit. 399, 400). Domitian is said to have completed the building *ad clipea* (Chron. ib.) which probably refers to the bronze shields that were placed directly beneath the uppermost cornice (cf. Cohen, Tit. 399) and to additions on the inside<sup>3</sup> (HJ 282).

There are indications of changes or additions by Nerva and Trajan (CIL vi. 32254-5; for the inscription of the former see Spinazzola, Anfiteatro Flavio (Naples, 1907) 27 sqq.), and it was restored by Antoninus Pius (Hist. Aug. Pius 8). In 217 it was struck by lightning (Cass. Dio lxxviii. 25), and so seriously damaged that no more gladiatorial combats could be held in the building until 222-223, when the repairs begun by Elagabalus (Hist. Aug. Elagab. 17) were at least partially completed by Alexander Severus (Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 24; Cohen, Alex. Sev. 468, 469), although they seem to have continued into the reign of Gordianus III (Hist. Aug. Max. et Balb. i. 4; Cohen, Gord. III. 165, 166). In 250 the building was presumably restored by Decius, after a fire caused by another stroke of lightning (Hieron. a. Abr. 2268). It was injured by the earthquake of 442 (Paul. Diac. hist. Rom. xiii. 16; BC 1917, 13-17), and restorations by different officials are recorded in the years immediately succeeding (CIL vi. 32086-32089), and again in 470 (CIL vi. 32091-2, 32188-9). Some of the inscriptions set up on the former occasion in honour of Theodosius II and Valentinian III were cut on marble blocks which had originally served as seats. Repairs were made after another

<sup>1</sup> For the name see COLOSSUS NERONIS: it was not transferred to the amphitheatre until after 1000 A.D. (HCh 265, 380, 394, 426; HFP 52; BC 1926, 53-64).

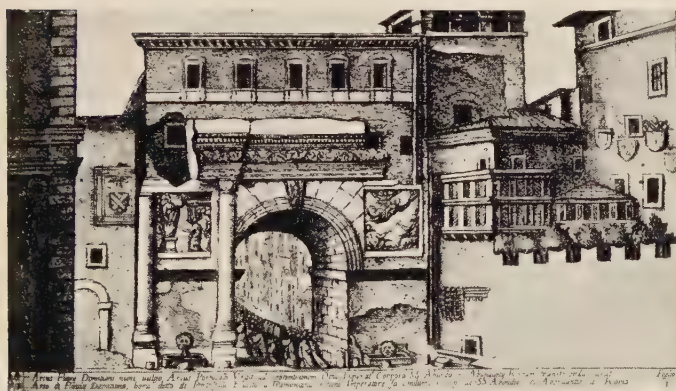
<sup>2</sup> The word used is 'gradus,' which applies to the interior; Vespasian may, Hülsen thinks, have completed a great part of the Corinthian order of the exterior.

<sup>3</sup> Leopold (Med. Nederl. Hist. Inst. Rome. iv. (1924) 39-76) thinks that Vespasian's work extended as far as the top of the Corinthian arcade. Von Gerkan carried the same idea further, adding a number of observations in detail. (See Mitt. 1925, 11-50.) But the relief of the Haterii, in which the arch of Titus is shown (see p. 45 n. 2), cannot possibly be used as evidence for the condition of the amphitheatre at the end of the reign of Vespasian. As Hülsen has pointed out, Titus came to the throne in June, 79, while the inscription of the Arvales as to the distribution of the seats belongs to June or July, 80; and it is quite enough to credit him with the completion of the third and fourth stories on already established lines, without supposing that he also made fundamental alterations in what Vespasian had already built.



# I AMPHITHEATRUM CASTRENSE

*From an engraving by ALÒ GIOVANNOLI, 1615 (p. 6)*



# 2 ARCO DI PORTOGALLO, NORTH SIDE

*From an engraving by ALÒ GIOVANNOLI, 1615 (p. 33)*





3 AMPHITHEATRUM FLAVIUM FROM NORTH-EAST (p. 7)



4 AMPHITHEATRUM FLAVIUM, SOUTH-EAST END, INNER ARCHES (p. 7)



earthquake by the prefect Basilius, who was probably consul in 508 (CIL vi. 32094), and finally by Eutharich, the son-in-law of Theodoric, in preparation for the last recorded venationes, which took place in 523 (Cassiod. Var. v. 42). The last gladiatorial combats occurred in 404 (Theodoret v. 26).

The Colosseum was injured by an earthquake in the pontificate of Leo IV (in 847). In the eleventh and twelfth centuries houses and isolated 'cryptae' within the Colosseum are frequently mentioned in documents of the archives of S. Maria Nova, as though it were already in ruins (Arch. Soc. Rom. St. Patr. xxiii. (1900) 204, 216; xxv. (1902) 195; xxvi. (1903) 38, 41, 57, 79). Gradual destruction continued until the eighteenth century, while the work of restoration has gone on intermittently since the beginning of the nineteenth (De Angelis, Relazione 8-15). The north side of the outer wall is standing, comprising the arches numbered xxiii to liv, with that part of the building which is between it and the inner wall supporting the colonnade, and practically the whole skeleton of the structure between this inner wall and the arena—that is, the encircling and radiating walls on which the cavea with its marble seats rested. The marble seats and lining of the cavea, together with everything in the nature of decoration, have disappeared.

The amphitheatre (Ill. 3) is elliptical in form. Its main axis, running north-west-south-east, is 188 metres in length, and its minor axis 156. The exterior is constructed of large blocks of travertine—a fact that contributed greatly to the astonishment of Constantius (Amm. Marcell. xvi. 10. 14); and in the interior Vespasian erected a skeleton of travertine blocks where the greatest pressure had to be resisted, which was not carried higher than the second story (Ill. 4). The remainder of the inner walls are of blocks of peperino and of concrete, with and without brick facing, the former being used where there was more pressure. Some tufa and sperone is also employed in the lower part of the inner walls. The outer wall, or façade, is 48.50 metres high, and stands upon a stylobate, which is raised two steps above a pavement of travertine. This pavement is 17.50 metres wide, and extended around the whole building. Its outer edge is marked by a row of stone cippi—five of which on the east side are in situ (BC 1895, 117-119; NS 1895, 101, 227)—with holes cut on the inner side to hold the ends of barriers connecting these posts with the wall of the building.<sup>1</sup> The outer wall itself is divided into four stories, of which the lower three consist of rows of open arcades, a style of architecture borrowed from the theatre of Marcellus. The arches of the lower arcade are 7.05 metres high and 4.20 wide; the pillars between them are 2.40 metres wide and 2.70 deep. In front of these pillars are engaged columns of the Doric order, which support an entablature 2.35 metres high, but without the distinguishing

<sup>1</sup> It seems more likely that the barrier was concentric; for there are no corresponding arrangements on the piers of the building itself to hold the other ends of the beams. These would have been supported by iron rings fixed in the holes in the cippi (Mitt. 1925, 12-13).

characteristics of this order. There were eighty arches in the lower arcade, of which the four at the ends of the two axes formed the main entrances to the amphitheatre, and were unnumbered. The remaining seventy-six were numbered (CIL vi. 1796f = 32263), the numbers being cut on the façade just beneath the architrave. Above the entablature is an attic of the same height, with projections above the columns, which serve as pedestals for the engaged columns of the second arcade. This arcade has the same dimensions as the lowest, except that the arches are only 6.45 metres high. The half-columns are of the Ionic order, and in turn support an entablature 2.10 metres in height, but not in perfect Ionic style. Above this is a second attic, 1.95 metres high, on which the columns of the third arcade rest. The last is of the Corinthian order, and its arches are 6.40 metres high. Above this is a third entablature and attic. In each of the second and third arcades was a statue.

The attic above the third arcade is 2.10 metres high, and is pierced by small rectangular windows over every second arch. On it rests the upper division of the wall, which is solid and adorned with flat Corinthian pilasters in place of the half-columns of the lower arcades, but shows numerous traces of rude reconstruction in the third century (Lanciani, *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, figs. 9, 10). Above the pilasters is an entablature, and between every second pair of pilasters is a window cut through the wall<sup>1</sup> (see below, p. 9). Above these openings is a row of consoles—three between each pair of pilasters. In these consoles are sockets for the masts which projected upward through corresponding holes in the cornice and supported the awnings (*velaria*) that protected the cavea (Hist. Aug. Comm. 15; cf. Mau, *Pompeii*, 223, Fig. 111).

Within this outer wall, at a distance of 5.80 metres, is a second wall with corresponding arches; and 4.50 metres inside of this a third which divides the building into two main sections. On the lower floor, between these three walls, are two lofty arched corridors or ambulatories, encircling the entire building; on the second floor, two corridors like those below, except that the inner one is divided into two, an upper and a lower; and on the third floor two more. In the inner corridor on the second floor, and in both on the third, are flights of steps very ingeniously arranged, which lead to the topmost story, and afford access to the upper part of the second tier of seats. Within the innermost of the three walls just mentioned are other walls parallel to it, and radiating walls, struck from certain points within the oval and perpendicular to its circumference. These radiating walls correspond in number to the piers of the lower arcade, and are divided into three parts, so as to leave room for two more corridors round the building. This system of radiating walls supported the sloping floor (*cavea*) on which the rows of marble seats (*gradus*) were placed. Underneath, in corridors and arches, are other flights of steps which lead to all

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Mitt. 1897, 334; 1925, 30-33. In the remaining spaces between the pilasters the clipea were fixed (Colagrossi, *Anfiteatro Flavio*, 45-47: 257-264).

parts of the cavea, through openings called *vomitoria*. They are arranged in fours.

The arena itself is elliptical, the major axis being 86 metres long and the minor 54. All round the arena was a fence, built to protect the spectators from the attacks of the wild beasts, and behind it a narrow passage paved with marble. Above this passage was the podium, a platform raised about 4 metres above the arena, on which were placed the marble chairs of the most distinguished spectators. These chairs seem to have been assigned to corporations and officials, not to individuals as such, until the time of Constantine, when they began to be assigned to families and rarely to individuals. This continued until the fifth century, when possession by individuals became more common. The names of these various owners were cut in the pavement of the podium, on the seats themselves, and above the cornice, and many of these inscriptions have been preserved (CIL vi. 32099-32248; BC 1880, 211-282). When a seat passed from one owner to another, the old name was erased and a new one substituted. The front of the podium was protected by a bronze balustrade.

From the podium<sup>1</sup> the cavea sloped upward as far as the innermost of the three walls described above. It was divided into sections (*maeniana*) by curved passages and low walls (*praecinctiones, baltei*); the lower section (*maenianum primum*) contained about twenty rows of seats (*gradus*) and the upper section (*maenianum secundum*), further subdivided into *maenianum superius* and *inferius*, about sixteen. These *maeniana* were also divided into *cunei*, or wedge-shaped sections, by the steps and aisles from the *vomitoria*. The *gradus* were covered with marble, and when assigned to particular corporations the name was cut on the stone. Eleven such inscriptions have been found (CIL vi. 32098 *a-i, l, m*), and indicate that space was assigned by measure and not according to the number of persons (cf. the assignment to the *Fratres Arvales*, CIL vi. 2059=32363). Each individual seat could, however, be exactly designated by its *gradus*, *cuneus* and number, as was done elsewhere.

Behind the *maenianum secundum* the wall rose to a height of 5 metres above the cavea, and was pierced with doors and windows communicating with the corridor behind. On this wall was a Corinthian colonnade, which together with the outer wall, supported a flat roof. The columns were of cipollino and granite, dating from the Flavian period.<sup>2</sup> Behind them, protected by the roof, was the *maenianum summum in ligneis*, which contained wooden seats for women. These seats were approached from above by a vaulted corridor, lighted by the windows between the pilasters (p. 8) as has been supposed by Hülsen (Mitt. 1897, 334, 335). On the roof was

<sup>1</sup> It should be added that the wall with niches is on the *outer* side of the vaulted passage which supported the podium.

<sup>2</sup> This, given the late reconstruction of the outer wall, does not necessarily apply to the colonnade in its final form.



standing room for the *pullati*, or poorest classes of the population.<sup>1</sup> The modern terrace is lower than this roof was, and about at the level of the floor of the corridor behind the wooden seats. Of the four principal entrances, those at the north and south ends of the minor axis were for the imperial family, and the arches here were wider and more highly ornamented than the rest. For the stucco decoration see LR 381; Weege ap. Hoffmann (Vatik. Palast.) col. 145; Egger, Cod. Escorial 43, pp. 115-116; Heemskerck, ii. 58; WS 1902, 437-440; id. Festheft für Bormann (xxiv. 2. 205); Rev. Arch. 1917, 2. 228; Mem. Am. Acad. iv. 41-43). The entrance on the north seems to have been connected with the Esquiline by a porticus. A wide passage led directly from this entrance to the imperial box (*pulvinar*, cf. Suet. Nero 12) on the podium. A corresponding box on the opposite side of the podium was probably reserved for the *praefectus urbi*. The entrances at the ends of the major axis led directly into the arena.

The floor of the arena, which must have been of wood, rested on lofty substructures, consisting of walls, some of which follow the curve of the building, while others are parallel to the major axis. They stand on a brick pavement and are from 5.50 to 6.08 metres high. These substructures are entered by subterranean passages, on the lines of the major and minor axes. Another such passage, resembling a cryptoporticus, starts from a raised substructure, projecting a little beyond the line of the podium, not far to the east of the state entrance on the south side, and leads to the buildings of Claudius on the Caelian, and is usually ascribed to Commodus.<sup>2</sup> In the substructures are traces of dens for wild beasts, elevators, and mechanical appliances of various sorts, and provision was made for the drainage of the water which flows so abundantly into this hollow and which was carried off in a sewer connecting with that running under the via S. Gregorio (Narducci, Fognatura della Città di Roma 65-70 and pl. 14; see Ill. 5). The masonry of the substructures dates from the first century to the end of the fifth.

The statement in the Regionary Catalogue (Reg. III), that the amphitheatre had 87,000 *loca*, cannot refer to persons but *pedes*, and even so, it is probably incorrect, for the total seating capacity cannot have exceeded forty-five thousand (BC 1894, 312-324), with standing room on the roof for about five thousand more.

Nine published fragments of the Marble Plan (FUR 55, 69, 113 *a-g*) represent parts of the amphitheatre, and there are a few others of little importance and uncertain position (HJ 294-296).

For the history of the Colosseum, see Babucke, Geschichte des Kolos-

<sup>1</sup> According to the restorations of Taylor and Cresy (Text fig. 1) and of Canina, which are adopted by Von Gerkan (Mitt. 1925, 18), there was a covered portico at the top, the roof of which reached to the summit of the outer wall. Durm's objections to Hülsen's restoration (Text fig. 2) (669 sqq)—that the spectators on the roof would have been exposed to the weather and unable to see—are thus both met.

<sup>2</sup> Lugli assigns it to Domitian (Mem. Am. Acad. cit.).



5 ARCUS CONSTANTINI (p. 10)

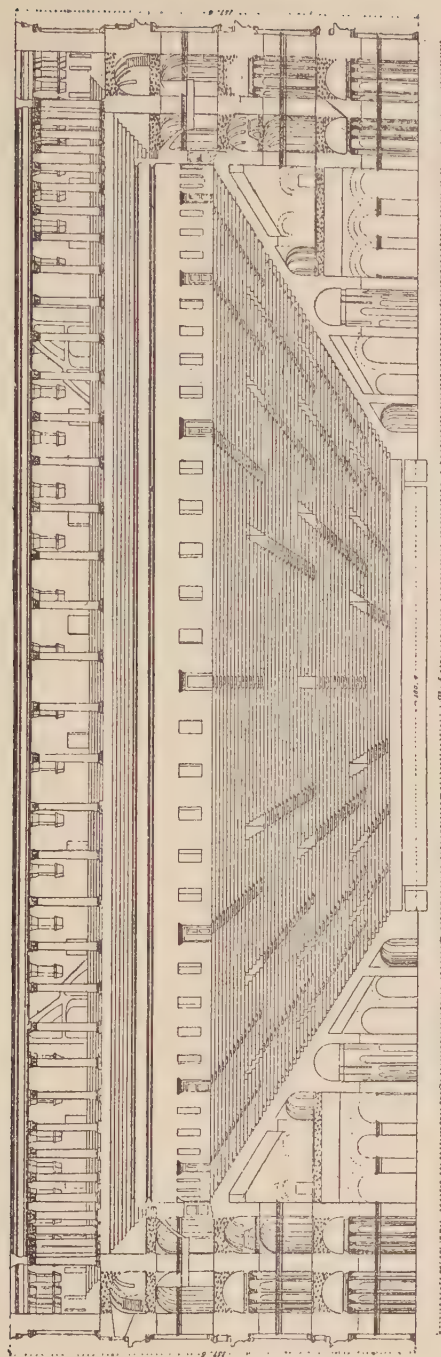


6 ATRIUM VESTAE

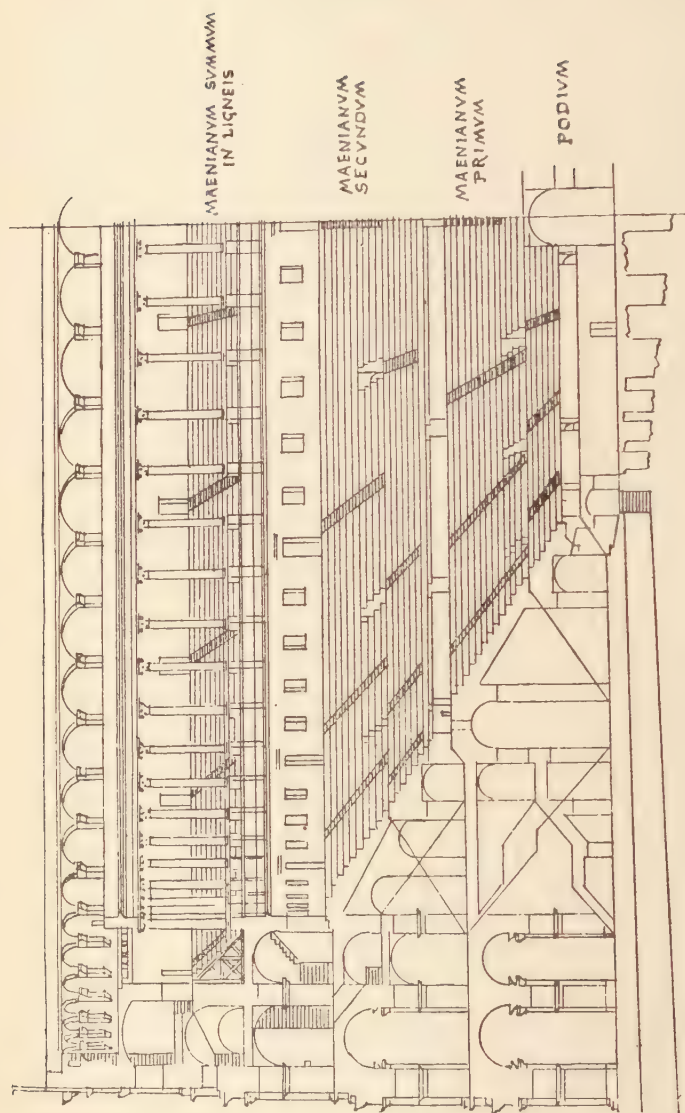
After the recent excavations (p. 60)







TEXT FIG. I.—AMPHITHEATRUM FLAVIUM  
RESTORATION BY TAYLOR AND CRESY



TEXT FIG. 2.—AMPHITHEATRUM FLAVIUM

RESTORATION BY PROFESSOR HÜLSEN

*By permission of the German Archaeological Institute*

seums, Königsberg, 1899; Marangoni, *Delle memorie sagre e profane dell' Anfiteatro Flavio*, Rome, 1746; F. Gori, *Le memorie storiche, i giuochi e gli scavi dell' Anfiteatro Flavio*, Rome, 1874; v. Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, pass.; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, pass.; Cerasoli, *Nuovi Documenti sulle vicende del Colosseo dal Secolo XIII al XVIII*, BC 1902, 300-315; Lanciani, BC 1917, 13-17; DAP ser. ii. vol. xv. 368; Colagrossi, *Anfiteatro Flavio*, Rome, 1913; Leclercq in Cabrol, *Dict. i.* 1614-1682.

For brief history, plates and description, see *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* iii. 1. 319-336; Canina, *Edifici di Roma Antica* iv. 164-177; Reber, *Die Ruinen Roms* 407-421; Taylor and Cresy, *Architectural Antiquities of Rome*, London 1874, 114-129; Dreger, *Das flavische Amphitheater in seiner ersten Gestalt*, *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1896, 40-60; F. Guadet, *Étude sur la construction et la disposition du Colossée*, 1878; Petersen, *vom alten Rom*<sup>2</sup>, 1900, 60 ff.; Durm, 668-689; RE vi. 2516-2525 (Gall); HJ 282-298. Cf. Mem. L. 5. xvii. 519, 520; ASA 92-96.

For restorations, see Knapp in *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, *Bilderheft* 2 (the better); Uggeri in *Giornate pittoriche degli Edifici di Roma* xxiii. 1816; Durm, loc. cit. fig. 475; Mitt. 1897, 334; D'Espouy, *Monuments* ii. 111-119; *Fragments*, ii. 92-94; Cozzo in *Architettura ed Arti Decorative*, ii. (1922-3) 273-291; Rivoira, RA 114-119; Lugli, ZA 119-128.

For the inscriptions found in the Colosseum, see CIL vi. 32085-32263; BC 1880, 211-282, pls. xxi.-xxiii. The sylloge of inscriptions alluded to in CIL as in course of preparation by Spinazzola has not yet appeared.

**AMPHITHEATRUM NERONIS**: a wooden structure, erected by Nero on the site of that of STATILIUS TAURUS (q.v.). It was finished in a year, but is spoken of by Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii. 31) in such a way as to imply that it was not a remarkable building (*Suet. Nero* 12; *Plin. NH* xvi. 200; xix. 24; *Vict. Ep.* 5. 3).

**AMPHITHEATRUM STATILII TAURI**: an amphitheatre built of stone by L. Statilius Taurus in 29 B.C., probably in the southern part of the campus Martius (*Cass. Dio* li. 23; *Suet. Aug.* 29; *Cal.* 18;<sup>1</sup> *Tac. Ann.* iii. 72; *Strabo*, v. 3. 8, p. 236; CIL vi. 6226-6228). It was burned in 64 A.D. (*Cass. Dio* lxii. 18), and Nero built another (q.v.) on the same site (HJ 496; cf. 595, HCh 197 for the church of S. Angeli de domo Egidii a Poco, not de Rota, as Lanciani (*Forma* 14) and Armellini<sup>2</sup> 363 believed).

**ANAGLYPHA TRAIANI**: see **ROSTRA**.

**ANIO NOVUS**: \* an aqueduct, which, like the aqua Claudia, was begun by Caligula in 38 A.D. (*Suet. Cal.* 21) and completed in 52 A.D. by Claudius, who dedicated them both on 1st August. The cost of the two was 350,000,000 sesterces, or £3,500,000 sterling (*Plin. NH* xxxvi. 122; *Frontinus*, *de aquis*, i. 4, 13, 15, 18-21; ii. 68, 72, 73, 86, 90, 91, 93, 104, 105; *Suet. Claud.* 20;

<sup>1</sup> Caligula is said to have looked upon it with scorn (*Cass. Dio* lix. 10), perhaps on account of its small size.

CIL vi. 1256; ix. 4051). Originally the water was taken from the river Anio at the forty-second mile of the via Sublacensis; but, as the water was apt to be turbid, Trajan made use of the two uppermost of the three lakes formed by Nero for the adornment of his villa at Subiaco—the *Simbruina stagna* of Tac. Ann. xiv. 22 (NS 1883, 19; 1884, 425; Giovannoni, *Monasteri di Subiaco* i. 273 sqq.), thus lengthening the aqueduct to 58 miles 700 paces. The length of 62 miles given to the original aqueduct in the inscription of Claudius on the PORTA MAIOR (q.v.) must be an error for 52; for an unsuccessful attempt to explain it otherwise see Mél. 1906, 311-318. We have a record of repairs to it in an inscription of 381 A.D., but it is uncertain what part of it is meant (CIL vi. 3865 = 31945). Its volume at the intake was 4,738 quinariae, or 196,627 cubic metres in 24 hours. Its course outside the city cannot be described here (see references below).

From its piscina (or filtering tank) near the seventh milestone of the via Latina it was carried on the lofty arches of the aqua Claudia, in a channel immediately superposed on the latter; and it was the highest in level of all the aqueducts that came into the city.

These arches ended behind the HORTI PALLANTIANI (q.v.), the former Vigna Belardi, where the terminal piscina of these two aqueducts was situated (LF 24; cf. BC 1912, 163, 228-235; NS 1912, 195; 1913, 6-8).

Like the Claudia, the Anio Novus supplied the highest parts of the city. Before the reforms introduced by Frontinus, it was freely used to supply the deficiencies (largely due to dishonesty) of other aqueducts, and, being turbid, rendered them impure. The removal of its defects, however, is said to have rendered it equal to the Marcia (ib. ii. 93).

See LA 345-374; LR 54-56; Builder, xciv (1908, i.) 37, 64, 89, III, 121, 142, 153, 174, 184, 203, 234; BC 1912, 163; RE i. 2212 sq.; Reina Corbellini Ducci, *Livellazione degli Antichi Acquedotti Romani* (from *Memorie della Soc. Ital. delle Scienze detta (dei XL) ser. 3, tom xx.*), Rome, 1917.

ANIO VETUS: \*an aqueduct commenced in 272 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> which took its supply from the river Anio, at a point opposite Vicovaro, the ancient Varia, 8 miles from Tibur (Plin. NH xxxvi. 121; Frontinus, *de aquis* i. 4, 6, 7, 9, 13, 18, 21; ii. 66, 67, 80, 90-92, 125; Stat. *Silv.* i. 5. 25, which may refer to the Anio Novus; Auct. *de vir. ill.* 33. 9). The meaning of the phrase in Frontinus i. 6, *concipitur . . . supra Tibur vicesimo miliario extra portam . . . R Ra . . . nam* (so the MSS.), is therefore quite uncertain. He gives it a length of 43,000 paces, for all of which (except 221) it ran underground, no doubt for strategic reasons; and it is sixth in order of

<sup>1</sup> From a new fragment of the *Fasti Consulares* (NS 1925, 376-381) we learn that the name of the colleague of M'. Curius Dentatus (who made the contract for the building of the aqueduct) in the censorship of 272 B.C. was ( . . . ) Papirius Praetextatus (and not L. Papirius Cursor, as he is wrongly called in Frontinus) and that he died during his term of office. As the work was not finished *post biennium*, Curius and one Fulvius Flaccus were appointed as *duumviri* to complete it. Within five days Curius died—no doubt late in 270 or early in 269 B.C., for fresh censors were appointed in the latter year, and the work was completed by Fulvius alone. Cf. also BC 1925, 250-252.



level. But the cippi of Augustus seem to make the length even greater (8 kilometres against 63.7), and the line may have been shortened in Frontinus' day (i. 18). It was repaired by Q. Marcius Rex (see *AQUA MARCIA*), by Agrippa in 33 B.C., and by Augustus in 11-4 B.C. It acquired the name of *Vetus* when the *Anio Novus* was built. Frontinus found the amount of water at the intake to be 4398 quinariae, or 182,517 cubic metres in 24 hours.

We have several cippi of Augustus, some of which, together with a long stretch of its channel going northwards from the porta Esquilina, have been found within the city (LF 17, 23, 32); the reckoning, as usual, beginning from Rome (CIL vi. 1243; cf. 31558; xiv. 4079, 4080, 4083, 4084; BC 1899, 38 = EE ix. 968, 969; and No. 733, near Ponte Lupo, unpublished); and also the inscription of an *aquarius aquae Anionis veteris castelli viae Latinae contra dracones* (CIL vi. 2345, cf. 2344 = 8493; LA 260).

The original subterranean channel has been found and destroyed just inside the Porta Maggiore; the intrados was at 46.15 m. above sea-level, (BC 1912, 228-232; NS. 1913, 7, 441). Less than two miles from the city, a part of it was turned into the *specus Octavianus* (PBS iv. 15), which reached the district of the *VIA NOVA* (q.v.) near the *HORTI ASINIANI* (q.v.) (Frontinus, i. 21). The channel is believed to have been identified at various points; but the site of the *via Nova* is unfortunately quite uncertain. Lanciani believes that it crossed the *via Appia* by the real (not the so-called) Arch of Drusus, near the *vicus Drusianus* (see *AQUA DRUSIA*).

As a result of Frontinus' reforms the turbid water of the *Anio Vetus* was largely used for watering gardens and for the meaner uses of the city.

See LR 49; LA 255-270; BC 1888, 77; RE i. 2215; and Builder and Livellazione, cited on *Anio Novus*, especially for its course outside Rome.

**ANTON(IN)IANA** : \* this word, in large letters, formed of tiles (CIL vi. 29843) was seen in the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries near the *ARCUS DOLABELLAE* (q.v.), but to what it refers is doubtful (LA 373; JRS 1919, 186). See also *CASTRA PEREGRINA*.

**ANTONINUS, TEMPLUM** : see *DIVUS MARCUS, TEMPLUM*.

**ANTONINUS ET FAUSTINA, TEMPLUM** : the temple built by Antoninus Pius on the north side of the *Sacra via* at the entrance to the forum, just east of the basilica Aemilia, in honour of his deified wife, the empress Faustina, who died in 141 A.D. (Hist. Aug. Pius 6). After the death of Antoninus himself in 161, the temple was dedicated to both together (Hist. Aug. Pius 13). The inscription on the architrave records the first dedication, and that added afterwards on the frieze records the second (CIL vi. 1005: *divo Antonino et divae Faustinae ex s.c.*). In consequence of this double dedication the proper name of the temple was *templum d. Antonini et d. Faustinae* (so a fragment of the *Fasti* of 213-236 A.D., CIL vi. 2001), but it was also called *templum Faustinae*

(Hist. Aug. Salon. 1; Not. Reg. IV) and templum d. Pii (Hist. Aug. Carac. 4). It is represented on coins of Faustina (Cohen<sup>2</sup>, Faustina senior, Nos. 1, 64-71, 191-194, 253-255, 274).

In the seventh or eighth century this temple, apparently in good condition, was converted into the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda (Armellini<sup>2</sup>, 156-157; HCh 288), the floor of which is about 12 metres above the ancient level. Excavations in front of the temple were undertaken in 1546 (LS ii. 193-196; JRS 1919, 183), 1810, 1876, 1885 (HJ 9), and in 1899 and following years (CR 1899, 186; 1902, 285; BC 1900, 62-63; 1902, 30-31; NS 1899, 77), when the whole eastern side was exposed to view. It was hexastyle prostyle, with two columns on each side, besides those at the corners, and pilasters in antis. The columns are of cipollino, 17 metres high and 1.45 in diameter at the base, with Corinthian capitals of white marble, and support an entablature of white marble which probably encircled the whole building. The existing remains consist of portions of the cella wall of peperino, built into the walls of the church, extending for 20 metres on the north-west and 15 on the south-east side; the columns of the pronaos, which stand free from the church with the exception of the two nearest the antae; the architrave and frieze of the façade and sides as far as the cella wall extends, but only a small part of the cornice; and the wide flight of steps leading down to the Sacra via, in the middle of which are the remains of an altar. Some fragments of a colossal male and female statue, and a few other pieces of sculpture, have been found. The whole temple was covered with slabs of marble, which have disappeared. The frieze on the sides of the temple was beautifully sculptured in relief with garlands, sacrificial instruments and griffins, and on the columns are numerous inscriptions and figures, some of which are Christian and have been scratched as early as the fourth century A.D. (HJ 8-9, and literature cited; HC 220-222; Thédénat, 160, 273-274; D'Espouy, Monuments, ii. 96-98; Fragments, i. 92; ii. 91, and especially Bartoli in Mon. L xxiii. 947-974; DAP xv. 368; RE Suppl. iv. 485-7; SScR 247; HFP 36).

ANTRUM (*Notitia*) or ATRIUM (*Curiosum*) CYCLOPIS: mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue (Region I), was probably a grotto in the side of the hill, above the VALLIS CAMENARUM (q.v.). While it is not possible to decide with certainty between these two readings, *antrum* is probably correct, and this grotto may possibly be the *antrum Volcani* of Juvenal (i. 7). The *antrum Cyclopis* gave its name to a *vicus Cyclopis* (CIL vi. 2226), which may have extended south-west to the via Appia (HJ 208, 230; RE iv. 1905).

'ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΝ: apparently a shrine of Venus on the Palatine, mentioned only once, under date of 193 A.D. (Cass. Dio lxxiv. 3. 1: τὸν θάλαμον ἐν τῇ 'Αφροδισίῳ τῇ κατὰ τὸ Παλάτιον ὄντι παρεσκεύασεν. It is possible, but not very probable, that the name Venus Palatina, given in jest to L. Crassus (Plin. NH xxxvi. 7) may be based on the existence of this shrine (HJ 46; Gilb. iii. 430).

APOLLINARE: a precinct in the prata Flaminia, sacred to Apollo (see APOLLO, AEDES), where the first temple to this divinity was dedicated in 431 B.C. (Liv. iii. 63; Jord. ii. 265; RE i. 2842; HJ 535).

APOLLO, AEDES (delubrum, Pliny bis, templum, id. bis): the first temple of Apollo in Rome, in the campus Martius, vowed in 433 B.C. because of a plague that had raged in the city (Liv. iv. 25. 3), and dedicated in 431 by the consul Cn. Julius (Liv. iv. 29. 7). It was in or close to an earlier cult centre of the god, the APOLLINAR (q.v.), either a grove or altar. This was the only temple of Apollo in Rome until Augustus built that on the Palatine (Asc. in Cic. orat. in tog. cand. 90-91), and being a foreign cult was outside the pomerium (extra urbem, Liv. xxxiv. 43. 2; xxxvii. 58. 3). Therefore it was a regular place for extra-pomerial meetings of the senate (Liv. locc. citt.; xxxix. 4. 1; xli. 17. 4; Cic. ad Q. fr. ii. 3. 3; ad fam. viii. 4. 4, 8. 5, 6; ad Att. xv. 3. 1; cf. Lucan iii. 103: Phoebeia palatia complet turba patrum nullo cogendi iure senatus).

The site is variously described as extra portam Carmentalem inter forum holitorium et circum Flaminium (Asc. loc. cit.), in pratis Flaminii (Liv. iii. 63. 7), near the forum (Plut. Sulla 32), near the Capitol (Cass. Dio frg. 50. 1), near the theatre of Marcellus (Mon. Anc. iv. 22; cf. Liv. xxvii. 37. 11). These indications point definitely to a site just north of the theatre of Marcellus and east of the porticus Octaviae, on the street that led through the porta Carmentalis to the campus Martius, a little south of the present Piazza Campitelli.

Twice Pliny (NH xiii. 53; xxxvi. 28) speaks of works of art in the temple of Apollo Sosianus, and this epithet is usually explained as referring to a restoration of this temple, carried out by a Sosius, probably C. Sosius, consul in 32 B.C. and governor of Syria (Prosop. iii. 253. 556; but cf. JRS 1916, 183). Livy's statement (vii. 20. 9: relicum anni (353 B.C.) muris turribusque reficiendis consumptum et aedes Apollinis dedicata est) may refer to an earlier restoration, as the direct evidence of Asconius precludes the possibility of any second temple. This temple was also known as that of Apollo Medicus, and in 179 B.C. the censors let the contract for building a porticus from it to the Tiber, behind the temple of Spes (Liv. xl. 51. 6: locavit . . . porticum aliam post navalia et ad fanum Herculis et post Spei [a] Tiberi [ad] aedem Apollinis Medici. The MSS. read et post Spei ad Tiberim aedem Apollinis Medici, which Frank prefers—see below). In Greek it appears as Ἀπολλώνιον (Cass. Dio frg. 50. 1). The shedding of tears for three days by the statue of Apollo, undoubtedly that in this temple, is cited among the *prodigia* at the death of the Younger Scipio (Cass. Dio frg. 84. 2).

In this temple were some famous works of art, brought probably for the most part to Rome by C. Sosius—paintings by Aristides of Thebes (Plin. NH xxxv. 99), several statues by Philiscus of Rhodes (ib. xxxvi. 34), an Apollo citharoedus by Timarchides (ib. 35), a statue of Apollo of cedar wood from Seleucia (ib. xiii. 53), and the celebrated group of the Niobids



(ib. xxxvi. 28), which even the ancients were doubtful whether they should ascribe to Scopas or Praxiteles (Roscher iii. 409-421).<sup>1</sup> The day of dedication of the temple in the Augustan period was 23rd September (Fast. Urb. Arv. ad ix kal. Oct. ; CIL I<sup>2</sup>. p. 215, 252, 339). Below the cloisters of S. Maria in Campitelli are remains of its podium wall, 13 metres long, over 4 high and over 2 thick. Delbrück assumed without question that it was a part of the original structure ; but Frank, while admitting that the core, of blocks of cappellaccio tufa, may belong to it, maintains, owing to the use in the facing of tufa from Monte Verde (the southern end of the Janiculum) that the rest belongs to the restoration of 179 A.D. (Liv. xl. 51. 6, which he refers to the temple itself), except some concrete with facing of *opus reticulatum*, attributable to the restoration of Sosius (Delbrück, Apollo-tempel, Rome, 1903 ; HJ 535-538 ; Wissowa, Rel. 294 ; Arch. f. Religionsw. 1909, 74-75 ; BC 1893, 46-60 ; Bull. d. Inst. 1878, 218 ; Mem. Am. Acad. ii. 60-61 ; TF 131-134 ; JRS 1925, 123).

APOLLO ARGENTEUS : probably a silver statue of Apollo which seems to have stood on or near the via Triumphalis in the north-west suburbs of the city, for an inscription (CIL vi. 2233) found on Monte Mario records a tomb built *interius agro Apollinis argentei*. Besides *ager Apollinis argentei*, *ab Apolline argenteo* occurs on one inscription (CIL vi. 29967), and probably on a second (ib. 21861), indicating that the statue had given its name to the district (BC 1913, 54-57 ; PBS ix. 205-213). See BELLONA PULVINENSIS, AEDES.

APOLLO CAELISPEX : a monument, undoubtedly a statue, in Region XI, mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue. It probably stood between the forum Boarium and the porta Trigemina.

APOLLO PALATINUS, AEDES\* (templum, Mon. Anc. iv. 1 ; Prop. ii. 31. 9 ; Festus, Velleius, Suet. Aug. 29 bis, Hist. Aug. Claud., Ammianus, Schol. Persius, Serv. Aen. vi. 72 ; delubrum, Plin. NH xxxvi. 24, 32 ; Actia monumenta, Prop. iv. 6. 17), the second and far the most famous temple of Apollo in Rome (Asc. in Cic. orat. in tog. cand. 90 ; his temporibus nobilissima), on the Palatine within the pomerium, on ground that had been struck by lightning and therefore made public property (Cass. Dio xlix. 15. 5). It was vowed by Augustus in 36 B.C. during his campaign against Sextus Pompeius, begun in the same year, and dedicated 9th October, B.C. 28 (Vell. ii. 81 ; Cass. Dio xlix. 15. 5 ; liii. 1. 3 ; Suet. Aug. 29 ; Asc. loc. cit. ; Mon. Anc. iv. 1 ; Prop. iv. 6, esp. 11, 17, 67 ; Fast. Amit. Ant. Arv. ad vii id. Oct. ; CIL I<sup>2</sup>. p. 214, 245, 249, 331 ; cf. Hor. Carm. i. 31, written on the occasion of its dedication ; and for incidental reference to its site Ov. Fast. iv. 951 ; Fest. 258 ; Suet. Nero 25) ; probably represented on a coin of Caligula (Cohen, Cal. 9-11 ; cf. Richmond, Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway on his Sixtieth Birthday, Cambridge 1914, 203-206 ; BM. Cal. 41-43, 58, 69) (see also DIVUS AUGUSTUS, TEMPLUM).

<sup>1</sup> They are quite certainly due to neither. For other paintings, cf. Urlichs, Malerei vor Caesar, 13.

This temple was the most magnificent of Augustus' buildings (Joseph. b. Iud. ii. 6. 1 ; Vell. loc. cit.), constructed of solid blocks of white Luna marble (Prop. ii. 31. 9 ; Verg. Aen. vi. 69 ; viii. 720, and Servius ad loc. ; Ov. Trist. iii. 1. 60), probably either prostyle hexastyle or peripteral and octastyle. The intercolumnar space was equal to thrice the diameter of the columns (Vitr. iii. 3. 4) ;<sup>1</sup> on the roof was a chariot of the sun (Prop. ii. 31. 11) and statues by Bupalos and Athenis (Plin. NH xxxvi. 13) ; and the doors were decorated with reliefs in ivory, one representing the rescue of Delphi from the Celts, and the other the fate of the Niobids (Prop. ii. 31. 12-16). Before the entrance to the temple stood a marble statue of the god, and an altar surrounded by four oxen by Myron (id. ib. 5-8). In the cella was a statue of Apollo by Scopas (Plin. NH xxxvi. 25), one of Diana by Timotheus (ib. 32), and of Latona by Cephisodotus (ib. 24). It is uncertain whether Propertius' distich—

deinde inter matrem deus ipse interque sororem  
Pythius in longa carmine veste sonat (ii. 31. 15-16)

refers to these statues in the cella (see HJ 68 n. 73), or to the relief in the pediment (see Rothstein's ed. ad loc.). Golden gifts were deposited in the temple by Augustus (Mon. Anc. xxiv. 54) and it contained a collection of seal rings and jewels (*dactyliotheca*) dedicated by Marcellus (Plin. NH xxxvii. 11), hanging lamps (ib. xxxiv. 14), and a statue of Apollo Comaeus, brought to Rome in the time of Verus (Amm. xxiii. 6. 24).

For a possible representation of the statue of Apollo Actius, see *ARCUS CONSTANTINI* (p. 37).

The temple was connected with, and perhaps surrounded by, a porticus (Mon. Anc. iv. 1 ; Vell. ii. 81 ; Suet. Aug. 29 ; Cass. Dio liii. 1. 3) with columns of giallo antico (Prop. ii. 31. 3), between which were statues of the fifty daughters of Danaus and before them equestrian statues of their unfortunate husbands, the sons of Aegyptus (Prop. ii. 31. 4 ; Schol. Pers. ii. 56 ; Ov. Trist. iii. 1. 61-62). It is possible that the *ARCUS OCTAVII* (q.v.) formed the entrance to this porticus. Adjoining, or perhaps forming a part of the porticus, was a library, *bibliotheca Apollinis*, consisting of two sections, one for Greek and one for Latin books (CIL vi. 5188, 5189, 5884), with medallion portraits of famous writers on the walls, and large enough for meetings of the senate (Cass. Dio liii. 1. 3 ; Suet. Aug. 29 ; Ov. Trist. iii. 1. 63 ; Tac. Ann. ii. 37). The space enclosed within the porticus was the *area Apollinis* (Solin. i. 18 ; FUR frgs. 1, 418, 421), or *area aedis Apollinis* (CIL vi. 32327, 23, *ludi saec. a. 203*).

The Sibylline books were brought here from the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol and placed beneath the pedestal of the statue of Apollo (Suet. Aug. 29 ; Verg. Aen. vi. 72 and Serv. ad loc. ; Tib. ii. 5. 17), and they were saved when the temple itself was burned (see below). Part of the ceremony of the *ludi saeculares* took place at this temple (CIL vi.

<sup>1</sup> It is worth remarking that he refers to it thus: 'tanquam est Apollinis et Dianae aedis'—the only instance of the double name.



32323, 32, 139, a. 17 B.C.; 32327, 7, 23, a. 203 A.D.), and it is mentioned incidentally by Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 27; iii. 65) and in *Hist. Aug. Claud.* 4 in connection with a meeting of the senate. It is mentioned in the *Notitia* (Reg. X), but was burned down on 18th March, 363 (*Amm.* xxiii. 3. 3). Besides Palatinus, the usual epithet of the god worshipped in this temple, we find *navalis* (*Prop.* iv. 1. 3), *Actius*<sup>1</sup> (*ib.* iv. 6. 67), *Actiacus* (*Ov. Met.* xiii. 715), and *Rhamnusius* (*Not. Reg.* X; for explanations of this name see *Rosch.* iv. 88).

The façade of the original temple was Ionic, if Richmond cit. is right; while it was restored in the Corinthian order by Domitian, if a relief in the Uffizi is correctly interpreted (*PBS* iii. 241 sqq.; *JRS* iv. 217-218).

The site of the temple has been much discussed. Three main theories have been brought forward, according to which it should be placed (a) in the garden of the Villa Mills; (b) in the area of the so-called Vigna Barberini, the centre of which is occupied by the old church of S. Maria in Pallara or S. Sebastiano (for the *Regio Palladii* or *Pallaria* see *DOMUS AUGUSTIANA*, p. 165); (c) to the south of the *DOMUS AUGUSTI* (q.v.), facing over the *circus Maximus*, being identified with what is generally known as the temple of *JUPITER VICTOR* or *PROPUGNATOR* (q.v.).

(a) The first theory may be dismissed briefly. The further study of the fragments of the *forma Urbis* and the progress of the excavations have shown that there cannot possibly have been room for the temple and area of Apollo in the garden to the north-east of the actual Villa Mills (see *DOMUS AUGUSTIANA*).

(b) The second theory, which is that of Hülsen, is apparently more in accordance with some of the literary testimony (esp. *Ov. Trist.* iii. 1. 27 sqq.) than the third (see *AREA PALATINA*, *DOMUS AUGUSTI*, *ROMA QUADRATA*). At present we do not know what this area contains; and all that is to be seen belongs to the time of Domitian (see *DOMUS AUGUSTIANA*, p. 165). The temple was burnt down in 363, it is true; but it is only to be expected that some remains of it exist; and the question could be settled by a few days' excavation.

(c) The third theory is on the whole the most satisfactory. What remains of the temple is a podium of concrete of the Augustan period,<sup>2</sup> with a long flight of steps, facing south-west. This has been recently cleared, but no report has been published. On the south-east part of it is built over the mosaic pavements of a room and the cement floor of an open tank of a house of a very slightly earlier period (perhaps the *domus Palatina*, a part of which was destroyed for the erection of the temple). A hypocaust on the south-west, five tiles of which bear the stamp *CIL* xv. 145. 1 belonging to another (?) house in front of the

<sup>1</sup> Applied because Augustus attributed the victory of Actium (31 B.C.) to the intervention of Apollo.

<sup>2</sup> It was originally enclosed by walls of hewn stone which carried the columns and the walls of the cella.

temple, has been demolished to give place to the steps, and vaulted substructions of this house may be seen below on the face of the hill. It is very difficult to think of any other temple but that of Apollo for the erection of which such a house would have been demolished (JRS 1914, 201-208). See Parker, *Historical Photographs*, 2794.

It is, too, certainly a strong argument for the contiguity of the temple of Apollo and the house of Hortensius that the temple site was apparently bought for an extension of this house (*contractas emptioibus complures domus per procuratores, quo laxior fieret ipsius, publicis se usibus destinare professus est*; *templumque Apollini et circa porticus facturum promisit, quod ab eo singulari exstructum munificentia est*, Vell. Pat. ii. 81).

Another point is the rough identification of both in the Augustan age with the site of Romulus' hut and Evander's citadel, both of which stood on the south-west side of the hill (Prop. iv. 1. 1; Verg. Aen. viii. 98 sqq.).

It seems, too, that the *Carmen Saeculare*, sung from the steps of the temple, would have far more point were the temple of Diana visible on the Aventine opposite, with those of Fides on the Capitol, and of Honos and Virtus near the porta Capena (both of which are named in it) also within view (YW 1910, 15; CQ 1910, 145).<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the passages in regard to ROMA QUADRATA, etc. (q.v.) are certainly much more difficult to interpret. There is little room for the area Palatina in front of the temple; and the attempt to make it face north-east will not hold with the remains themselves. Remains of a part of the portico may be identified under the Flavian domus Augustiana: while the libraries, if correctly identified with the two apsidal halls to the south-west of the triclinium of that house, must have been entirely reconstructed by Domitian.

See GA 1888, 147-155; Mél. 1889, 191-197; BC 1883, 185-198; 1910, 3-41; 1913, 199-224; Mitt. 1890, 76-77; 1896, 192-212; HJ 66-74; Gilb. iii. 107-109; WR 296; DAP 2. xi. 112-118; JRS 1914, 193-226; ZA 186-189; HFP 65.

APOLLO SANDALIARIUS: a famous statue of Apollo erected by Augustus (Suet. Aug. 57; Notit. Reg. IV; HJ 329) in the VICUS SANDALIARIUS (q.v.).

APOLLO, TEMPLUM. In the Liber Pontificalis, in the life of S. Peter, we find the following statement: 'sepultus est via Aurelia in templo Apollinis': but this is a misnomer (LPD i. 193; HJ 659; PBS ix. 212, n. 3).

APOLLO TORTOR; a shrine (?) somewhere in Rome, probably of Apollo as the flayer of Marsyas (quo cognomine is deus quadam in parte urbis colebatur, Suet. Aug. 70; Rosch. i. 449; iv. 319—where the words

<sup>1</sup> Hülsen points out, however, that the *Carmen* was sung after a sacrifice in the temple of Apollo and Diana (cf. p. 17 n. 1) and was repeated on the Capitol (CIL vi. 32323, 139 sqq.). See also Dennison in Univ. of Michigan Studies, i. 49-66.

"dorthin aus Rom verschleppt" show that the author is not aware that S. Eusebio is *in* Rome—but Hülsen (RhM 1894, 630), who is inclined to accept the identification with Apollo Sandaliarius, believes the words quoted to be a gloss), or as the punisher of slaves (Hermes, 1869, 231).

APPIADES: a fountain in front of the temple of Venus Genetrix in the forum Iulium. In two passages (Ars Am. i. 82; Rem. Am. 660) Ovid speaks of one Appias, and in one passage (Ars Am. iii. 452) of Appiades, whence it is to be inferred that several statues of Appias, probably a water nymph, surrounded the fountain. Pliny (NH xxxvi. 33) states that Asinius Pollio had a statue of the Appiades by Stephanus, and this may have been a copy of that in the forum Iulium. The name has not yet been explained, as the aqua Appia did not extend to this part of the city (RE ii. 237-8; Jord. i. 2. 440).

AQUA ALEXANDRI(A)NA: \*an aqueduct which takes its name from its constructor, Alexander Severus (Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 25; cf. THERMAE NERONIANAE; Not. app., Pol. Silv. 545, 546). It seems to be referred to as forma Iovi in a document of 993 A.D. (Reg. Subl. No. 105, p. 151).

The springs were used by Sixtus V for the Acqua Felice (1585-7), but the whole course of the aqueduct was only identified in the seventeenth century by Fabretti (de aquis, Rome, 1680), whose accurate description of its interesting remains is followed by LA 380-393; LR 56. Its course from the third mile of the via Labicana towards the city is quite uncertain, and the 'nymphaeum Alexandri,' the so-called 'trofei di Mario,' is the terminal fountain of the AQUA IULIA (q.v.); though the piscina of the Vigna Conti, generally attributed to the THERMAE HELENIANAE (q.v.), may have belonged to it (LF 32). Cf. Jord. i. 1. 477-479; HJ 247-248, 350.

AQUA ALSIETINA: an aqueduct constructed by Augustus (and therefore also called Augusta), which drew its supply from the lacus Alsietinus (Lago di Martignano), with some additions near Careiae (Galera) from the lacus Sabatinus (Lago di Bracciano), 6 miles to the right of the fourteenth mile of the via Clodia. It was 22,172 paces long, of which 358 were on arches. Its supply was only 392 quinariae, all of which was used outside the city. The quality of the water was indeed so bad that it was probably intended mainly for the NAUMACHIA AUGUSTI (q.v.), behind which it ended, the surplus being used for gardens and irrigation, except when the bridges were under repair, and it was the only supply available for the Trans-tiberine region. Frontinus' statement that in level it was the lowest of all (Frontinus, de aquis i. 4, 11, 18, 22; ii. 71, 85; Not. app.; Pol. Silv. 545, 546) requires qualification. A portion of its channel has recently been discovered to the south of that of the AQUA TRAIANA, and at a considerably lower level (Mem. Am. Acad. vi. 137-146). The identification of its channel and terminal castellum with the remains described by Bartoli, Mem. 58, ap. Fea, Misc. i. 237 (for which see HJ 640, 651,

652-655), which lay a good deal further to the north, below Tasso's oak, must therefore be given up. The aqueduct is referred to in an inscription of Augustus (CIL vi. 31566=xi. 3772 a; cf. NS 1887, 182), which mentions *formam Mentis attributam rivo Aquae Augustae quae pervenit in nemus Caesarum*. See Jord. i. 1. 472; LA 342-344; LR 53; LF 33; YW 1926-7, 104; and cf. NAUMACHIA AUGUSTI.

AQUA ANNIA: an aqueduct mentioned in Not. app.; Pol. Silv. 545 (Anena). As both the Anio Vetus and Novus are omitted in the list, it is probable that this is a corruption, especially as we have no other knowledge of an aqua Annia; and the same applies to the AQUA ATTICA, which is also found in the list (Jord. ii. 223, 224; RE i. 2257).

AQUA ANTONINIANA; see AQUA MARCIA.

AQUA APPIA: \* the first Roman aqueduct, constructed in 312 B.C. by Appius Claudius Caecus<sup>1</sup> and C. Plautius, who acquired the cognomen Venox for having found the springs (Liv. ix. 29. 6; Plin. NH xxxvi. 121; Frontinus, de aquis i. 4-7, 9, 18, 22; ii. 65, 79, 125; Not. app.; Pol. Silv. 545; CIL xi. 1827=i<sup>2</sup>. p. 192, No. X).

The intake is described by Frontinus as being in *agro Lucullano*, 780 paces to the left of the via Praenestina,<sup>2</sup> between the seventh and eighth miles, but the springs have never been satisfactorily identified. The supply was 1825 quinariae, or 75,737 cubic metres in 24 hours. The channel was almost entirely subterranean, 11,190 paces in length, to the SALINAE (q.v.) of which only 60 paces near the porta Capena were carried on substructions and on arches. Near SPES VETUS (q.v.) it was joined *ad Gemellos* by a branch named Augusta because constructed by Augustus, the springs of which were 980 paces to the left of the sixth mile of the via Praenestina, near the via Collatina; the channel of this branch was 6380 paces long, and a piece of its channel (?) is described in BC 1912, 232-233. From the porta Capena the aqueduct ran underground, and remains of its channel were found in 1677 and in 1887 between the Aventinus minor and the Aventinus maior on the south-east of the Via di Porta S. Paolo (LF 35, 41).

Passing under the Aventine, it ended at the bottom of the clivus Publicius near the porta Trigemina (Frontinus i. 5). In level it was the lowest of all the aqueducts. It was repaired by Q. Marcius Rex in 144-140 B.C., and by Augustus in 11-4 B.C. It may be the aqua subtus montem Aventinum currens of Eins. 13. 8; for aqua Tocia (a false reading) see AQUA MARCIA. See Jord. i. 1. 462; LA 246-255; LR 48, 49; Mon. L. i. 512; PSB i. 143; BC 1903, 243-248; 1904, 215-232.

AQUA ATTICA: see AQUA ANNIA.

<sup>1</sup> Eutrop. ii. 9: eo tempore Appius Claudius censor aquam Claudiam (*sic*) induxit et viam Appiam stravit.

<sup>2</sup> So Frontinus; Lanciani emends to Collatina.



AQUA AUGUSTA (Not. app.; Pol. Silv. 545): may refer to the aqua Alsietina (Hülßen, Nomenclator, s.v.), or to the fons Augustae of the aqua Marcia (Jord. i. i. 472-473; ii. 225).

AQUA AURELIA (Not. app.; Pol. Silv. 545): is quite unexplained, and the name may be interpolated from the list of roads (Jord. i. i. 480; ii. 228).

AQUA CAERULEA: see AQUA CLAUDIA.

AQUA CERNENS: only mentioned in Not. (Reg. VIII), and generally emended into fervens (Jord. i. 2. 472), pendens (Mitt. 1896, 223; but the identification with Aquae pensiles, which was at Puteoli, must be given up; see Rév. Arch. 1913, ii. 253 sqq.; PBS vii. 58) or cernua (Richter, 183, 388), i.e. 'the tumbling water.'

AQUA CIMINIA: see remarks on AQUA AURELIA.

AQUA CLAUDIA: \* an aqueduct which (like the ANIO NOVUS, q.v.) was begun by Caligula in 38 A.D. (Suet. Cal. 21), and completed by Claudius in 52 (unless Tac. Ann. xi. 13 indicates its completion in 47; see Furneaux in loc.), who dedicated it on 1st August. After being in use for only ten years, the supply failed, and was interrupted for nine years, until Vespasian restored it in 71; and ten years later Titus had to repair it once more, aquas Curtiam et Caeruleam . . . cum a capite aquarum a solo vetustate (!) dilapsae essent nova forma reducendas sua impensa curavit. On 3rd July, 88, a tunnel under the mons Aeflanus, near Tibur, was completed. We have no records of other restorations, except from the study of the remains themselves, which show that a good deal of repairing was done in the second and third centuries (Plin. NH xxxvi. 122; Frontinus, de aquis i. 4, 13-15, 18-20, iii. 69, 72, 76, 86, 87, 89, 91, 104, 105; Suet. Claud. 20; Procop. BG ii. 3 (cf. PBS iv. 72, 73); Not. app.; Pol. Silv. 545, 546<sup>1</sup>; Cassiod. Var. vii. 6; Victor, Epit. iv. 6; CIL vi. 1256-1259, 3866=31963; xiv. 3530).

Its main springs, the Caeruleus and Curtius, were situated 300 paces to the left of the thirty-eighth milestone of the via Sublacensis, and thus only 100 paces from those of the AQUA MARCIA (q.v.).

The length of its channel is given in the inscription on the porta Maior as 45 miles, while Frontinus gives it as 1 mile 406 paces more, which is probably to be accounted for by his measuring up as far as the fons Albulinus, which was added between the time of Claudius and his own. The fons Augustae (see AQUA MARCIA) was also turned into the aqua Claudia when the Marcia was full; but sometimes even the Claudia could not carry it, and it ran to waste (Frontinus ii. 72). Pliny's figure (40 miles) is only approximate. Its springs are slightly further up the Anio valley than those of the Marcia, but belong to the same group. Its volume at the springs was 4607 quinariae, or 191,190 cubic metres in 24 hours. Its course outside the city cannot be dealt with here. Directly after

<sup>1</sup> In these two lists the aqua Caerulea (but not the Curtia) is mentioned as well as the Claudia.



its piscina, near the seventh mile of the via Latina, it finally emerged on to arches, which increase in height as the ground falls towards the city; they carried also the channel of the ANIO NOVUS (q.v.), the highest of all the aqueducts, and both channels still pass over the via Labicana and via Praenestina by a great monumental arch, which later became the PORTA MAIOR (q.v.).

From the porta Maior the ARCUS CAELIMONTANI (q.v.) diverged to the left and conveyed a portion of its supply across the Caelian to the Palatine, the Aventine,<sup>1</sup> and the Transtiberine region (Frontinus, i. 20). That this branch also supplied the first region is clear from CIL vi. 3866 = 31963, which mentions a castellum situated in it. The main aqueduct ran on to the terminal piscina *post hortos Pallantianos*; it must also have supplied the higher parts of the city, the Esquiline, Viminal and Quirinal, which, as Pliny says, its height enabled it to do. See references under Anio Novus, and also Mél. 1906, 305-311; CIL vi. 8494.

The forma Claudiana<sup>2</sup> is mentioned in Eins. 7. 18, 19 (where the actual aqueduct is referred to; see also AQUA IULIA, ARCUS NERONIANI). Forma Claudia is found as one of the boundaries of a vineyard near Porta Maggiore in a document of 1066 (Reg. Subl. No. 104, p. 150; cf. HCh 296).

AQUA CONCLUSA: only mentioned in one inscription (CIL vi. 33087) as a locality on the Esquiline, which doubtless took its name from a tank of one of the aqueducts (HJ 254).

AQUA DAMNATA (Not. app.): is not otherwise known; it may be identical with AQUA DOTRACIANA (Pol. Silv. 545); see Jord. i. 1. 480; ii. 225; LA 325; RE iv. 2059. It is certainly not identical with the aqua Crabra (Frontinus, de aquis i. 9); see AQUA IULIA.

AQUA DRUSIA (anon. ap. Mommsen, Chron. min. i. 546) is identified by some with the specus Octavianus of the Anio Vetus which passed, it is thought, over the ARCUS DRUSI (q.v.) (LA 266, 267); or it may be identical with the aqua Damnata (RE iv. 2059).

AQUA HERCULEA (Not. app.; Pol. Silv. 545) is the rivus Herculaneus of the AQUA MARCIA (q.v.), not to be confused with the branch of the Anio Novus which bears the same name (Jord. i. 1. 479; ii. 224). Pliny (NH xxxi. 31) is probably in error in connecting a rivus Herculaneus with the aqua Virgo.

AQUA IOVIA: see AQUA MARCIA.

AQUA IULIA: \* an aqueduct constructed by Agrippa in 33 B.C. and repaired by Augustus in 11-4 B.C. (Frontinus, de aquis i. 4, 9, 18, 19; ii. 68, 69, 76, 83, 125; Not. app.; Pol. Silv. 545, 546).

The springs of the aqua Iulia are situated about half a mile above the

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the remains of an aqueduct found by Parker near the porta Capena belonged to this branch, and not to Trajan's extension of the aqua Marcia to the Aventine (LA 312); the brickwork seems Neronian.

<sup>2</sup> 'Forma quae Claudia vocatur' in LPD i. 504 fin (Hadrian I).

abbey of Grottaferrata. Frontinus says that they were 2 miles to the right of the twelfth mile of the via Latina, but this is too far. The length is given as 15,426½ paces. The supply was 1206 quinariae, or 50,043 cubic metres in 24 hours. (162 quinariae more were received from the Claudia; and 190 given to the Tepula.) Several cippi are known, all of the time of Augustus.

No. 302 has been found near the springs and 281 not far below the abbey; while others (157, 156, 154, 153) have come to light at Capannelle near the seventh mile of the via Latina, before the channel begins to run above ground upon the arches of the Marcia (CIL vi. 31563 *b*=xiv. 4278; NS 1887, 73, 82, 558, 559; 1914, 68; 1925, 51; BC 1886, 313; 1887, 131).

The whole of this group belongs to the restoration of 11-4 B.C. But another cippus has been found, also above the abbey, bearing the number 2. It dates from 14 A.D., and must belong to another restoration by Augustus, of which we have no other record (NS 1893, 240; CIL vi. 31563 *c*; EE ix. 970).

From the point of its emergence the aqua Iulia runs, above the aqua Tepula, upon the arches of the AQUA MARCIA (q.v.), and the main channel goes to its terminal castellum. But a branch ran to the NYMPHAEUM ALEXANDRI (q.v.) of which some arches still remain in the Piazza Guglielmo Pepe (called Forma Claudiana in Eins. 5. 3; 6. 2; cf. Mon. L. i. 479; DAP 2. ix. 403).

Frontinus tells us that before the construction of the aqua Claudia, the Marcia and Iulia supplied the Caelian and the Aventine (ii. 76, 87); in his own time a part of the Marcia was diverted at Spes Vetus and delivered to the reservoirs of the former hill. See Jord. i. 1. 466; LA 295-310; LR 51-53; BC 1885, 131; 1917, 235; DAP 2. vii. 237; PBS v. 232, 386-388.

The water from the springs of the aqua Iulia (not the aqua Crabra: Frontinus, i. 9) is now brought into Rome by the channel called the Marrana Mariana (constructed by Calixtus II in 1122), but was always used mainly for mills and for irrigation (LPD ii. 379; LA 325-327).

AQUA MARCIA: \* constructed in 144-140 B.C. by Q. Marcius Rex, the water being brought to the Capitol in the latter year. He had been commissioned by the senate to repair the Appia and Anio (Plin. NH xxxvi. 121, who wrongly adds the Tepula, constructed in 127 B.C.). The total cost was 180,000,000 sesterces or £1,800,000 sterling (Frontinus, de aquis i. 4, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19; ii. 67, 68, 72, 76, 81, 87, 89, 91-93, 125; Prop. iii. 2. 14; Strabo v. 3. 13. p. 240; Vitruv. viii. 3. 1; Tac. Ann. xiv. 22; Plin. NH cit. and xxxi. 41; Martial vi. 42. 18; ix. 18. 6; Stat. Silv. i. 3. 66; 5. 27; Not. app.; Pol. Silv. 545, 546; CIL vi. 1245-1251, 31559-31563; xiv. 4074-4078, 4081; Mon. Anc. iv. 11, 12).

Two arches of this aqueduct may be represented on a coin of C. Marcius Censorinus (circa 87 B.C.; BM Rep. i. 301. 2419), and five arches on coins of L. Marcius Philippus (ib. 485. 3890-5).

It was repaired by Agrippa in 33 B.C. and again by Augustus, with

the rest of the aqueducts, between 11 and 4 B.C. (*rivos aquarum omnium refecit*, in the inscription (CIL vi. 1244) of the latter year on the monumental arch by which it was carried over the via Tiburtina, later incorporated in the Aurelian wall as part of the PORTA TIBURTINA (q.v.); see BC 1917, 207-215).

Numerous cippi belonging to this restoration (CIL vi. 1250, 1251 (=31562); add 509 (unpublished) 803 (CIL vi. 31570 c)<sup>1</sup> and 816 (NS 1892, 152=EE ix. 966)) have been found, including the 1215th from Rome, which stood only about 3.5 kilometres from the springs, and about 86.6 from Rome. This corresponds fairly closely with Frontinus' measurement of 61,710½ paces (91.4 kilometres): whereas the distance from the springs by road was 38 miles along the via Sublacensis, from which they lay 200 paces to the left, or 3 miles to the right of the thirty-sixth milestone of the via Valeria (Plin. and Strabo loc. cit. are in error). Augustus also added another spring, the aqua Augusta, which lay 800 paces further up (see AQUA CLAUDIA), which doubled the volume of the aqueduct (Mon. Anc. iv. 11, 12). The supply at the springs was 4690 quinariae, or 194,635 cubic metres in 24 hours.

The same group of springs are still in use for the modern water supply of Rome, and are now, as then, famous for coldness and purity; though, owing to the fact that the floor of the Anio valley has risen since Roman times, it is impossible to identify them exactly.

Nero outraged public opinion by bathing in its springs: but the aqueduct itself seems to have yielded but little to the city in his day, owing to the depredations of private persons (Frontinus cit.; Plin. NH xxxi. 42), and a further restoration was carried out by Titus in 79 A.D. (CIL vi. 1246): there is evidence of repairs by Hadrian; and others were probably made by Septimius Severus in 196 A.D. (CIL vi. 1247); while in 212-3 Caracalla cleared the springs, made some new tunnels, and added another spring, the fons Antoninianus, in connection no doubt with the construction of the branch to his thermae (ib. 1245).

The aqua Marcia was joined by the AQUA TEPULA (q.v.) and the AQUA IULIA (q.v.) before the point where it emerged from its underground course, near the sixth mile of the via Latina; and their channels were carried above it on the same arches, and are to be seen in section in the Aurelian wall, just to the right of the PORTA MAIOR (q.v.). From this point they have been made use of by it as far as the PORTA TIBURTINA (q.v.), soon after which they begin to run underground once more, and reach their terminal castellum just inside the porta Collina, at the north angle of the thermae Diocletiani.

For all this stretch there were cippi of Augustus bearing the names of the three aqueducts (CIL vi. 1249=31561; add No. 71, BC 1905, 289; CR 1905, 330, and No. 82, BC 1899, 39).

The regions served by the main channel of the aqua Marcia were in the

<sup>1</sup> Identical with CIL vi. 1250 a; xiv. 4082.



neighbourhood of the castellum ; numerous lead pipes were also found near the porta Viminalis, which served for its distribution (LF 10, 17, 24, etc.). It also ran to the Quirinal (Mart. ix. 18. 6 ; see DOMUS MARTIALIS).

The water was brought to the Capitol by Marcius himself in 140,<sup>1</sup> and where it issued forth must have stood his statue mentioned in the diploma of Nero of 64 A.D. (descrip. et. recognit. ex tabula aenea quae fixa est Romae in Capitolio post aedem Iovis O.M. in basi Q. Marci Regis pr(aetoris) CIL iii. p. 846 ; cf. Bull. d. Inst. 1845, 119 ; the last word makes it unlikely that CIL vi. 3825 = 31613 = i<sup>2</sup>. 660, Q. Marcius Q. f. Rex Cos. is the base in question).

The rivus Herculaneus (not to be confused with the stream of the same name, cf. ANIO NOVUS) diverged from the aqua Marcia (Pliny (NH xxxi. 42) is entirely wrong in associating it with the aqua Virgo) *post hortos Pallantianos* ; the castellum is incorporated in the Aurelian wall, in the fifth tower south of the porta S. Lorenzo (BC 1874, 53-55 ; LF 24) and ran across the Caelian, though at too low a level to supply it (Frontinus i. 19. Cf. RL 1888, 301 ; BC 1886, 406 ; 1888, 400 ; 1889, 130 ; 1914, 199 ; 1917, 242 ; NS 1888, 59 ; 1889, 66 ; 1917, 179 ; Mitt. 1889, 235, for traces of it and especially of a conduit formed of solid stone blocks with a circular orifice through them, which may have belonged to it), to its terminal castellum over the PORTA CAPENA (q.v.), which was therefore called *madida* (Juv. 3. 11 ; Mart. iii. 47 ; see also ARCUS STILLANS ; HCh 287).

Hülsen attributes a cippus of Augustus, found near the Lateran, bearing the name Marcia and the number 3 (CIL vi. 31560) to this aqueduct : but there is another hypothesis admissible in regard to it. Before the construction of the aqua Claudia, so Frontinus tells us (ii. 76), the Caelian and Aventine were supplied by the Marcia and Iulia ; and it is quite possible that the cippus, and both the ARCUS DOLABELLAE ET SILANI (q.v.) and the ARCUS LENTULI ET CRISPINI (q.v.) (CIL vi. 1384, 1385 ; cf. p. 3125) belonged to this conduit. But afterwards these hills only received water from the Claudia by the ARCUS NERONIANI (q.v.) until Trajan took the Marcia *amplo opere* to the Aventine (Frontinus ii. 87).<sup>2</sup> It appears as AQUA HERCULEA (q.v.) in Not. app. and Pol. Silv. 545. This conduit may be the *forma* of Eins. II. 4 ; 13. 27 (Mon. L. i. 515). See LF 35, 41.

Another branch, the starting-point of which is uncertain, though it may have been near the third mile of the via Latina, was constructed by Caracalla to supply his thermae (q.v.). It crossed the via Appia by the so-called ARCO DI DRUSO (q.v.) and thence led to the great reservoir to the south-west of the thermae. It is mentioned as a separate aqueduct (aqua Antoniniana) in Not. app. ; Pol. Silv. 545.

<sup>1</sup> Liv. Epit. Oxyrhync. 188-190 : aqua Anio aqua [Marcia in Capi]tolium contra Sibyllae carmina [perductae]. It was probably a small supply, brought by a syphon ; it certainly did not cross the depression between the Capitol and the Quirinal (see FORUM TRAIANI, p. 238) on arches, or something would have been said (or found) of them.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 23. n. 1.



The supply was increased by Diocletian, from whom it took the name forma Iovia (Iobia, Iopia): cf. Eins. II. 2; 13. 22: ibi (at the porta Appia) forma Iopia quae venit de Marsia, et currit usque ad ripam. The conduit was restored by Hadrian I (LPD i. 504), Sergius II (ii. 91) and Nicolas I (ii. 154, where it occurs under the form *Iocia*; *Tocia*, which some writers have referred to the aqua Appia, is a wrong reading; cf. Duchesne, ib. 167 n. 12). And the name forma Iovia is found in documents of the tenth century relating to the territory of Tivoli (Reg. Subl. p. 36 (973), 30 (998)), though the forma quae appellatur Iovia . . . foris porta maiore, via Lavicana milliario ab urbe Roma p. m. IIII in loco quae dicitur III<sup>a</sup> (quarta), ib. p. 151, must be the aqua Alexandrina (LA 315-319; LF 46; Jord. ii. 228, 229; HJ 190, 195; PBS iv. 14, 15).

See Jord. i. 1. 468; LA 270-293, 298-318; LR 49-52; RM 1889, 235; HJ 220; Delbrück, Hellenist. Bauten in Latium, i. 1, 2; BC 1912, 228-234; NS 1913, 6-8; TF 137-139. Livellazione and Builder cited under Anio Novus; CIL vi. 8496 = 33729.

**AQUA MERCURII**: a spring near the porta Capena (Ov. Fast. v. 669) which has been recognised in the garden of S. Gregorio, below the Villa Mattei. See LA 221; LF 35; HJ 205; BC 1904, 218; cf. Cap. Cat. Imp. 93 (a dedication to the springs and nymphs which was found not far off).

**AQUA PINCIANA**: known only from a waterpipe (CIL xv. 7259) with the inscription Aqua Pinciana d(omini) n(ostri) Fl(avii) Valentiniani Aug., which was found near the porta Salaria in the villa Verospi. (Its genuineness has been doubted, but probably without sufficient reason.) It probably conveyed water to the DOMUS PINCIANA (q.v.).

**AQUA SALLUSTIANA**: the modern name of a stream (which now runs underground) which rose between the Quirinal and the Pincio in the district of the horti Sallustiani, crossed the via Lata near the Piazza Colonna, and then turned southward to the Pantheon, where, near the CAPRAE PALUS (HJ 473, 477), according to one view, it joined the PETRONIA AMNIS (q.v.) with which it has by some been identified (LA 227; BC 1894, 393).

**AQUA SEVERIANA**: mentioned only in Not. app. and Pol. Silv. 545; not the Alexandrina, which occurs separately. The reference is uncertain.

**AQUA TEPULA**: \*an aqueduct constructed in 125 B.C. (Plin. NH xxxvi. 121 wrongly says that it was repaired by Q. Marcius Rex; Frontinus, de aquis i. 4, 8, 9, 18, 19; ii. 67-69, 82, 125; Not. app.; Pol. Silv. 545, 546). Its springs were two miles to the right of the tenth mile of the via Latina, where a tepid spring, the Acqua Preziosa, still exists (PBS v. 222); but no remains of its original channel have ever been found. In 33 B.C. Agrippa mixed its water with that of the aqua Iulia; and from that time onwards its channel entered the city on the arches of the AQUA MARCIA (q.v.). In Frontinus' time its intake was considered as beginning from the reservoir of the aqua Iulia, where it received 190 quinariae, then

92 from the Marcia, and 163 from the Anio Novus at the horti Epaphroditiani, making 445 quinariae in all, or 18,467 cubic metres in 24 hours. See LA 293-314; LR 52, 53.

**AQUA TRAIANA:** \* an aqueduct built by Trajan (Not. app.; Pol. Silv. 545, 546; LP i. 211), which drew its supply from springs at the north-west corner of the Lake of Bracciano (lacus Sabatinus). There are scanty traces of the ancient channel, but they have mostly been concealed by the reconstruction of the aqueduct by Paul V in 1605 (whence the modern name Acqua Paola). An inscribed cippus of 109 A.D. was found some 10 miles from Rome (CIL vi. 1260 = 31567 = xi. 3793);<sup>1</sup> while another with the inscription destroyed has been identified (BC 1892, 289). A large *castellum* with many lead pipes radiating from it was found in the Vigna Lais on the via Aurelia (LA 461-463, but the only ones quite certainly found here are CIL xv. 7369-7373, while 7485, 7609, 7625, 7656, 7662 are doubtful).

The channel has recently been found in the construction of the American Academy (Mem. Am. Acad. i. (1917) 59-61, and pl. 15), while in 1887 some of the mills for which it supplied the motive power were found (LF 27; see MOLINAE).

For its terminal castellum, see Cohen, Trai. 20-25, and for a branch from it to an establishment for pisciculture, see NS 1924, 56; YW 1923-4, 110.

The aqueduct was cut by Vitiges in 537 (Procop. BG i. 15, 19) and repaired by Belisarius (CIL xi. 3298). For repairs in the seventh and eighth centuries see LPD i. 324, 327 n. 20; 503, 504, 510; and cf. DuP 35, 38. (Jord. i. i. 475; ii. 225; LA 374-380; LR 56; HJ 648.)

**AQUA VIRGO:** \* an aqueduct completed by Agrippa on 9th June 19 B.C. (Ovid, Fast. i. 464; ex Pont. i. 8. 38; Frontinus, de aquis i. 4, 10, 18, 22; ii. 70, 84; Seneca, Ep. 83. 5; Mart. v. 20. 9; vi. 42. 18; vii. 32. 11; xi. 47. 6; Plin. NH xxxi. 42; xxxvi. 121, who is in error in attributing it to 33 B.C., and in associating the rivus Herculanus with it; see AQUA MARCIA; Stat. Silv. i. 5. 26; Cass. Dio liv. 11; Not. app.; Pol. Silv. 545, 546; Cassiodor. Var. vii. 6; CIL vi. 1252-1254; 31564, 31565; NS 1910, 547).

The springs were situated at the eighth mile of the via Collatina, i.e. two miles to the left of the eighth mile of the via Praenestina, in agro Lucullano (PBS i. 139, 143), and produced 2504 quinariae or 103,916 cubic metres in 24 hours. The subterranean course was 12,865 paces long, and 540 paces were carried on substructions. A girl is said to have shown the springs to some soldiers, hence the name; the incident was recorded by a painting in a chapel near the springs (Frontinus i. 10). It was the lowest of all the aqueducts except the Appia and the Alsietina.

It ran almost entirely underground, by a conduit which is still in use,

<sup>1</sup> Bormann is wrong in referring (as T x. 79 also does) ib. 3309 (NS 1882, 266) to this aqueduct; it relates to a local supply for the village of Forum Clodii.

until it reached the *HORTI LUCULLANI* (q.v.) on the Pincian, below which it had a settling tank, added after the time of Frontinus (i. 22). See LF I, 2, 9, 15, 16.

The cippi, erected by Tiberius (36-37 A.D.) and Claudius (44-45 A.D.) only ran as far as this point, two bearing the number I having been found in the Villa Medici. From this point it ran southward along the side of the hill, and near the *Via Capo le Case* turned south-west and began to run on arches for 700 paces. The arch in the modern *via del Nazzareno*, by which the aqueduct was carried over a branch street from the *via Lata* (from which the church of S. Maria in Via takes its name, see HCh 375), records its restoration by Claudius in 46 after the damage caused by the *AMPHITHEATRUM CALIGULAE* (q.v.). See *ARCUS CLAUDII* (I), and cf. Mart. iv. 18, *qua vicina pluit Vipsanis porta columnis* (see *PORTICUS VIPSANIA*). It passed east of the *CAMPUS AGRIPPÆ* (q.v.) and then turned westward (see *VICUS CAPRALICUS*).

It crossed the *via Lata* by the *ARCUS CLAUDII* (2) (q.v.) and its arches ended, after passing along the north façade of the *Saepta* (*arcus . . . finiuntur in campo Martio secundum frontem Saeptorum*, Frontinus i. 22), near the north-west angle of the church of S. Ignazio, under the façade of which its arches were found;<sup>1</sup> and here was its terminal *castellum* (LA 444). Like the *Marcia*, its supply was largely diverted to private uses in the time of Nero (Plin. NH xxxi. 41). A restoration by Constantine is recorded in an inscription found in the *Via Nazionale*, obviously nowhere near its original position (CIL vi. 31564).

The *forma Virginis* is frequently mentioned in documents of the eighth to tenth centuries (cf. Eins. 2. 5; 4. 4; Mon. L. i. 455-456, 467). It was repaired by Hadrian I (LPD i. 505); cf. also a bull of 955, which speaks of the *arcus Claudii* (I) as *arcora* (Kehr i. 63, 6; ASRSP 1899, 268). In 1453 Nicholas V restored it, and brought the water as far as the *Trevi* fountain, where its present termination is in the fine fountain of Niccolò Salvi (1744). It was repaired by Sixtus IV, but in 1570 it was thoroughly rebuilt by Pius V. His successors, and especially Gregory XIII, built many fountains which were supplied by it. Its low level rendered it impossible for it to supply any part of the higher quarters of Rome. See LA 332-342; NS 1885, 70, 250; 1887, 447; BC 1878, 17-21; 1883, 6, 51; 1888, 61-67; Mitt. 1889, 269; PBS i. 143; HCh 397, 398.

**AQUAEDUCTIUM**: the name, inscribed in large letters on a fragment (45) of the Marble Plan, that belongs to the group of structures, probably fountains and *nymphaea*, surrounding the end of the *AQUA CLAUDIA* (q.v.) close to the precinct of the temple of Claudius on the Caelian (HJ 232-233).

**AQUAE PENSILES**: see *AQUA CERNENS*.

<sup>1</sup> Drawing by Orazio Grassi at Windsor (Inv. 10397, formerly A. 12 f. 44; see Cassiano dal Pozzo, Mem. 47), and Parker, Historical Photographs, 2326.



**AQUILENSES** : found only in one inscription (CIL vi. 31893), and probably designating those who lived on the vicus Longi Aquilae, a street in Region XIV, mentioned only on the Capitoline Base (CIL vi. 975).

**ARA DITIS** : see **DIS PATER ET PROSERPINA, ARA.**

**ARA DOMITII AHENOBARBI** : see **NEPTUNUS, AEDES.**

**ARAGENTIS IULIAE** : see **GENS IULIA, ARA.**

**ARA MARMOREA** : known only from two inscriptions that were found near the porta Capena (CIL vi. 9403, 10020). Its use in these inscriptions shows that it was used to indicate a locality.

**ARA MAXIMA HERCULIS** : see **HERCULIS INVICTI ARA MAXIMA.**

**ARAE INCENDII NERONIS** : altars erected by Domitian, probably one in each region, to commemorate the great fire of Nero and also incendiorum arcendorum causa (CIL vi. 826, 30837). These altars were dedicated to Neptune, and copies exist of the inscriptions from three of them. One of these altars is recorded as having been used as building material for S. Peter's in the early sixteenth century. Another stood on the south-west side of the circus, at the foot of the slope of the Aventine, within the present limits of the Jewish cemetery, where some remains of the steps were found. A third, rediscovered in 1889, stood in an area paved with travertine on the south side of the Alta Semita, opposite the temple of Quirinus, under the Ministero della Casa Reale, close to the modern church of S. Andrea. The three steps that led up from this area to the higher level of the street have been traced for a distance of 35 metres (and are partially visible in the modern wall). Along the front of the area, close to the lower step, was a row of travertine cippi, 1.40 metres in height, 0.80 by 0.50 in depth and width, and 2.50 apart, of which three were found in situ, two whole and one injured. The altar itself was 2.75 metres back from the cippi, and was built of travertine, with a marble cornice. It was 1.26 metres in height and 3.25 by 6.25 in breadth and length, and stood on a pedestal with two steps (BC 1889, 331-335, 379 ff. ; Mitt. 1891, 116-8 ; 1894, 94-7 ; LF 16 ; HJ 128, 410, 425).

**ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE** : \* an altar erected by the senate in honour of the victorious return of Augustus from Spain and Gaul in 13 B.C., on which the magistrates, priests and Vestals should offer annual sacrifices (Mon. Anc. ii. 39-41 (Lat.) : [Cu]m ex H[ispa]nia Gal[li]aque rebus in his p[ro]vinciis prosp[er]e [gest]i[s] R[omam] redi[er]it Ti. Ne[r]one P. Qui[n]tilio consulib[us] aram [Pacis] A[u]g[ustae] senatus pro[] redi[tu] meo co[n]sacrar[um] censuit ad cam[pum] Martium in qua ma[gi]stratus et sac[er]dotes et virgines V[est]al[es] anniversarium sacrifici[um] facer[e] iussit ; ib. vi. 20-vii. 4 (Grk.) ). The decree of the senate was dated 4th July, 13 B.C. (Fast. Amit. ad iv non. Iul., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 244, 320 : feriae ex s.c. quo[d] eo die ara Pacis Augustae constituta est (begun) Nerone et Varo cos. ; Antiat. ib. 248),



and dedicated 30th January, 9 B.C. (Fast. Caer. Praen. ad III kal. Febr., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 212, 232; Fast. Verul. ap. NS 1923, 196; Ov. Fast. i. 709-710; Act. Arval. a. 38, CIL vi. 2028; a. 39 (?) ib. 32347 a; IJ 612). Which of these ceremonies constitutes the setting of the procession represented on the reliefs is doubtful. The altar is represented on coins of Nero (Cohen 27-31), and of Domitian (ib. 338), but is not mentioned elsewhere either in literature or inscriptions (for the discussion of these coins, see Kubitschek ap. Petersen, *Ara Pacis* 194-196, and in *Oesterr. Jahresh.* 1902, 153-164; cf. SR 1913, 300-302, and also BM Imp. Nero, 360-365).

This altar stood on the west side of the via Flaminia and some distance north of the buildings of Agrippa, on the site of the present Palazzo Peretti Fiano-Almagià at the corner of the Corso and the Via in Lucina. Fragments of the decorative sculpture, found in 1568, are in the Villa Medici, the Vatican, the Uffizi, and the Louvre; others, found in 1859, are in the Museo delle Terme and in Vienna. They were recognised as parts of the same monument by Von Duhn and published in 1881 (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1881, 302-329; *Mon. d. Inst.* xi. pls. 34-36; for a fragment found in 1899 cf. NS 1899, 50; CR 1899, 234). Systematic excavations in 1903 under the palazzo (NS 1903, 549-574; CR 1904, 331) brought to light other remains of the monument, both architectural and decorative. The work was not finished, but carried far enough to permit of a reconstruction which is fairly accurate in its main features, although there are still unsolved problems in connection with the arrangement and interpretation of the reliefs. Most of the fragments then found are in the Museo delle Terme (PT 65-68), though others still remain on the site.

The altar itself was not found. It stood within an enclosing wall of white marble, about 6 metres high, which formed a rectangle measuring 11.625 metres east and west, and 10.55 north and south (NS 1903, 568). In the middle of the east and west sides were entrances flanked with pilasters, and other pilasters stood at each angle of the enclosure. The inside of the enclosing wall was decorated with a frieze of garlands and ox-skulls above a maeander pattern, beneath which was a panelling of fluted marble. A frieze of flowers and palmettes adorned the outside of the enclosure, and above this, on the north side, were reliefs representing the procession in honour of the goddess, with many figures of the imperial family and the flamines, and, on the south, senators, magistrates and others (Reinach, *Répertoire des Reliefs* i. 232-237).<sup>1</sup> On the north side of the east entrance was a group of Honos, Pax and Roma, while on the south was a relief of Tellus, or Italia (Van Buren, JRS 1913, 134-141). The west entrance was flanked on the north by a group of Mars and Faustulus at the Ficus Ruminalis (?) and on the south by Aeneas sacrificing when he found the sow. An ingenious attempt has been made to explain the architectural and decorative scheme of the enclosure as a reproduction in marble of the temporary wooden enclosure of the site and the ceremony

<sup>1</sup> 236. 4 is still on the spot.

of consecration on 4th July, B.C. 13 (Pasqui, SR 1913, 283-304). The reliefs of this altar represent the highest achievement of Roman decorative art that is known to us. (For the discussion and interpretation of the monument and its reliefs, see Petersen, *Mitt.* 1894, 171-228; *Sonderschrift d. oesterr. Inst.* ii. 1902, published separately as *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Vienna 1902; *Mitt.* 1903, 164-176, 330; *Oesterr. Jahresh.* 1906, 298-315; Reisch, *WS* 1902, 425-436; v. Domaszewski, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* 1903, 57-65; Gardthausen, *Der Altar des Kaiserfriedens, Ara Pacis*, Lpz. 1908; Dissel, *Der Opferzug der Ara Pacis*, progr. Hamburg, 1907; Strong, *Scultura R.* 17-65; Cannizzaro, *Boll. d'Arte*, 1907, 1-16; Wace, *PBS* v. 176-178; Sieveking, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* 1907, 175-190; *Beiblatt* 107; *Mitt.* 1917, 90-93; Studniczka, *Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch.* 1909, 901-944; Wagenvoort, *Med.* 1921, 108; Crawford, *AJA* 1922, 307; Rizzo, *Atti Acc. di Napoli*, 1920, 1-21; *Capitolium*, ii. 457-473; *Mon. Piot*, xvii. (1910), 157-187.

ARA PIETATIS AUGUSTAE: see PIETAS AUGUSTA, ARA.

ARBOR SANCTA: a name found only in the Regionary Catalogue in Region II, next to CAPUT AFRICAE (q.v.). It may be the name of a street.

ARCO DI CAMIGLIANO: see ISIS, AEDES.

ARCO DELLA CIAMBELLA: see THERMAE AGRIPPAE.

ARCO DI DRUSO: the name that has been given since the sixteenth century to the arch on the via Appia just inside the Porta S. Sebastiano, perhaps the arcus Recordationis of the Einsiedeln Itinerary (II. 3; 13. 24), but see ARCUS DRUSI. Only the central part of this arch is now standing, but it was originally triple, or at least with projections on each side, and of somewhat elaborate construction, although never finished. It is built of travertine, which was faced with marble, and on each side of the archway are unfluted columns of Numidian marble with white marble bases and capitals of the Composite order. The archway is 7.21 metres high, 5.34 wide and 5.61 deep. The aqua Antoniniana, the branch of the AQUA MARCIA (q.v.) built by Caracalla in 211-216 A.D., ran over this arch, but the brick-faced concrete that is now visible on top of the arch seems to belong to a period later than that of Caracalla. This arch cannot be identified with that of Drusus, both because it is so far from the VICUS DRUSIANUS (q.v.), and because its construction belongs to a later period, but it may possibly be the arch of Trajan in Region I (q.v.) (HJ 216; Curtis in PAS ii. 63-64 (who identifies it on grounds of style with the ARCUS VERI, q.v.); ZA 315, 316 (who holds that it was built for, and is contemporary with the aqueduct)).<sup>1</sup> See Piranesi, *Ant. Rom.* i. xix. 1.

ARCO DI LATRONE: see BASILICA CONSTANTINI.

ARCO DEI PANTANI: one of the original arched gateways in the wall of the forum of Augustus, through which the Via Bonella passes (see FORUM AUGUSTUM).

<sup>1</sup> This is undoubtedly the soundest theory.

ARCO DI PORTOGALLO: an arch over the via Lata close to the ara Pacis, which is often called ARCUS HADRIANI, because of two reliefs of the Hadrianic period that adorned it and are now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Helbig, *Führer*<sup>3</sup>, 897, 990; Strong, *Sculpture* 236-8; SScR 213-215; PBS iv. 258-263; v. 180; Cons. Cat. 36, 266). The keystone is also in the same place (ib. 37). This arch was removed in 1662 by Alexander VII in order that the Corso might be widened.<sup>1</sup> It was known earlier as the arcus Octaviani (PBS iii. 269-271), but from the sixteenth century it was called Arco di Portogallo because it adjoined the residence of the Portuguese ambassador, the Palazzo Peretti-Fiano. The foundation of one of the piers has been found beneath the present palace, 2.36 metres below the level of the Corso. Extant drawings of this arch, dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (HJ 466; PBS ii. 35, and No. 52; LR 507), show a single archway flanked on each side with two columns, and surrounded with a cornice (Ill. 2). The architecture seems to belong to a period later than that of Hadrian, and it is quite possible that the arch itself is of considerably later date—being in fact sometimes assigned definitely to Marcus Aurelius—and that it was decorated with sculpture from earlier monuments, as was the case with the arch of Constantine. Indeed, Hülsen (DAP 2. xi. 174) believes it to belong to the fourth or fifth century, and to have been built with fragments of earlier buildings. One of the sides was demolished in the twelfth century, when a fragment of the cornice was removed to S. Maria in Trastevere (HJ 465-468; BC 1891, 18-23; 1896, 239-246; 1915, 333). This is against its having been a 'mediaeval pasticcio' (Cons. 36).

ARCUS (fornix, ianus): a large monument, square or rectangular in shape, usually standing free from other structures, and pierced by from one to three passage ways. It was said to have been invented by the Romans to take the place of an ordinary column or pedestal as a base for statues and honorary insignia. In process of time the arch itself became in some instances more important than what it supported, but this was probably not originally the case. For discussion of the Roman arch, see Graef in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, 1864-1889; Frothingham in *AJA* 1904, 1-34, and *Rev. Arch.* 1905, ii. 216 ff.; Curtis in *PAS* ii. 26-83; *SJ* 110-115; *BCH* 1925, 143-157 (in which it is maintained that the Greeks derived the double column as a base for sculpture from the single column, while the Romans added the arch; the simplest form is seen in the arch at Susa).

ARCUS ARCADII HONORII ET THEODOSII: a marble arch erected by the senate after the victory of Stilicho at Pollentia in 405 A.D. in honour of the three emperors and to commemorate their victories over the Goths (*CIL* vi. 1196; HJ 598). It stood at the west end of the Pons

<sup>1</sup> An inscription was set up at the time to mark the spot, and may still be seen on the north side of the Corso.



NERONIANUS (q.v.) and probably spanned its approach. In the *Mirabilia* (ch. 5) it is called *arcus aureus Alexandri*, and erroneously located near the church of S. Celso instead of S. Urso (HCh 501). It was standing in the fifteenth century, but had been stripped of its marble facing.

ARCUS ARGENTARIORUM: see ARCUS SEPTIMII SEVERI (in foro Boario).

ARCUS AUGUSTI: \* two arches erected in honour of Augustus in the forum, one in 29 B.C., to commemorate the victory at Actium, the other in 19 B.C., on account of the return of the standards captured by the Parthians at Carrhae (Cass. Dio li. 19; liv. 8). It is explicitly stated that the latter stood *iuxta aedem divi Iulii* (Schol. Veron. Verg. Aen. vii. 605). These arches are represented on coins, that of 29 B.C.<sup>1</sup> on a denarius of Vinicius (Babelon, Vinicia 4; Cohen, Aug. 544; BM Rep. ii. 50, 4477-8 = BM Aug. 77, 78), and that of 19 B.C. on coins of 18-17 B.C. (Cohen, Aug. 82-85; BM Aug. 427-9). The earlier coins represent a triple arch, surmounted with a quadriga in the centre and barbarians on the sides. The archways are of equal height, and the middle piers double the width of the outer. The later coins also represent a triple arch, with quadriga and figures of barbarians, and piers of the same relative width as the other, but the central portion is much higher than the sides.

The foundations of one of these arches exist between the temple of Julius and that of Castor, being laid on the short axis of the former temple and close to it. They consist of travertine blocks on concrete beds, and those of three of the four piers are in situ. The middle piers were 2.95 metres wide, and those of the sides 1.35, corresponding to the representation on the coins. The depth of the middle piers is also greater than that of the side piers. The width of the central archway was 4.05 metres and that of those at the side arches 2.55, the breadth of the whole structure being 17.75 metres. The pavement in the central passage is still partially preserved, and some of the marble fragments of the arch have been set in modern brick beds on the travertine foundations, which themselves rest on the pavement of an earlier street.

If the evidence cited above were all we had, we should identify these ruins with the arch of 19 B.C., on the strength of the scholiast's *iuxta aedem divi Iulii*, but an inscription (CIL vi. 873), cut in a block of Parian marble 2.67 metres long, was found in 1546/7 close to these foundations, which records a dedication to Augustus in 29 B.C. This inscription may have belonged to this arch, although it cannot have been the principal inscription on the attic. No trace of a second arch of Augustus in the forum has thus far been discovered (see also ARCUS PIETATIS), and the identification of the existing ruins is therefore still uncertain (Jahrb. d. Inst. 1889, 151-162; Ant. Denk. i. 14-15, 27-28; Mitt. 1889, 243; 1905, 76; LS ii. 200-202; CIL vi. 31188 a; DR 439-443; RE Suppl. iv. 510-511).

<sup>1</sup> Dated 16 B.C. by the B.M. Catalogue.



Fiechter and Hülsen (ap. Töbelmann i. 13-16) attribute to this arch the Doric fragments found near the Regia in 1872 (see their list, repeated from *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1889, 235). A similar fragment was seen at SS. Quattro Coronati (PBS ii. 104—a drawing by the later—seventeenth century—hand). It is noted by Hülsen that, though an arch was *voted* by the senate in 29 B.C., it is nowhere stated that it was consecrated. He attributes all the coins to the same arch, and follows a conjecture of Dressel's, by which the inscription is inferred from the legends on the coins of 18-17 B.C.: S.P.Q.R. Imp. Caesari Aug. cos. xi. tr. p. vi. civib. et sign. milit. a Part. recup. He points out, further, that the inscription generally attributed to the arch is of the wrong shape and size; for a criticism of the restoration proposed, see *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. d. Arch.* viii. (1924), 73. Cf. HFP 15.

A single arch representing the same event is shown on other coins (BM Rep. ii. 551. 310).

ARCUS M. AURELII: an arch erected in commemoration of the victory of Marcus Aurelius over the Germans and Sarmatians in 176 A.D., according to an inscription (CIL vi. 1014) that was seen and copied by the compiler of the *Einsiedeln Itinerary*. This arch probably spanned the CLIVUS ARGENTARIUS (q.v.) at its junction with the via Lata, and is that referred to in a forged bull<sup>1</sup> of John III (Jord. ii. 669) as *arcus Argentariorum*, and in the *Mirabilia* (ch. 5) as *arcus Panis Aurei* in Capitolio (PBS iii. 252-253; Jord. i. 2. 214).

ARCUS AUREUS ALEXANDRI: see ARCUS ARCADII HONORII ET THEODOSII.

ARCUS IOHANNIS BASILII or BASILIDIS: the mediaeval name of the arch of the aqua Claudia over the via Caelimontana, on the site of the ancient porta Caelimontana. It was also called the *arcus Formae*, and seems to have served as an entrance to the Lateran precinct. It was demolished in 1604 (HJ 242; LS iv. 134; LA 366; LR 378; HCh 208 for S. Basilidis in Merulana, which has no relation to this arch, and ib. 462 for SS. Sergius and Bacchus iuxta arcum Basili).

ARCUS CAELIMONTANI: see ARCUS NERONIANI.

ARCUS CLAUDII (1): one of the arches of the Aqua Virgo (q.v.), which spanned an ancient street, and was restored in monumental form by Claudius (CIL vi. 1252). This arch is still standing, in the court of No. 14 Via del Nazareno (Jord. i. 1. 472; HJ 457), and is probably referred to by Martial iv. 18. as date is 46 A.D.

ARCUS CLAUDII (2): built by Claudius in 51/52 A.D. in commemoration of his victories in Britain (CIL vi. 920-923=31203-4; Suet. Claud. 17; Dio lx. 19 ff., 22). It also formed part of the aqua Virgo, where this aqueduct crossed the via Lata, just north of the Saepta. It seems to have been in ruins as early as the eighth century, but in 1562, in 1641,

<sup>1</sup> The description of the boundaries of the parish of SS. Apostoli, which the bull purports to give, is taken from a bull of Lucius III of 1183 (Kehr, *Italia Pontificia* i. 72-73).

and again in 1869 portions of the structure were found, including part of the principal inscription, inscriptions dedicated to other members of the imperial family, some of the foundations, and fragments of sculpture of which all traces have been lost. On coins issued in 46-47 A.D., as an 'intelligent anticipation' of events (BM Claud. 29, 32-35, 49-50; Cohen, Claudius 16-24), is a representation of an arch erected to commemorate these victories of Claudius, but whether it is this arch of the aqua Virgo is quite uncertain (HJ 468-9; LS iii. 125-6; PBS iii. 220-223). For reliefs recently discovered which may belong to it, see NS 1925, 230-233; Bocconi, Musei Capitolini, 292. 9; 294. 14; YW 1925-6, 112.

**ARCUS CLAUDII** (3): an arch intended to be erected in honour of Claudius' victories in Germany (Dio lx. 8 for victories won by his generals over the Cauchi and the Chatti in 41 A.D.) is shown in several of his coins of 41 A.D. (and following years) (Cohen, Nero Drusus 1-6; Claud. 25-29, 48; BM Imp. Claud. 2, 36, 95-103, 121-123, 187-191). Whether it was actually erected, and if so, where, is uncertain (BM Imp. p. clii).

**ARCUS CONSTANTINI**: \*erected by the senate in honour of Constantine to commemorate his victory over Maxentius in 312 A.D., as the inscription in the attic (CIL vi. 1139) records. The date of its completion is fixed to 315-316 A.D. by the mention of the decennalia in the inscriptions of the side arches; and Grossi-Gondi decides for 316 because the consulship is omitted, whereas in 315 he held it for the fourth time. It is not mentioned by any of our literary sources. It stands at the beginning of the road which traverses the valley between the Palatine and the Caelian from the Colosseum to the south-east end of the circus Maximus, and which is often (though without warrant) called via Triumphalis. The road did not, however, run through it, and indeed lay at a somewhat lower level, though not so low as to necessitate steps for foot-passengers to pass through (Mitt. 1891, 92). The archways and the space round the arch are paved with travertine. The arch is built of white marble; it is 21 metres high, 25.70 wide, and 7.40 deep; the central archway is 11.50 high and 6.50 wide, and the two lateral arches are 7.40 metres high and 3.36 wide. Between the archways and at the corners were eight fluted Corinthian columns of giallo antico, one of which has been removed to the Lateran, while the other seven still remain: they were doubtless removed from other buildings. The sculptures with which it is decorated belong to several different periods (Ill. 5).

(1) The two reliefs at the ends of the arch and the two on the jambs of the central archway, representing conflicts between Romans and Dacians, formed part of a continuous frieze, which is supposed to have decorated the enclosure wall of the FORUM TRAIANI (q.v.), and may belong to the period of Domitian (Neue Jahrbücher, 1905, 522; SScR 135, 151, n. 17; Rev. Arch. 1924, ii. 365), though Sieveking, in Festschrift für P. Arndt 36, returns to the usual ascription to Trajan.

(2) The eight statues of Dacians in pavonazzetto (Phrygian) marble standing on the cornice in front of the attic, each above one of the giallo antico columns (all of which bear the inscription *Ad Arcum*, CIL vi. 36617), doubtless came from the Forum of Trajan, where similar statues have been found (Braccio Nuovo 9, 127; cf. Chiaramonti, 356; Brit. Mus. 1770). Of those on the arch, one is a reproduction in white marble (for the torso see Cap. Cat. Atrio No. 21) and the rest have restored heads and hands. Of the original heads in white marble, two are probably in the Vatican (Braccio Nuovo 118; Busti 329).

(3) The round medallions over the side arches, four on each side, representing an emperor in sacrificial and hunting scenes alternately, have been much discussed. They were attributed to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, or some monument of the Flavian period, and supposed to have been used over again by Claudius Gothicus (PBS iii. 229-251). But most recent critics have recognised Antinous in some of them, and referred them to the period of Hadrian (Mitt. 1907, 345-360; 1911, 214-237; 1920, 143-151; BPW 1911, 1239; Jahrb. d. Inst. 1919, 144 sqq.; Mon. L. xxix. 177; Rev. Arch. 1910, i. 118-131; SScR 217-224), while Hülsen makes those without the nimbus earlier (BC 1922, 15, n. 5), attributing them to the period of Hadrian, and the other four (on the side towards the Colosseum) to that of Philippus Arabus. It is also suggested that the statue of Apollo represented on them may be taken from the Apollo Actius in the temple on the Palatine (SScR 235, n. 18).

(4) The eight rectangular reliefs in the attic (PBS iii. 251-268). Three other reliefs of the same series<sup>1</sup> are in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Cons. Cat. Scala ii. 4, 7, 10), and belong to an arch erected in 176 A.D. to commemorate the victories of M. Aurelius in the Sarmatian and German wars. They depict the emperor entering Rome, engaging in sacrifice, receiving an address from his soldiers, etc.

To the Constantinian period belong: the reliefs on the pedestals of the eight columns, representing victories, legionaries and captives, the low frieze above the side arches and at the ends, the two round medallions at the ends, representing the setting of the moon and the rising of the sun (Strong, Sculpture 330, 331; SScR 331-341); the Victories and river-gods in the spandrels, and the eight portrait busts in the lateral passages.

The frieze refers to episodes in the life of Constantine—his exploits under Galerius in Asia, his triumph over the Franks and Alemanni at Treves, his capture of Susa, his victory over Maxentius, his *allocutio* from the Rostra, and his *largitio*; and the damage to the heads is attributable to the reaction of Symmachus (Wilpert in BC 1922, 13, who is probably right; see YW 1922-3, 98; Mitt. 1921-2, 75-79; BC 1925,

<sup>1</sup> Sieveking, however (op. cit. 34), assigns these three to a different (and rather earlier) arch of the same emperor; cf. also Mon. Piot. xvii. (1910) 229-250.



82-95; while Wace in PBS iv. 270-276, attributes it to a monument of Maxentius).

The legionary signs of the Constantinian period represented on the arch have been studied by Monaci (DAP 2. ix. 1-23; xiii. 131; xiv. 281; BCr 1907, 55-61; Giornale Arcadico, 1906, 590-595, 664-671; BC 1925, 82).

Frothingham's theory (AJA 1912, 3 sqq., 368 sqq.; 1913, 487; 1915, 1 sqq.; 367 sqq.) that the arch was originally dedicated to Domitian, and that after his *damnatio memoriae* it was deprived of its decorations, but stood in ruins till Constantine converted it to his own uses, has not found general acceptance (Grossi-Gondi, L'Arco di Costantino, reprinted from Civiltà Cattolica, 1st March, 19th April, 1913; and in DAP 2. xi. 169-172).

Among the many arguments against it are (1) the existence among the marble blocks used in the interior of the attic of a cornice block not earlier than the time of Domitian (PBS ii. 51, No. 105 a; cf. vi. 207 and YW 1923-4, 106); (2) the fact that the brickwork in the attic is of the time of Constantine.

We may note the use of polychrome marbles and gilding in the arch—besides what have been already mentioned, the employment of porphyry to surround the circular medallions and as a fascia to the main cornice.

The latest article on the subject<sup>1</sup> shows that the relief of the Haterii cannot be used in support of Frothingham's theory. 'If an arch is represented which stood between the arch of Titus and the Colosseum, it was single, with eight attached columns.' The whole cornice, too, is a mass of patchwork, and is crudely imitated in the entablature above the columns; while the medallions are badly placed (Mem. Am. Acad. iv. (1924) 170-180). See also Rossini, Archi Trionfali 67-73; Reinach, Rép. Rel. i. 238-257; HJ 25-28; D'Espouy, Fragments, i. 96; ASA 120.

ARCUS DIVI CONSTANTINI: see JANUS QUADRIFRONS.

ARCUS DIOCLETIANI: see ARCUS NOVUS.

ARCUS DOLABELLAE ET SILANI: on the Caelian, at the north corner of the site of the castra Peregrina, erected in 10 A.D. by the consuls P. Cornelius Dolabella and C. Iulius Silanus (CIL vi. 1384). It is of travertine without ornamentation, and is usually supposed to have been built to support a branch of the aqua Marcia (not the rivus Herculaneus), and afterwards to have been used by Nero in his extension of the aqua Claudia, the arcus Neroniani (LA 312-313; HJ 234). Corroborative evidence for this view is found in the similar construction and inscription of the ARCUS LENTULI ET CRISPINI (CIL vi. 1385) at the foot of the AVENTINE (q.v.).

ARCUS DOMITIANI (1): according to Suetonius (Dom. 13) and Cassius Dio (lxviii. 1), Domitian erected arches in various parts of the city. The

<sup>1</sup> No effective arguments are brought forward to support the contention that the arch was built before the time of Constantine.



location of none of these is known to us unless a recent theory (PBS iii. 259-262) be true that identifies the arch referred to by Martial (viii. 65) with the arcus manus Carneae of the Mirabilia (5) and Ordo Benedicti (ap. Jordan ii. 666). This arch was near the Piazza Venezia, and perhaps stood at the junction of the via Lata and the VICUS PALLACINAE (q.v.), since Domitian's arches are usually represented on coins as quadrifrontal. See FORTUNA REDUX, TEMPLUM.

ARCUS DOMITIANI (2): \*an arch, attributed to Domitian by Boni, has been recently discovered on the clivus Palatinus, not far below the state apartments of the domus Augustiana (CJ xv. (1919-20), 297; Boni in *Illustrazione Italiana*, 1918, i. 373-375). Nothing is preserved but the concrete foundations of the two piers (which were obviously wide enough to admit of lateral openings), the pavement of the road which passed through the central arch, and some architectural fragments; and it would be natural to suppose it to have been destroyed after his death (cf. EQUUS DOMITIANI). The character of the concrete, however, seems to point to an Augustan date (AJA 1923, 400; Mem. Am. Acad. v. 120).

ARCUS DRUSI: erected by the senate some time after 9 B.C. in honour of the elder Drusus (Suet. Claud. I; HJ 216). It was of marble, adorned with trophies, and stood on the via Appia, probably a little north of its junction with the via Latina. It seems to have given its name to the VICUS DRUSIANUS (q.v.), and is probably the arcus Recordationis of the Einsiedeln Itinerary (II. 3; 13. 24; cf. Mon. L. i. 515; DAP 2. ix. 416). See also AQUA DRUSIA.

ARCUS DRUSI: erected in honour of the younger Drusus after his death in 23 A.D., if the statement in Tacitus (Ann. iv. 9; cf. ii. 83) be correct. Possibly it stood at the north end of the Rostra, as the arch of Tiberius stood at the south.

ARCUS DRUSI ET GERMANICI: two arches erected in 19 A.D. in honour of Drusus and Germanicus on each side of the temple of Mars Ultor in the FORUM AUGUSTUM (Tac. Ann. ii. 64; CIL vi. 911 = 31199; cf. 912 = 31200).

ARCUS FABIORUM: see FORNIX FABIORUM.

ARCUS GALLIENI: erected on the site of the PORTA ESQUILINA (q.v.) in 262 A.D. by one M. Aurelius Victor (BC 1920, 170), and dedicated to the Emperor Gallienus (CIL vi. 1106; ILS 548). It stands in the Via di S. Vito, close to the church of the same name. The existing single arch is of travertine, 8.80 metres high, 7.30 wide, and 3.50 deep. The piers which support it are 1.40 metres wide and 3.50 deep, and outside of them are two pilasters of the same depth, with Corinthian capitals. The entablature is 2 metres high with the dedicatory inscription on the architrave. Beneath the spring of the arch on each side is a simple cornice. A drawing (HJ 343) of the fifteenth century shows small side arches, but all traces of them have disappeared (PAS ii. 76; Sangallo, Barb. 25<sup>v</sup>).

ARCUS GERMANICI: erected in honour of Germanicus in 19 A.D., if the statement of Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 83) is correct.

ARCUS GORDIANI: see CASTRA PRAETORIA.

ARCUS GRATIANI VALENTINIANI ET THEODOSII: built between 379 and 383 A.D. by these three emperors (*CIL* vi. 1184), as the monumental end of their PORTICUS MAXIMAE (q.v.). It stood close to the pons Aelius, and probably spanned its southern approach. It was destroyed in the fourteenth century, but some traces of it were visible in the sixteenth (*Eins.* 2. 2; 8. 2 (*per arcum*); *Mirab.* 5; *Ordo Ben. ap. Jord.* ii. 665; *HJ* 598; *BC* 1893, 20; *Lib. Cens. Fabre-Duchesne*, ii. 154).

ARCUS HADRIANI: see ARCO DI PORTOGALLO.

ARCUS AD ISIS: the name inscribed on the attic of the triple arch that is represented as standing on the east side of the Colosseum on the Haterii relief. This arch is decorated with Egyptian symbols, and a figure of Isis stands in the central archway. It would be natural to locate this arch close to the Colosseum, but the inscription indicates clearly that it was named from its proximity to the temple of Isis (q.v.). It probably spanned the via Labicana near the temple (*Helbig, Führer*<sup>3</sup>, No. 1193; *Ann. d. Inst.* 1849, 363-410; *Mon. d. Inst.* v. 7; *Spano in Mem. Accad. di Napoli*, xxiv. 1906, 227 sqq).

ARCUS LATRONIS: see BASILICA CONSTANTINI.

ARCUS LENTULI ET CRISPINI: \* between the porta Trigemina and the statio Annonae, erected by Lentulus and Crispinus, the consuls in 2 A.D. (*CIL* vi. 1385). This inscription is precisely like that (vi. 1384) of the ARCUS DOLABELLAE ET SILANI (q.v.) except for the names, and the two arches were probably built as part of Augustus' general plan of restoring and enlarging the aqueduct system. Whether this arch belonged to an extension of the Marcia or Appia is, however, uncertain. Flavius Blondus, who saw this arch destroyed about the middle of the fifteenth century (*Roma Instaurata* i. 20), implies that it formed one of several (*BC* 1914, 112-113; *HJ* xxi.; *LA* 312-313; *RAP* iii. 181-183; *Mitt.* 1925, 337).

ARCUS NERONIANI: \* a branch of the AQUA CLAUDIA (q.v.) built by Nero (*Frontinus, de aquis* i. 20; ii. 76, 87) from Spes Vetus to the temple of Claudius on the Caelian, a distance of two kilometres. For the greater part of its irregular line remains of it are preserved. Near S. Stefano Rotondo it divided, and one section ran towards the Aventine, ending near the church of S. Prisca (*LF* 35; cf. *CIL* vi. 3866=31963). The arches have a span of 7.75 metres and the piers are 2.30 long and 2.10 thick, the maximum height being 16 metres.<sup>1</sup> The brickwork is very fine and interesting, as Rivoira points out. Skeleton tile ribs are first seen

<sup>1</sup> See *Livellazione*, p. 16, fig. 2, where the bottom of the specus in the Piazza S. Giovanni in Laterano is determined at 63.13 metres above sea-level.

in these arches<sup>1</sup> (RA 71-73). Where the aqueduct crossed streets, the arches were wider and more imposing (see ARCUS BASILIDIS, ARCUS DOLABELLAE ET SILANI). The valley between the Caelian and the Palatine was traversed by an aqueduct, perhaps built by Domitian, with two tiers of arches, which may have carried a syphon. The pipe, 30 cm. in diameter, which is generally associated with the syphon, would not have stood the pressure; while if, as at Lyon, small pipes were used, they might easily have become choked with deposit. Severus reinforced the arches of Nero (CIL vi. 1259, where they are called *arcus Caelimontani*), including the line of arches across the valley just mentioned (LA 364-374; LS iii. 79; JRS 1919, 187; ZA 147-149). For a branch which crossed the Tiber, see FORNIX AUGUSTI.

The aqueduct is frequently mentioned in the post-classical period. *Forma Claudiana* in Eins. 8. 17, clearly refers to it (*Forma Lateranense*, ib. 7. 17; 9. 3; but contrast 2. 6), and it was restored by Hadrian I (LPD i. 504). In a document of 978 (Reg. Subl. p. 161) there is a mention of a *domus in qua est oratorium martyrum Cosmae et Damiani quinta Romae regione II iuxta formam Claudia*; and this oratory, which is mentioned among the boundaries of S. Erasmo on the Caelian, which lay to the west of S. Stefano Rotondo (HCh 249), is probably the same as S. Cosmae et Damiani ubi dicitur *asinum frictum* (Reg. Subl. p. 224).

*Asinus frictus* may, like *ursus pileatus*, be the name of an ancient road, derived from a shop sign. The name is, however, also found in the neighbourhood of Rome (HCh 239) on the via Ostiensis (T. x. 32).

The church of S. Nicolas de Formis, near S. Stefano Rotondo, took its name from this aqueduct (HCh 398), and so did S. Daniel and SS. Sergius and Bacchus, near the Lateran (ib. 248, 462), and S. Thomas de Formis close to the ARCUS DOLABELLAE ET SILANI (ib. 491).

The *arcus Formae* mentioned in the *Ordo Benedicti* (Jord. ii. 665; Lib. Cens. Fabre-Duchesne ii. 154; HCh 258-259) is no doubt the ARCUS IOHANNIS BASILII (q.v.).

ARCUS NERONIS: erected between 58 and 62 A.D. by Nero to commemorate the victories of Corbulo over the Parthians (Tac. Ann. xiii. 41; xv. 18). It stood on the Capitoline hill *inter duos lucos*, and is represented on coins (Cohen, Nero 306-310; BM Nero 183-190, 329-334) as a single arch surmounted with a quadriga in the centre and bronze figures at the ends. There are no later references to this arch, and it was probably destroyed soon after Nero's death (Baumeister, Denkmäler, p. 1873).

ARCUS NOVUS (DIOCLETIANI): \* mentioned in the Regionary Catalogue in Region VII, and ascribed to Diocletian in the Chronograph of 354 A.D. (p. 148). This is probably the marble arch, adorned with trophies, which spanned the via Lata, close to the north-east corner of the present

<sup>1</sup> This is, however, doubtful, as the greater part of the original structure is enclosed or replaced by the work of Septimius Severus, to which these tile ribs belong.



church of S. Maria in via Lata, and was destroyed by Innocent VIII (1488-1492). The last remains disappeared in 1523 (LS i. 217). The fragments of a relief found at this point in the sixteenth century, and now in the Villa Medici, probably came from this arch. The inscription—*VOTIS X VOTIS XX* (CIL vi. 31383)—suggests that on the arch of Constantine. If this was the arch of Diocletian, and the inscription belongs to it, it was probably built in 303-304 (BC 1895, 46; Jord. ii. 102, 417; HJ 469; PBS iii. 271; Matz-Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke* 3525).

**ARCUS OCTAVII**: an arch on the Palatine which Augustus is said to have erected in honour of his father (Plin. NH xxxvi. 36: *Lysiae opus quod in Palatio super arcum divus Augustus honori Octavi patris sui dicavit in aedicula columnis adornata, id est quadriga currusque et Apollo ac Diana ex uno lapide*). It has been conjectured (BC 1883, 190) that this arch formed the entrance to the sacred precinct of the temple of APOLLO (q.v.), but this seems impossible of proof. Some fragments found in the middle of the sixteenth century may have belonged to this arch (Vacca, *Mem.* 76). The aedicula with a statue on the top of the arch was without parallel in Rome, so far as we know (Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* i. 962; Richter 147; HJ 69; Jex-Blake and Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* 208).

**ARCUS PANIS AUREI** (in Capitolio): see **ARCUS M. AURELII**.

**ARCUS PIETATIS**: \* mentioned only in the *Mirabilia* (23) and the *Anon. Magl.* It stood on the north side of the Pantheon, perhaps in the line of the enclosing porticus. Hülsen (RAP ii. 19; cf. HCh 437) places it close to the church of the Maddalena, connecting it with the wall enclosing the precinct of the **TEMPLUM MATIDIAE** (q.v.). Rushforth (JRS 1919, 37-40, 53-54) conjectures that it is the arch of Augustus described in the twelfth century by Magister Gregorius as bearing the inscription '*ob orbem devictum Romano regno restitutum et r. p. per Augustum receptam populus Romanus hoc opus condidit*,' and mentioned by Dio Cassius (li. 19) as decreed to be set up in the forum in 29 B.C. (but not actually erected) and afterwards placed here. The inscription, though it cannot be a literal transcript, may be the echo of a genuine one (see **ARCUS AUGUSTI**). A relief on this arch is said (*Anon. Magl.*) to have represented a woman asking a favour of Trajan,<sup>1</sup> and about this scene a legend was woven, one form of which appears in Dante (*Purg.* x. 73 ff.). This arch cannot be identified with any of those known to us from other sources (AJA 1904, 34; HJ 590; Boni in *Nuova Antologia*, 1st Nov. 1906, 36).

**ARCUS POMPEII**: mentioned by Magister Gregorius in the twelfth century. *Est enim arcus Triumphalis Magni Pompeii, ualde mirandus, quem*

<sup>1</sup> Boni believes that the legend was inspired by a relief in the arch of Constantine—that showing the entry of Marcus Aurelius into Rome, with a recumbent female figure representing a road.



habuit de uictoria quam obtinuit uicto Metridate (61 B.C.). Its sculptures represented his triumph with a long train of waggons laden with spoils. Rushforth (JRS 1919, 40, 54-55) maintains that this arch had a real existence (cf. Petrarch, Ep. de reb. famil. vi ii.: hic Pompeii arcus, haec porticus, quoted also by Nibby, *Roma Antica*, ii. 616), but his opinion is not shared by Prof. Hülsen, who points out that the triumphal arch is a creation of the Augustan period (*Festschrift für Hirschfeld*, 428).

ARCUS RECORDATIONIS : see ARCO DI DRUSO, ARCUS DRUSI.

ARCUS SEPTIMII SEVERI : \* the arch erected in 203 A.D. in honour of Severus and his sons Geta and Caracalla, at the north-west corner of the forum, in front of the temple of Concord. This information is contained in the dedicatory inscription (CIL vi. 1033 ; cf. 31230) on both sides of the attic of the arch, which is still standing. The original bronze letters of this inscription have disappeared, but their matrices remain, and it can be seen that the name of Geta was chiselled away after his murder, and the space filled up with additional titles of Severus and Caracalla. The arch is triple and built of Pentelic marble on a foundation of travertine, which was concealed by the flight of steps that formed the approach to the arch from the forum side. Later, probably in the fourth century, the level in front of the arch on this side was lowered, the flight of steps lengthened, and the top of the foundation cut away to provide for them (CR 1899, 233 ; Mitt. 1902, 21-22). The exposed corners of the foundation were then faced with marble. The arch was never traversed by a road until mediaeval times.

The arch is 23 metres high, 25 wide and 11.85 deep, the central archway being 12 metres high and 7 wide, and the side archways 7.80 high and 3 wide. Between the central and side arches are vaulted passages with coffered ceilings. On each face of the arch are four fluted columns with Composite capitals, 8.78 metres high and 0.90 metre in diameter at the base. These columns stand free from the arch on projecting pedestals, and behind them are corresponding pilasters. An entablature surrounds the arch, and above it is the lofty attic, 5.60 metres in height, within which are four chambers.

Over the side arches are narrow bands of reliefs representing the triumphs of Rome over conquered peoples, and above them four large reliefs which represent the campaigns of Severus in the East (Reinach, *Rép. d. Reliefs* i. 258-270 ; Strong, *Sculpture* 297-300 ; SScR 303-305). In the spandrels of the central arch are winged Victories, and in those of the side arches, river gods. On the keystones of the central arch are reliefs of Mars Victor, and on the pedestals of the columns, Roman soldiers driving captives before them. Coins of Severus (Cohen, *Sev.* 53, 104) and Caracalla (*ib.* Car. 14, 15) show that on the top of the arch was a six- or eight-horse chariot, in which stood Severus

and Victory, escorted by Geta and Caracalla, and on the ends four equestrian figures; but of these statues no traces have been found.

The excellent preservation of this monument is due in part to the fact that in the Middle Ages its southern half belonged to the neighbouring church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, and its northern half was fortified (HC 86). The erection of this arch destroyed the symmetry of this end of the forum (HC 84-90; Thédénat 161-162, 234-238; LR 284-286; Rossini, *Archi trionfali*, pls. 50-57; Sangallo, *Barb.* 31; D'Espouy, *Fragments*, i. 96, 97; PAS ii. 69, 70; DR 454-462; RE Suppl. iv. 497-499).

ARCUS SEPTIMII SEVERI (in foro Boario), ARCUS ARGENTARIORUM or MONUMENTUM ARGENTARIORUM: modern names given to an arch, which probably served as an entrance to the FORUM BOARIUM (q.v.), that stands at the south-west angle of the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, the campanile resting partly upon one pier of the arch and concealing two of its sides. It was erected in 204 A.D. by the argentarii et negotiantes boarii huius loci qui invehent, in honour of Septimius Severus, his wife, his sons Caracalla and Geta, and Caracalla's wife Fulvia Plautilla, the daughter of Plautianus (CIL vi. 1035; cf. 31232). The inscription seems to have been modified thrice—after the fall of Plautianus in 205, after the murder of Plautilla in 211, and after the murder of Geta in 212.

The arch is not a true arch, but a flat lintel resting on two piers, and is entirely of marble, except the base, which is of travertine. It is 6.15 metres in height and the archway is 3.30 metres wide. At the corners of the piers are pilasters with Corinthian capitals, and the whole exterior surface is adorned either with coarse decorative sculpture or reliefs representing sacrificial scenes. On the inside the figures of the imperial family are carved in relief (those of Plautilla and Geta have been removed); the ceiling is cut in soffits, and the inscription is on the lintel (Bull. d. Inst. 1867, 217; Jord. i. 2. 470; PAS ii. 70; LS iii. 42; Mél. 1924, 111-150; Fiechter and Hülsen ap. Töbelmann i. 88-96; SScR 305; Reinach, *Rép. des Reliefs*, i. 271-272).

ARCUS STILLANS: the name given in the Scholiast on Juvenal (3. 11) and in the *Mirabilia* (10) to the arch of the AQUA MARCIA (q.v.), which crossed the via Appia at the PORTA CAPENA (q.v.). It also occurs as arcus Stellae in an interpolation in the life of Stephen I (LP xcvi.) and in a spurious bull of Paschal II, in which, however, the local names have been taken from an authentic document of Calixtus II (Kehr, *Italia Pontificia* ii. 43, No. 7). Here must have stood the ecclesia S. Laurentii de . . . quae est iuxta arcum stillantem cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et omnes curtes quas habetis in regione schole Grece (Studi e Doc. Storia a Diritto, 1886, 108; BC 1886, 352; Armellini 597; HCh 287; HJ 202). The possibility of extending the regio schole Grece (S. Maria in Cosmedin) as far as the porta Capena has recently been denied, and the

arcus Stillans consequently identified with the FORNIX AUGUSTI (RAP iii. 143-190); but the evidence is insufficient (HCh 593).

ARCUS TIBERII (in campo Martio): mentioned only by Suetonius (Claud. II), who says that Claudius erected in honour of Tiberius, near the theatre of Pompey, a marble arch 'decretum quidem olim a senatu verum omissum'.

ARCUS TIBERII: erected in 16 A.D. to commemorate the recovery of the standards which had been captured by the Germans at the defeat of Varus in 9 A.D. (Tac. Ann. ii. 41). It stood at the north-west corner of the basilica Julia, on the north side of the Sacra via, which was made narrower at this point by having its curb bent toward the south. The arch was single, as represented on a relief on the arch of Constantine (HC 74, fig. 28), and was approached by steps from the level of the forum. Various architectural fragments were discovered in 1835 and 1848, with parts of the inscription<sup>1</sup> (CIL vi. 906, 31422, 31575), and its concrete foundations, 9 metres long and 6.3 wide, in 1900 (PAS ii. 47; Jord. i. 2. 211-13; HC 68-69; DR 443-448; HFP 18).

ARCUS TIBURII or DIBURI: mediaeval names of an arch near the site of the PORTICUS DIVORUM (q.v.) of Domitian, and perhaps forming its entrance (HJ 470, 567).

ARCUS TITI: often called ARCUS VESPASIANI ET TITI, erected in 80/81 A.D. by the senate in honour of the emperor Titus, and to commemorate the capture of Jerusalem. We have no information about this arch, except what is contained in the inscription (CIL vi. 944) preserved in the Einsiedeln Itinerary and reported to have been found in the circus Maximus. As a fragment (No. 38) of the Marble Plan indicates an arch at the east end of the circus, it is supposed that this arch replaced the porta Pompae, as the entrance at this point of the circus was regularly called.

ARCUS TITI: erected in honour of Titus and in commemoration of the siege of Jerusalem in *summa Sacra via* (Haterii relief, CIL vi. 19151; Mem. Accad. di Napoli xxiv. (1906), 227-262,<sup>2</sup> but not finished and dedicated until after his death (CIL vi. 945). There is no mention of this arch in ancient literature, though it may be alluded to by Martial (de spect. 2)

<sup>1</sup> The fragments of inscriptions supposed to have belonged to the arch have as a fact (as is pointed out in CIL cit., following RGDA<sup>2</sup>, 127) no connection with it—despite the statement in HC cit. But the arch, which, as Tacitus tells us, was propter aedem Saturni, has certainly been correctly identified (AJA 1912, 398).

<sup>2</sup> In this article the relief is assigned to the Flavian period (so also SScR 120, 130-131); but the appearance in it of the goddess Roma, which one would otherwise suppose to be an allusion to the neighbouring *TEMPLUM VENERIS ET ROMÆ* (q.v.), then becomes difficult to explain (HF 1193). The question has become more important since an attempt has been made to draw conclusions as to the state of the *AMPHITHEATRUM FLAVIUM* (q.v.) at the time of the accession of Titus. This, however, we have no right to do; for the arch of Titus certainly appears in it, and was equally certainly not erected until after his death.



quoted s.v. DOMUS AUREA (p. 167). The theory that it was erected under Nerva and Trajan is improbable (CJ 1915-16, 131-141). In the Middle Ages it formed part of the stronghold of the Frangipani, a chamber was constructed in the upper part of the archway, and the level of the roadway was lowered considerably, exposing the travertine foundations. The injury to the structure was so great that it was taken down in 1822 and rebuilt by Valadier, who restored a large part of the attic and the outer half of both piers in travertine. The frieze and inscription are therefore preserved only on the side towards the Colosseum. The foundations of the arch stand on the pavement of the CLIVUS PALATINUS (q.v.), and therefore it has been thought by some that the arch stood originally farther north and was moved when the temple of Venus and Roma was built (CR 1902, 286; Mitt. 1905, 118; BPW 1908, 1034; Mél. 1908, 247-248).

It is, however, far more likely that the pavement belongs to the pre-Neronian period, and that the position of the arch was the only one possible, given the existence of the vestibule of the domus Aurea. The arch was constructed of Pentelic marble, and is 13.50 metres wide, 15.40 high, and 4.75 deep. The archway is 8.30 metres high and 5.36 wide. Above it is a simple entablature, and an attic 4.40 metres in height, on which is the inscription, which is preserved only on the east side. On each side is an engaged and fluted Corinthian column, standing on a square pedestal. The capitals of these columns are the earliest examples of the Composite style. On the inner jambs of the arch are the two famous reliefs (PBS iii. 276-279; v. 178; Strong, cit.), that on the south representing the spoils from the temple at Jerusalem, the table of shewbread, the seven-branched candlestick, and the silver trumpets, which are being carried in triumph into the city; and that on the north representing Titus standing in a quadriga, the horses of which are led by Roma, while Victory crowns the emperor with laurel as he passes through a triumphal arch. In the centre of the ceiling of the archway, which is finished in soffits (*lacunaria*), is a relief of the apotheosis of Titus, representing him (or rather his bust) as being carried up to heaven by an eagle. The frieze<sup>1</sup> contains a procession of various personages both civil and military, and of animals being led to sacrifice; we may recognise a personification of the river god of the Jordan in a recumbent figure, carried by three men. In the spandrels are the usual winged Victories; while on the keystones are figures of Roma (or Virtus) towards the Colosseum, and the Genius populi Romani (or Bonus Eventus<sup>2</sup> or Honos) towards the Forum. In type the arch is the simplest of those existing in Rome; the sides of the piers, which are not adorned with sculpture, were adorned with niches like windows (PAS ii. 47-49; LR

<sup>1</sup> For a drawing at Windsor (Inv. 8182) which may represent a lost section of this frieze, see AJA 1914, 479-483.

<sup>2</sup> Not Fortuna, because the figure is male.



201-203; HC 247-250; HJ 15-16 and reff.; Rossini, *Archi Trionfali* 31-37; D'Espouy, *Fr.* i. 95; ii. 80; SScR 105-118; DR 448-454; RE Suppl. iv. 479; ASA 116, 117; HFP 52).

ARCUS DE TOSECTIS: the name given to a marble arch in the Anon. Magl., which may possibly be the Arcus Novus of Diocletian (q.v.) (HJ 470; Jord. ii. 416; AJA 1904, 34; PBS iii. 253, 269-271).

ARCUS AD TRES FASCICLAS, TRIPOLIS or TROFOLI: mediaeval names of the ARCO DI PORTOGALLO (Jord. ii. 416).

ARCUS TRAIANI: see FORUM TRAIANI.

ARCUS TRAIANI: mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue in Region I, and probably represented on a coin (Cohen, Traian 547) struck between 103 and 112 A.D. Here it has only a single passage way, but has projections on each side that are covered with sculpture. Above is the emperor in a six-horse chariot, with attendant figures. This arch may perhaps be that which is just inside the porta S. Sebastiano, known as the ARCO DI DRUSO (q.v.) (HJ 216).

ARCUS VALENTINIANI: see PONS AURELIUS.

ARCUS DIVI VERI: mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue in Region I. It probably stood on the via Appia, but nothing else is known about it (see ARCO DI DRUSO). A relief in the Torlonia collection is attributed to this arch, or at any rate to some monument of Lucius Verus, which celebrated his Parthian triumphs; or else to the same series as the reliefs on the attic of the arch of Constantine (Reinach, *Répertoire des Reliefs*, i. 249; MD iii. 3526; PBS iv. 250; Mon. Piot xvii. 227; SScR 253-257).

ARCUS VESPASIANI ET TITI: see ARCUS TITI.

AREA APOLLINIS: mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue in Region I.

AREA APOLLINIS (in Palatio): see AEDES APOLLINIS.

AREA CALLES. In the *Notitia et Calles* is added to the words *aream Apollinis et Splenis* of both *Notitia* and *Curiosum*, in Region I, but the reading is very doubtful (Jord. ii. 23, 542; BC 1914, 401).

AREA CALLISTI: found only on a slave's collar (CIL xv. 7193). It was in the Transtiberine district, probably near the castra Ravennatum, and the church of S. Maria in Trastevere (HJ 647).

AREA CANDIDI: mentioned only in the *Notitia*, after *DECEM TABERNAE* (q.v.), in Region VI. It was probably not far from the southern point of the Viminal, perhaps in the neighbourhood of S. Pudenziana (HJ 374).

AREA CAPITOLINA: \* the open space in front of and around the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the south summit of the Capitoline (Suet. Cal. 22, 34; Gell. ii. 10. 2; Sidon. Ep. i. 7. 8; Vell. ii. 3. 2; Liv. xxv. 3. 14: *area Capitolii*), made by building retaining walls and substructures round the edge of the hill and levelling off the surface enclosed. The

area was therefore in effect a built-up platform, part of which at least was contemporaneous with the foundations of the temple. It was enlarged in 388 B.C., and was regarded as a notable monument even at the beginning of the empire (Liv. vi. 4. 11). The extent of the area has been a matter of dispute, and some scholars have maintained that it did not extend more than about 15-16 metres from the sides of the temple (Richter, *Beiträge zur rom. Top.* ii. 24-25; Hermes, 1883, 115-118; cf. Gilb. iii. 398-399; Aust in Roscher ii. 709), but the prevailing view at present is that it covered practically all of the Capitolium (Hülse, *Festschrift für H. Kiepert* 209-222; RE iii. 1534-1538; Rodocanachi, *Le Capitole romain* 25-26). Remains of the walls of the substructures have been found on the east side which prove that the area extended in this direction about 35 metres from the temple. On the west it was probably not more than 30 metres wide, and in front from 40 to 45. Behind the temple there appears to have been only a narrow space, but wide enough for the passage of a procession (Plin. NH viii. 161). Besides the space occupied by the great temple, the area therefore contained something more than one hectare of surface, sufficient for the other temples and monuments that stood *in Capitolio*—an expression ordinarily interpreted as equivalent to *in area Capitolina*.

The area was surrounded by a wall, and a porticus built in 159 B.C. on the inner side of the wall (Vell. ii. 1. 2, 3. 1). The principal entrance was in the middle of the south-east side, opposite the front of the great temple, where the *clivus Capitolinus* ended, and was sometimes referred to as *fores Capitolii* (Suet. Aug. 94; App. BC i. 16; Tac. Hist. iii. 71). A little south of this entrance, near the corner of the area, was the *PORTA PANDANA* (q.v.), and there may have been others. The area was closed at night and protected by dogs (Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 56; Dionys. xiii. 7; Gell. vi. 1. 6), under the charge of a janitor in whose house Domitian took refuge from the Vitellians. This house was afterwards removed to make room for the Shrine (q.v.) of *IUPPITER CONSERVATOR* (Tac. Hist. iii. 74; Suet. Dom. 5; cf. CIL vi. 479=xiv. 32). Sacred geese were also kept in the area (Dionys. Cic. locc. citt). Beneath the surface of the area were subterranean passages called *favissae*, which were entered from the cella of the great temple, and served as store-rooms for the old statues that had fallen from its roof, and for various dedicatory gifts (Fest. 88; Gell. ii. 10. 2; Gilb. ii. 419; Roscher ii. 710).

Within this area were the *casa Romuli*, the *Curia calabra*, the *aedes Tensarum*, and the *atrium Publicum*; and a considerable number of temples—of *Fides*, *Iuppiter Feretrius*, *Iuppiter Custos*, *Iuppiter Conservator*, *Iuppiter Tonans*, *Ops*, *Mars Ultor*, *Fortuna Primigenia*, and probably of *Mens* and *Venus Erycina*; as well as of several altars or shrines—the great altar of *Jupiter* (see *TEMPLE OF JUPITER*), of *Iuppiter Soter*, *Isis* and *Serapis*, *Bellona*, *Genius Populi Romani* with *Felicitas* and *Venus Victrix*, the *gens Iulia*, and perhaps *Iuppiter Victor*

and Indulgentia (see all these under their own names). The temple of Fides probably stood at the south-west corner of the area, but the site of the others is unknown.<sup>1</sup>

There were also many statues of various deities set up in the area and in the temples (Serv. ad Aen. ii. 319: in Capitolio omnium deorum simulacra colebantur; cf. Tert. Spect. 12; Jord. i. 2. 50-51; Rodocanachi 43-44). One of Jupiter, of colossal size, was erected by Sp. Carvilius in 293 B.C. and could be seen from the temple of Iuppiter Latiaris on the Alban mount (Plin. NH xxxiv. 34, 43); a second stood on a high pillar and after 63 B.C. was turned to face the east (Cic. Cat. iii. 20; de div. i. 20; Cass. Dio xxxvii. 9, 34; Obseq. 122). In 305 B.C. a colossal statue of Hercules was placed in *Capitolio* (Liv. ix. 44), and another,<sup>2</sup> the work of Lysippus, was brought from Tarentum in 209 (Plut. Fab. 22; Plin. NH xxxiv. 40; Strabo vi. p. 278). There were others of Mars (Cass. Dio xli. 14),<sup>3</sup> Liberpater (CIL iii. p. 849), Iuppiter Africus (CIL iii. pp. 853, 885), and Nemesis (Plin. N.H. xi. 251; xxviii. 22).

It became customary to erect statues of famous Romans on the Capitol, although it is not always possible to determine whether they stood in the open area, or within the precincts of some temple (Jord. i. 2. 58-59; Gilb. iii. 386-387; Rodocanachi 45-46). Those that seem to have stood in the open area were the statues of the kings<sup>4</sup> and Brutus (Cass. Dio xliii. 45; Asc. Scaur. 30; Plin. NH xxxiv. 22-23; xxxiii. 9, 10, 24; App. BC i. 16), L. Scipio (Cic. pro Rab. Post. 27; Val. Max. iii. 6. 2), M. Aemilius Lepidus (ib. iii. 1. 1), the Metelli (Cic. ad Att. vi. 1. 16), Q. Marcius Rex (CIL iii. p. 846), T. Seius (Plin. NH xviii. 16), Pinarius Natta (Cic. de div. ii. 47), Domitian (Suet. Dom. 13), Claudius (Hist. Aug. Cl. 3), Aurelian (Hist. Aug. Tac. 9). These became so numerous that Augustus removed many of them to the campus Martius (Suet. Cal. 34: statuas virorum illustrium ab Augusto ex Capitolina area propter angustias in campum Martium conlatas . . . subvertit).

Trophies of victory, like those of Marius (Plut. Caes. 6; Suet. Caes. 11) and Germanicus (CIL iii. p. 856), and votive monuments (Gilb. iii. 384-387); were also thickly strewn about, and a wholesale removal of these objects was ordered, as it had been in 179 B.C., in the time of Augustus (Suet. Cal. 34). Cf. *infra*, p. 298. Very many bronze tablets containing treaties and laws and military diplomas were preserved within the area,

<sup>1</sup> The foundations of the house which Caligula laid here (Suet. Cal. 22, *mox, quo prior esset*—to Jupiter Capitolinus—in area Capitolina novae domus fundamenta iecit) must have been removed after his death.

<sup>2</sup> It is uncertain which of these is referred to by Cass. Dio xlii. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *κερανοὶ σκήπτρόν τε Διὸς καὶ ἀσπίδα κράνος τε* "Ἀρεως, ἐν τῇ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνακείμενα would seem to refer to isolated votive offerings—though if they were in any building it is hard to see how they could be damaged without hurting the building also. See MARS (*infra*, p. 327). The passage continues *καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς τοὺς νόμους ἐχοῦσας ἐλυμήναντο* (cf. xlv. 17).

<sup>4</sup> For the group of the wolf and twins, see Cons. 56 sqq., 372. A diploma published in JRS 1926, 95-101, shows that the statue of Numa stood close to the GENTIS IULIAE ARA (q.v.), i.e. in the area.



being ordinarily fastened to the walls of the area and of the temples, and to the bases of the statues and monuments (cf. BC 1896, 187-189; Jord. i. 2. 52-56; CIL iii. Suppl. p. 2034; for the area Capitolina in general, see Hülsen, Festschrift für H. Kiepert 209-222; Jord. i. 2. 37-40; Gilb. ii. 423-425; iii. 388, 399; Hermes, 1883, 115-118; RE iii. 1535-1537; Rodocanachi, Capitole, Paris 1905, 25-26 et passim).

**AREA CARRUCES**: mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue in Region I. This was probably the square in which travellers were accustomed to leave their carriages (Galen, *περὶ φλεβοτομίας* 17), and connected with the *schola carrucarum* (better *carrucariorum*), or headquarters of those engaged in the business of transportation (CIL iii. p. 1938; DE ii. 120; BC 1912, 204-222; HJ 205; Pr. Reg. 116), which was situated between the porta Appia and the temple of Mars (BC 1916, 198-199). See **MUTATORIUM CAESARIS**.

**AREA CONCORDIAE**: see **CONCORDIA, AEDES**.

**AREA CARBONIANA**: somewhere on the Caelian, and known only from one source in early Christian literature—Acta S. Eusebii ap. Baron. Ann. Eccl. ad a. 259, 12.

**AREA MACARI**: in Region V, known only from the inscription on a lead disk (CIL xv. 7174).

**AREA PALATINA**: an open space on the Palatine, mentioned by Gellius (xx. i. 1: in area Palatina cum salutationem Caesaris opperiemur; cf. iv. i. 1: in vestibulo aedium Palatarum omnium fere ordinum multitudo opperientes salutationem Caesaris constiterant), and in the Notitia (Reg. X, om. Cur.), and probably to be identified with the *ἐνρυχωρία* of Josephus (Ant. Jud. xix. 3. 2 (223): ἐν τῇ ἐνρυχωρίᾳ δὲ τοῦ Παλατίου . . . πρῶτον δὲ οἰκῆθῃαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως τοῦτο παραδίδωσιν ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος), through which the praetorians carried Claudius to their barracks. The evidence points to a site between the domus Flavia and the domus Tiberiana, at the top of the street leading up to the Palatine from the porta Mugonia, now called the clivus Palatinus. How early the term, area Palatina, came into use, and what were the variations in its extent, it is not possible to determine (HJ 66; Mitt. 1890, 77; 1896, 204; BC 1910, 9-11).

**AREA PANNARIA**:\* mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue in Region I, with no indication of even its approximate location.

**AREA RADICARIA**: mentioned in the Regionary Catalogue in Region XII, and marked on a fragment (3) of the Marble Plan. It appears to have been at the north-west corner of the baths of Caracalla (HJ 189).

**AREA SATURNI**: the open space adjoining the temple of Saturn in the forum. The name occurs only in inscriptions (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 810=xiv. 153; vi. 1265; viii. 9249), and it is not certain whether the area was in



front of the temple or behind it, but probably behind, that is, on the south, between the *clivus Capitolinus* and the *vicus Iugarius*. Bronze tablets, on which laws were inscribed, were set up around this area (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 587, 589), and the offices of the *acrarium* probably opened on it. At least one guild of merchants had its office here (Jord. i. 2. 363-5).

AREA SPLENIS :\* in the Regionary Catalogue (Reg. I) *et Splenis* occurs after *aream Apollinis*, but whether this is a corruption due to dittography from *Apollinis*, or conceals some genuine reading, was thought to be uncertain (Jord. ii. 23, 542). The doubt as to the reading is, however, it would seem, unnecessary. As Hülsen has pointed out, we must take into consideration a hitherto unnoticed mediaeval legend quoted by Torrigio (*Historia della veneranda Imagine . . . nella chiesa . . . di SS. Domenico e Sisto* (Rome, 1641), 5) and Martinelli (*Imago B. Mariae Virginis, quae apud moniales SS. Dominici et Sixti asservatur* (Rome, 1642), 6 sqq.), according to which, under Pope Sergius I (687-701), some robbers who had seized the picture were frightened by thunder and lightning when on their way from S. Sisto Vecchio (on the *via Appia*) to the Lateran they had come *ad locum qui dicitur Spleni*, which must therefore be sought somewhere near the PORTA METROVIA (q.v.).

AREA VOLCANI (1) : see VOLCANAL.

AREA VOLCANI (2) : mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue in Region IV, and situated perhaps in the neighbourhood of the *Argiletum*.

ARGEORUM SACRARIA :\* twenty-seven *sacraria* (cf. Ulpian, Dig. i. 8. 9. 2 : *sacrarium est locus in quo sacra reponuntur* ; Jord. ii. 271-281) situated at various points in the four Servian regions (Varro, LL v. 45-54) that were visited in order on the Ides of May (Ov. Fast. v. 621-622 ; cf. 603) by a solemn lustral procession in which the priests, the vestals, and the city praetor took part. This procession afterwards halted on the *pons Sublicius* and threw into the Tiber twenty-seven straw puppets, called *Argei* (Varro, LL vii. 44, where xxvii not xxiiii is to be read ; Fest. 15, 334 ; Plut. q. Rom. 32, 86 ; Dionys. i. 38, where the number 30 is an error). The *sacraria* themselves, as well as the puppets, were called *Argei* (Liv. i. 21. 5), or *Argea* (Fest. 19). On the sixteenth and seventeenth of March (Ov. Fast. iii. 791 ; cf. Gell. x. 15. 30) a similar procession visited the *sacraria*, and may very probably have deposited in them the puppets that were to be taken out in May.

As to the meaning and origin of *Argei*, and of the ceremony itself, both ancient and modern writers have expressed the most diverse views, and there is a voluminous literature on the subject. It is probable that the institution was introduced into Rome from Greece between the first and second Punic wars, in accordance with the instructions of the Sibylline books ; perhaps the first celebration was actually carried out with human victims for whom the straw puppets were afterwards substituted (for the *Argei* in general and the literature of the subject, see

RE ii. 689-700 = Wissowa, *Ges. Abh.* 211-230; Roscher i. 496-500; WS 1911, 155-172; Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, 54 ff., 321 ff.; Rose, *Quaestiones Romanae of Plutarch*, 98-101 (for a very early origin), and *Primitive Culture in Italy*, 103 (for an explanation of it as the throwing of the corn spirit into the water).

Varro (LL v. 45-54) mentions fourteen of these sacraria, quoting in the case of twelve from what was evidently the official record of the pontiffs that directed the order of the procession from one to another. This gives, for each region, first the name of the hill or distinctive locality, then the number of the shrine, and finally further topographical details, some of which date from the time of introduction of the ceremony and some of them from later periods. The two that are not mentioned in this formal manner are the first and sixth of the regio Suburana respectively on the mons Caelius and in the Subura, i.e. the SUCUSA (q.v.), and not to be exactly located. The others appear as follows (although the text is far from certain in several places).

#### *Regio Suburana—*

No. 4. Ceroliensis quarticeps circa Minervium qua in Caelio monte itur in tabernola est—that is, on the part of the Caelian called Ceroliensis, near the temple of Minerva, and *in tabernola* (a phrase of doubtful meaning, cf. No. 3 of regio Esquilina below; HJ 227). This station therefore was on the northern slope of the Caelian, near the temple of Minerva Capta, probably a little north-west of the present church of SS. Quattro Coronati.

#### *Regio Esquilina—*

No. 1. Oppius mons princeps Equilis cis lucum fagutalem sinistra via secundum merum est<sup>1</sup>—that is, on the Fagutal, near the top of the modern Via della Polveriera (HJ 256, 257).

No. 3. Oppius mons terticeps cis lucum Esquilinum dexterior via in tabernola est—that is, just east of the site afterwards occupied by the thermae Traianae, near the modern Via Mecenate.

No. 4. Oppius mons quarticeps cis lucum Esquilinum via dexterior<sup>2</sup> in figlinis est—probably north of No. 3, near the edge of the hill, and the modern church of S. Martino ai Monti (cf. HJ 265).

No. 5. Cespius mons quinticeps cis lucum Poetelium Esquiliis est. As the location of the lucus Poetelius is unknown, the approximate site of this sacrarium cannot be fixed.

No. 6. Cespius mons sexticeps apud aedem Iunonis Lucinae ubi aeditumus habere solet. . . . The temple of JUNO LUCINA (q.v.) was probably near the top of the southern slope of the Cispius, just above the present Via dello Statuto.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have *lacum* for *lucum* (see p. 205). Spengel has *ouls* for *cis*, *quae* for *via*, *moerum* for *merum*.

<sup>2</sup> *Dexteriorem*, Spengel.

*Regio Collina—*

No. 3. Collis Quirinalis terticeps cis aedem Quirini—that is, just east of the temple of QUIRINUS (q.v.), near the corner of the present Vie Quattro Fontane and del Quirinale (for the sacraria in this region see RhM, 1894, 415-417).

No. 4. Collis Salutaris quarticeps adversum est pulvinar<sup>1</sup> cis aedem Salutis—farther south-west on the line of the vicus portae Collinae close to the DOMUS ATTICI (q.v. ; HJ 406).

No. 5. Collis Mucialis quinticeps apud aedem dei Fidei in delubro ubi aeditumus habere solet. . . . This temple of DEUS FIDIUS or SEMO SANCUS (q.v.) was on the southern part of the collis Mucialis, probably on the site of the present church of S. Silvestro, in the Via del Quirinale.

No. 6. Collis Latiaris sexticeps in vico Insteiano summo apud auguraculum aedificium solum est—on the slope above the present Piazza Magnanapoli (HJ 400). If *solum* is the correct reading (Phil. Anz. 1871, 543), the meaning must be that this was the only sacrarium of the twenty-seven that had its own independent building, and that the others were parts of, or within the precincts of, other buildings.

*Regio Palatina—*

No. 5. Germalense quinticeps apud aedem Romuli, on the Cermalus, where the CASA (here called *aedes*) ROMULI (q.v.) stood. In fact, the building which is sometimes identified with this sacrarium (LR 130, 133 ; HJ 42) has been by others thought to be the casa Romuli (TF 104, 105).

No. 6. Veliense sexticeps in Velia apud aedem deum Penatium—probably close to the site afterwards occupied by the temple of Venus and Roma (see AEDES DEUM PENATIUM).

Of the twelve sacraria described by Varro, eleven can thus be located with considerable certainty. The situation of the rest is purely conjectural, based on the probable route of the procession. (For a discussion of the Argei from the topographical side, with the earlier literature, see Jord. ii. 237-290 ; Gilbert ii. 214-217, 362-375 ; and for the position of the conjectural sacraria, Richter, pl. 3, reproduced in Pl. fig. 5 (text fig. 5, on p. 443 of the present work).)

ARGILETUM: the street between the Subura and the forum, which it entered between the Curia and the basilica Aemilia (Liv. i. 19. 2 ; Serv. ad Aen. vii. 607).<sup>2</sup> The lower part of the Argiletum, which had been occupied by private houses (Cic. Att. i. 14. 7 ; xii. 32. 2), was converted by Domitian and Nerva into the forum Transitorium. The name was probably derived from the clay (*argilla*) that was dug near by, although other explanations, more or less fanciful, were current in antiquity (Varro, LL v. 157 ; Serv. ad Aen. viii. 345 ; cf. Mart. Cap. iii. 273). It was one of the great arteries of communication in Rome, and

<sup>1</sup> This is Bunsen's reading ; Spengel has *Apollinar* for *est pulvinar*.

<sup>2</sup> For this passage see p. 277, n. 1.



a centre of trade, but not by any means the centre of the book trade; it also bore a somewhat unsavoury reputation (Mart. i. 3. 1; 117, 8-11; ii. 17; cf. i. 2. 7, 8; Jord. i. 2. 347-351; HJ 327; CP 1914, 77-78; DR 513-514. For its course in the period of Sulla see JRS 1920, 16).

ARMAMENTARIUM: an armoury of the LUDUS MAGNUS (q.v.) in region II, attached to the Flavian amphitheatre. It is mentioned only in the Regiary Catalogue, and in one inscription (CIL vi. 10164).

ARMAMENTARIUM (in castris praetoriis): see CASTRA PRAETORIA.

ARMILUSTRIUM: an open space on the north-western part of the Aventine, probably just south of the present church of S. Sabina, where the annual festival of the Armilustrum was celebrated on 19th October. Titus Tatius was said to have been buried here (Plut. Rom. 23). The vicus Armilustri (CIL vi. 802, 975, 31069; Bull. d. Inst. 1870, 88) probably passed through it, and may have followed the line of the modern Via di S. Sabina (Varro, LL v. 153; vi. 22; Liv. xxvii. 37. 4; Fest. 19; Not. Reg. XIII; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 333; HJ 161-2; Merlin, 313-315).

ARX: the northern part of the Capitoline hill, separated from the southern part, the CAPITOLIUM proper (q.v.), by a depression (v. ASYLUM) which was the citadel of Rome after the city had expanded sufficiently to include the Quirinal and Viminal hills—that stage of the growth commonly known as the City of the Four Regions (Pl. 41-44). The height of this part of the hill was about 49 metres above sea-level, and its area about one hectare. This arx, also called arx Capitolina<sup>1</sup> (Liv. vi. 20. 9; xxviii. 39. 15; Val. Max. viii. 14. 1; Tac. Hist. iii. 71), preserved its military importance down to the first century A.D. (see Aberystwyth Studies v. (1923) 33-41, for proof that Sabinus<sup>2</sup> held the arx, and not the temple of Jupiter), though it had no permanent garrison. In the early days sentinels were posted here while the comitia were being held in the campus Martius, to watch for the signal displayed on the Janiculum of an approaching enemy (Cass. Dio xxxvii. 28). Another signal—vexillum russi coloris—was raised on the arx, to which reference is frequently made (Liv. iv. 18. 6; xxxix. 15. 11; Fest. 103; Macrob. i. 16. 15; Serv. Aen. viii. 1), and the trumpet blown (Varro vi. 92).

Titus Tatius is said to have lived on the arx (Solin. i. 21), and also M. Manlius Capitolinus, whose house was destroyed in 384 B.C., when the senate decreed that henceforth no patrician should dwell on the arx or Capitolium (Liv. v. 47. 8; vi. 20. 13). On the site of this house, Camillus erected the temple of JUNO MONETA (q.v.) in 344 B.C. One other temple certainly stood on the arx, that of Concord dedicated in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Flor. i. 13. 13: arx Capitolini montis.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus uses the following expressions: Sabinus . . . arcem Capitolii insedit, usque ad primas Capitolinae arcis fores, Capitolii fores—and only subsequently Capitolium of the other summit—ending his account thus: sic Capitolium (i.e. the temple) clausis foribus indefensum atque indireptum conflagravit.



217 B.C., and possibly two others, of VEDIOVIS and HONOS ET VIRTUS (qq.v.). There is no record of any other public buildings on the arx, but on its north-east corner was the AUGURACULUM (q.v.), a grassy open space where the augurs took their observations.

The original topography of the arx is quite uncertain; for the construction of the church and cloisters of S. Maria in Aracoeli in the ninth century changed completely all previous conditions (cf. Rodocanachi, *Le Capitole* 237-242). When the foundations were laid for the great national monument of Victor Emmanuel, which now covers most of the arx north of the Aracoeli and the slope of the hill below, some traces of the scarped cliff and the tufa walls of the primitive fortification of the hill were found<sup>1</sup> (NS 1887, 113; BC 1887, 175, 275; Mitt. 1889, 254), and fragments of three sections of the later so-called Servian wall which passed around the north corner of the hill. Two of these sections were on the north-east, and one on the north-west side of the hill, just below its top (NS 1889, 160, 361; 1890, 215; 1892, 200; BC 1887, 220; 1892, 145-146; Mitt. 1889, 254-255; 1891, 104; 1893, 287). That private houses<sup>2</sup> extended some distance up the sides of the arx from the low ground below, as they did on the slopes of the Capitolium and to the limits of the Asylum (Tac. Hist. iii. 71), is shown by the discovery of the ruins of walls and pavements near S. Rita and along the line of the Via Giulio Romano (NS 1888, 497; 1889, 68, 160; 1892, 42, 43, 313, 343-344, 406-407; BC 1888, 331; 1889, 206; Mitt. 1889, 255; 1891, 104. For the arx in general see also Jord. i. I. 282-284; 2. 102-115; RE i. 1493-1494; Rodocanachi, *Le Capitole*, Paris 1905, 18-20).

ARX IANICULENSIS: the name given by modern topographers to the fortifications that were probably erected on the Janiculum, near the later porta Aurelia, when the first stone bridge, pons Aemilius, was built across the Tiber in 179 B.C. (see IANICULUM and literature cited).

ARX TARPEIA: a term applied by Vergil (Aen. viii. 652) and Propertius (iv. 4. 29) to the arx Capitolina.

ASINUS FRICTUS: see ARCUS NERONIANI.

ASYLUM: an enclosed area in the depression (*inter duos lucos*) between the two summits of the Capitoline (see MONS CAPITOLINUS). The name was explained by the story that Romulus welcomed here the refugees from surrounding communities (Verg. Aen. ii. 761, and Serv. viii. 342; Liv. i. 8; Dionys. ii. 15; Strabo v. 230; Tac. Hist. iii. 71; Plut. Rom. 9; Cass. Dio xlvii. 19; Vell. i. 8; Flor. i. 1; Schol. Iuv.

<sup>1</sup> The description given seems to show that they were built of 2-foot blocks of tufa like the other sections which at the time of their discovery were believed to be primitive, from which indeed it is very doubtful whether they should be differentiated (see especially Mitt. 1889, 254). For illustrations of one of the sections on the north-east, see Primo Acciaresi, Giuseppe Sacconi e l'opera sua massima (Rome, 1911), 78-84 (the most important is repeated in Capitolium, i. 325).

<sup>2</sup> A drawing of one of them is given by Acciaresi, op. cit. 40 (cf. Capitolium, ii. 272).

viii. 273; de vir. ill. 2. 1). Asylum and INTER DUOS LUCOS (q.v.) were sometimes synonymous terms (Jord. i. 2. 117).

ASYLUM CERERIS: according to Varro (ap. Non. 44) the right of asylum existed in the temple of CERES LIBER ET LIBERA (q.v.).

ATHENAEUM: a building erected by Hadrian, called by Aurelius Victor (Caes. 14. 3) ludus ingenuarum artium, and used for readings, lectures, and training in declamation (Cass. Dio lxxiii. 17; Hist. Aug. Pert. 11; Alex. 35; Gord. 3; Sid. Apoll. Ep. ii. 9; iv. 8; ix. 9, 14). It was built apparently in the form of a theatre or ampitheatre, but its site is unknown, although it has been placed on the Capitoline (Pr. Reg. 170), in the campus Martius, or in the Velabrum, and identified with the GRAECOSTADIUM (q.v.; Jord. i. 2. 61; Bull. of the Univ. of Winconsin, 1904, 170-178).

ATRIUM CACI: mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue (Reg. VIII) and probably a hall of some sort near the SCALAE CACI (q.v.).

ATRIUM CYCLOPIS: see ANTRUM CYCLOPIS.

ATRIUM LIBERTATIS: a building containing the offices of the censors, some at least of their records, and some of the laws on bronze tablets (Liv. xliii. 16; xlv. 15; Fest. 241; Serv. ad Aen. i. 726; Gran. Licin. 15). It is also said to have served as the place of detention of the Thurian hostages in 212 B.C. (Liv. xxv. 7. 12) and for the torture of the slaves during the trial of Milo (Cic. pro Mil. 59). It was restored in 194 B.C. (Liv. xxxiv. 44) and again with great magnificence by Asinius Pollio (Suet. Aug. 29), who established here the first public library in Rome (Isid. Orig. 6. 5; Ov. Trist. iii. 1. 72; v. BIBLIOTHECA ASINI POLLIONIS). It is not to be confused with the Aedes Libertatis on the Aventine, and probably not with the shrine or monument that is marked with the word *Libertatis* on the Marble Plan in the north apse of the basilica Ulpia (see FORUM TRAIANI, p. 242). Three inscriptions refer to this atrium in the first century A.D. (CIL 470, 472, 10025).

The first runs thus: Senatus populusque Romanus Libertati (in large letters on a marble slab); and the second, Libertati ab. imp. Nerva Caesare Aug. anno ab urbe condita dcccxxxviii, xiiii K. Oct. restitutae S.P.Q.R. Hülsen supposes, very naturally, that the first inscription belonged to the dedicatory inscription of a shrine with the statue of Libertas (near the curia, not on the Capitol) under which the second inscription could very well have stood (Mitt. 1889, 240, 241). There is no other reference until the sixth century, when an inscription was set up in some part of the curia as follows (CIL vi. 1794): salvis domino nostro Augusto et gloriosissimo rege Theoderico Va... ex com(es) domesticorum in atrio Libertatis quae vetustate squaloreque confecta erant refecit. The restoration was obviously an important one, and Mommsen (Hermes, 1888, 631-633) has collected several references to the building in Cassiodorus and Ennodius. Of other earlier

references to the building (Ov. Fast. iv. 624; <sup>1</sup>Tac. Hist. i. 31; Serv. ad Aen. i. 726: cf. also Babelon i. p. 472; but cf. BM. Rep. i. p. 399, n. 3) the only one that has topographical value is in Cicero's letter to Atticus (iv. 16), where he says that he and Oppius proposed to extend the new forum of Caesar *usque ad atrium Libertatis*. This extension must have been along the line of the successive imperial fora, passing the comitium, but how far from the old forum this atrium was we do not know. The history of the restored building of Pollio, and its relation to that part of the curia that bore its name in the sixth century, are unknown. The earlier atrium was probably not on the site of the later curia, and it was probably destroyed or used for other purposes before the sixth century (FUR 28-32; Jord. i. 2. 460 ff.; BC 1889, 362; DE i. 760; Roscher ii. 2032-2033; Boyd, Public Libraries in Rome, Chicago, 1915, 3-5, 31; RE xiii. 102-104).

ATRIA LICINIA: auction rooms at the entrance to the MACELLUM (q.v.), probably just north of the basilica Aemilia at the beginning of the Subura (Cic. pro Quinct. 12, 25; Serv. ad Aen. i. 726; HJ 359).

ATRIUM MAENIUM: a building which, together with the atrium Titium and four tabernae, standing in *lautumiis* (q.v.), were bought by the elder Cato in order that he might erect his basilica on their site (Liv. xxxix. 44). The Pseudo-Asconius (Cic. Div. in Verr. 16), in telling the same story, calls this atrium a domus, but this is probably an error. It was rather a hall or office (Jord. i. 2. 344-5; FUR p. 29).

ATRIUM MINERVAE: a later name for the CHALCIDICUM (q.v.), an annex to the curia built by Augustus.

ATRIUM PUBLICUM (in Capitolio): a public office, perhaps containing some of the state archives, said by Livy (xxiv. 10) to have been struck by lightning in 214 B.C. It may possibly be identified with the *τὸν ἀγορανόμων ταμείον*, in which Polybius (iii. 26. 1) says that the treaties between Rome and Carthage were kept in his time (Jord. i. 2. 52).

ATRIUM REGIUM: found only in Livy (xxvi. 27; xxvii. 11, referring to the fire of 210 B.C.), and used apparently of the ATRIUM VESTAE (q.v.). The origin of this name may be due to the confusion between Atrium Vestae and REGIA (q.v.; Van Deman, Atrium Vestae 10).

ATRIA SEPTEM: mentioned only in the Chronograph of 354 A.D. (p. 146) among the buildings of Domitian. Nothing further is known of these atria.

ATRIUM SUTORIUM: a building in which the ceremony of *tubilustrium* was annually performed. Its site is unknown, but it is natural to connect it with the shoe trade, and to place it in the Argiletum. As it is not mentioned after the first century, its site may have been occupied by the forum Transitorium (Varro, LL vi. 14; Fest. 352; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 313; Jord. i. 2. 452; FUR 30).

<sup>1</sup> This may, however, belong rather to Jupiter Libertas (NS 1921, 92).



ATRIUM TITIIUM : see ATRIUM MAENIUM.

ATRIUM VESTAE : \* the house of the Vestal Virgins at the foot of the Palatine, just east of the forum proper. By the end of the republic this term had come to mean their dwelling-house, in which sense it is ordinarily used in extant literature (Fest. 333 ; Gell. i. 12. 9 ; Plin. Ep. vii. 19. 2 ; Prud. Peristeph. ii. 528), but originally it included the whole precinct of Vesta (cf. Ov. Fast. vi. 263 ; Serv. Aen. vii. 153). This precinct contained the temple of VESTA (q.v.), the dwelling of the Vestals, the sacred grove, the domus Publica or official residence of the pontifex maximus, and the REGIA (q.v.) itself or house of the king. This group was called both Regia and atrium Vestae (Ov. Fast. vi. 263-264 : hic locus exiguus qui sustinet atria Vestae | tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae ; cf. the confused terms atrium regium (Liv. xxvi. 27. 3 ; xxvii. 11. 16, in reference to the fire of 210 B.C.) and regia Vestae (CIL vi. 511).

The grove, *lucus* (Cic. de div. i. 101 ; BC 1905, 208-210 ; Mél. 1908, 238-240), originally covered the space between the atrium and the Palatine, but was gradually encroached upon, and finally disappeared entirely, as it would seem. The domus Publica (Suet. Caes. 46) still continued to be the residence of the pontifex maximus until Augustus, on assuming that office in 12 B.C., transferred it to the Palatine (Cass. Dio liv. 27) and presented the domus Publica to the Vestals (Jahrb. d. Inst. 1889, 247). In 36 B.C. Domitius Calvinus built the marble Regia, an entirely separate structure. After the republic, therefore, the precinct of Vesta included the temple, the grove, and the actual dwelling of the Vestals, to which the name atrium was generally restricted. This name would lead us to infer that the court, *atrium*, was the most prominent part of the precinct, and it was certainly large enough for meetings of the senate (Serv. Aen. vii. 153 : ad atrium Vestae conveniebat (senatus) quod a templo remotum fuerat—a disputed passage, cf. Van Deman, Atrium Vestae 10).

Knowledge of the history of the atrium must be derived from the evidence of the ruins themselves. Some discoveries were made in 1549 (Lanciani, Storia ii. 203), and extensive excavations were carried out in 1883 and 1899-1902 (for the results in 1883 see Lanciani, NS 1883, 468-470, 480-486 ; Ruins 228-234 ; Jordan, Der Tempel der Vesta u. d. Haus der Vestalinnen, 1886, 25-40 ; Top. i. 2. 292, 427 ; Auer, Der Tempel der Vesta u. d. Haus der Vestalinnen, Denkschr. d. Wiener Akademie, 1886, 209-222 ; Middleton, Ancient Rome i. 307-329 ; Gilbert i. 304-305 ; iii. 408-410 ; for those of 1899-1902, NS. 1899, 325-333 ; 1900, 159-191 ; BC 1899, 253-256 ; 1902, 30 ; 1903, 70-78 ; AA 1900, 8-9 ; CR 1899, 467 ; 1900, 238 ; 1901, 139 ; 1902, 284 ; Mitt. 1902, 90-92 ; 1905, 94 ; Atti 539-547 ; HC 204-217 ; Thédénat 316-334 ; RE i. A. 502-504 ; DR 275-293. All previous work has been superseded by Dr. Esther B. Van Deman's The Atrium Vestae, Washington, the Carnegie Institution, 1909). Cf. also ASA 154, 155 ; HFP 46-48.





7 ATRIUM VESTAE AND CONSTANTINIAN SACRA VIA

Before 1898 (p. 59)



8 ATRIUM VESTAE, ARCHES SPANNING NOVA VIA (p. 60)



These excavations show some remains of the republican atrium, that is, the house of the Vestals, immediately south of the temple, adjoining the domus Publica on the east, with the same north and south orientation. This indicates the antiquity of both, though almost no remains earlier than the second century B.C. are now visible. They consist of a small court with rows of rooms on the south and west sides, with walls and pavements still visible at some points under the north-west corner of the latest building; that of the court is a lithostroton pavement of the Sullan period (JRS 1922, 29). The domus Publica seems to have been larger than the house of the Vestals, and to have occupied all the space between the Sacra via and the earlier Nova via. Its remains, forming virtually a part of the original atrium (there is, in any case, no line of demarcation between the two), lie along the north side of the latest building and were entirely covered up by the road that Nero built here in front of the shops (see below) (TF 85-86; (III. 7)).

Close to the main entrance to the atrium, at its north-west corner, is the podium, about 3 by 2 metres in dimensions, of a shrine, generally called aedicula Vestae, and supposed to have been built to house a statue of the goddess, as the temple itself did not contain any (Cic. de nat. Deor. iii. 80; de or. iii. 10). This shrine was not built until the second stage of the imperial atrium, for it blocked a door belonging to that period (Van Deman, op. cit. 23). Some fragments of the marble lining and plinth are in situ; and the entablature with an inscription of the time of Hadrian (CIL vi. 31578) which records a restoration, together with numerous architectural bits, have been found. The entablature has been placed upon a column and a brick pier (Jord. i. 2. 290-291; Der Tempel d. Vesta 25-28; HC 203; Thédénat 315; LR 226).

The atrium Vestae was probably destroyed in the fire of Nero, and was certainly rebuilt by him, when he remodelled the whole of this quarter in a different form and with a different orientation. It now consisted of a trapezoidal enclosure (in which the temple was included) approximately the size of the later building, with a central court surrounded by rooms on three sides. Against the north enclosure wall was a row of tabernae opening into the arcade leading up to the vestibule of the DOMUS AUREA (q.v.); and the porticus occupied the whole intervening space between the eastern enclosure wall and the street connecting the Sacra and Nova via to the east (Vicus Vestae?). There is thus no space left for the garden, which, it was thought, might have been a survival of the lucus (see VESTA, LUCUS); compare Van Deman, Atrium Vestae pl. A, with AJA 1923, p. 421 and pl. iii., and Mem. Am. Acad. v. 124 and pls. 61, 62.

This building was injured by fire, and restored by Domitian, who erected a colonnade round the court, with a long, shallow piscina in the centre, and entirely rebuilt the west end. Hadrian built a block of rooms across the east end, thereby extending the area of the house as

far as the cross street mentioned above; he also closed in the front of the largest room (13 on Van Deman's plans) on the south, and built new back walls in this and the room next to it. This was continued under the Antonines, the object being to diminish the damp, due to the shutting off of the sun's rays by Hadrian's additions to the *Domus TIBERIANA* (q.v.). For the same reason the floor level was raised about 0.70 metre. In this period, too, Hadrian's additions were linked up with the rest of the house, and a second and third story were added over them. Finally, after suffering injury in the fire of Commodus, the atrium was restored by Julia Domna, and the courtyard lengthened to 69 metres (it was, as before, 24 metres wide) so as to occupy the whole of the central area. It was then that the arches spanning the *Nova via* were built, serving as a support both to the upper stories of the atrium and to the structures on the lower slopes of the Palatine (Ill. 8). After this date various minor alterations were made, including the construction, in the Constantinian period, of an octagonal structure enclosing a circle in the centre of the peristyle (perhaps the foundation of a pavilion, or the edging of a garden bed) and of two small *piscinae*, one at each end, to replace the large one, which was no longer in symmetry with the plan (Ill. 6).

After the last restoration the central court was surrounded by a double colonnade, replaced at a still later period by a brick wall pierced by arches. Round the court stood numerous statues of *Virgines Vestales Maximae* on inscribed pedestals (AJA 1908, 324-342; CIL vi. 32409-32428; HF ii. 1243, 1357-61; PT pp. 76-78, Nos. 39, 42). At the east end was a large hall paved with fine marbles, with three rooms on each side of it; on the south of it is a small hall, with a sort of vaulted cellar (possibly the *penus* of the household) and to the north is a room in which an archaic altar, belonging to the Republican house, has been found. On the south side of the courtyard is a group of rooms used for household purposes, after which comes a series of finely decorated rooms. At the west end are some rooms which are cut off from the courtyard, and may, it is thought, have served for the cult of the *Lares* (cf. *LARES, AEDES*); and further west still are rooms probably used for the cult of *Vesta* in connection with the temple. Two hoards of coins were found in the house—830 Saxon coins, dating down to the middle of the tenth century, in 1883 (NS 1883, 487-514), and 397 gold coins dating from 335 to 467-472 A.D. in 1899 (ib. 1899, 327-330).

A statue of *Numa* with a head of an ideal Greek type of the fifth century B.C., with a space for a bronze beard, was found in the house of the *Vestals*. As the body shows, it probably belongs to the period of *Trajan* (BC 1919, 211-224). The head shows evidence of the rite of *resectio* (see *LUCUS FURRINAE*).

**AUDITORIUM MAECENATIS**: the modern name of the remains of a building that stands in the angle between the *via Merulana* and the *via Leopardi*.



This building is constructed of *opus reticulatum* of the time of Augustus, and stands obliquely across the line of the Servian wall. In form it is a rectangular hall with a semi-circular apse at the west end, the total length being 24.10 metres and the width 10.60. Since the floor is 7 metres below the ancient level of the ground, the hall had to be entered by an inclined plane. The walls reach 6 metres above the ancient ground level, and the roof was probably vaulted. In the apse are seven rows of curved steps, arranged like the *cavea* of a theatre. Above the steps in the apse are five niches, and six more in each of the side walls of the hall. All of these were beautifully painted with garden scenes and landscapes in the third Pompeian style, but the frescoes have mostly disappeared. The original pavement was of white mosaic, over which a later pavement of marble was laid. The purpose of this hall is unknown. It is probably not an auditorium, but may have been a sort of conservatory, although it is difficult to see how it could have been properly lighted. It has been ascribed to Maccenas because his *HORTI* (q.v.) were supposed to have extended as far south as this point, but this is very uncertain (HJ 351; AJA 1912, 390, 394; Reber 488-491; Bull. d. Inst. 1874, 141-44; 1875, 89-96; Ann. d. Inst. 1880, 137; BC 1874, 137-171; 1875, 118; a good plan is in BC 1914, 139, where Pinza calls it the *ODEON* (q.v.).

**AUGURACULUM:** the open space (*templum*) on the *arx*, where the public auspices were taken after the Capitoline hill had become a part of the city. In the centre of this open space was the thatched hut of the observer, which was preserved in its primitive form at least as late as the time of Augustus (Vitr. ii. 1. 5; Varro, LL vii. 8; Cic. de off. iii. 66; Fest. 18; cf. Plin. NH xxii. 5; Liv. i. 24; cf. *CASA ROMULI*). The auguraculum was on the north-east corner of the *arx*, above the *clivus Argentarius*, probably near the apse of the present church of S. Maria in Aracoeli (Jord. i. 2. 102-106; BC 1910, 132-140; NS 1910, 132; Hülsen, Geogr. Jahrb. 1911, 199; DAP 2. xii. 149-153; PT 148).

**AUGURACULUM** (in Quirinale): a *templum* on the *collis Latiaris*, the southernmost part of the Quirinal, mentioned only once, in Varro's account of the *Argei* (LL v. 5. 2). It seems to have been the augural centre of the early Quirinal settlement, as that on the *arx* was of the later city (Jord. ii. 264; HJ 400; DAP 2. xii. 150).

**AUGURATORIUM:** an augural area on the Palatine, mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue and *Mirabilia* (28). It may have marked the spot where legend said that Romulus took the auspices, or it may be identical with the *CURIA SALIUM* (q.v.). It is possible that an inscription (CIL vi. 976), recording the restoration of an auguratorium by Hadrian, may belong to the structure on the Palatine, which a recent theory identifies with a rectangular foundation of this period between the temple of Cybele and the *domus Augusti* (Liviae) (HJ 44-45; BC 1914, 99; DAP 2. xii. 147-175).

**AUGUSTUS MONS**: the name given to the Caelian hill by the senate in 27 A.D., in gratitude to Tiberius for his generosity in repairing the ravages of a great fire on that hill, and in recognition of the miraculous preservation of a statue of the emperor (Suet. Tib. 48 ; Tac. Ann. iv. 64). There is no record of the use of the name, and it probably did not survive after the death of Tiberius even in official documents.

**AUGUSTUS, ARA**: an altar known only from the Praenestine Calendar (Hemerol. Praen. ad xvi kal. Febr., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 308), that was dedicated by Tiberius, probably in the lifetime of Augustus. Its location is unknown.

**AUGUSTUS, DIVUS, SACRARIUM**: a shrine of the deified Augustus on the Palatine, on the site of his birthplace AD CAPITA BUBULA (q.v.). It was standing in the time of Suetonius, but is mentioned only by him (Aug. 5 ; cf. Gilbert iii. 121).

**AUGUSTUS, DIVUS, TEMPLUM\*** (Ἀύγουστειὸν or ἱρῶν, Cass. Dio): a temple of the deified Augustus, built by Tiberius (Cass. Dio lvii. 10. 2), or by Tiberius and Livia (ib. lvi. 46. 3 ; the assignment to Livia alone by Pliny (NH xii. 94) is of course an error. According to Suetonius, Tiberius did not finish the temple, and it was completed by Caligula (Tib. 47 : quae sola susceperat Augusti templum restitutionemque Pompeiani theatri imperfecta post tot annos reliquit ; Cal. 21 : opera sub Tiberio semiperfecta templum Augusti theatrumque Pompeii absolvit). Tacitus, however, says that Tiberius finished the temple, but for some reason did not dedicate it (Ann. vi. 45 : struxit templum Augusto et scaenam Pompeiani theatri, eaque perfecta contemptu ambitionis an per senectutem haud dedicavit), agreeing in this with Dio (loc. cit.). In this temple were statues of Augustus (see below) of Livia, set up by Claudius (Cass. Dio lx. 5), and probably of other emperors who were deified (see below). It was destroyed by fire at some time before 79 A.D. (Plin. loc. cit.) : in Palatii templo quod fecerat divo Augusto coniunx Augusta . . . guttae editae annis omnibus in grana durabantur donec id delubrum incendio consumptum est), but restored, probably by Domitian, who seems to have constructed in connection with it a shrine of his patron goddess, Minerva (Mart. iv. 53. 1-2 : hunc quem saepe vides intra penetralia nostrae Pallados et templi limina, Cosme, novi), regularly referred to in *diplomata honestae missionis* after 90 A.D. which were *fixa in muro post templum divi Augusti ad Minervam* (CIL iii. pp. 859, 861, Suppl. p. 2035 ; <sup>1</sup> see TEMPLUM MINERVAE, and Richmond in *Essays and Studies* presented to William Ridgeway, Cambridge, 1914, 207-210). A considerable restoration was carried out by Antoninus Pius, whose coins (Cohen 1-12, 618, 797-810 ; cf. HC fig. 100) show an octastyle building with Corinthian capitals, and two statues, presumably of Augustus and Livia, in the cella. The last reference to the temple is on a diploma of 248

<sup>1</sup> Cf. CIL v. 4056, 4091.

(CIL iii. p. 900, No. lvii.), and it is not mentioned in the Regionary Catalogue. We are told of one painting in the temple, that of Hyacinthus by Nicias of Athens, which was placed there by Tiberius (Plin. NH xxxv. 131).

Everywhere in Latin literature this temple is called *templum Augusti* or *divi Augusti*, except in Martial (iv. 53. 2) and Suetonius (Tib. 74), where it is *templum novum*, a name which was evidently given to the building at once, for it occurs in the *Acta Arvalia* from 36 A.D. on (CIL vi. 32346, 10; 2041, 5; 2042a, 28; 2051, 14), as well as the variant *templum divi Augusti novum* (2028e, 12; 2044c, 5; 32345; also vi. 8704). Once we find *templum divi Augusti et divae Augustae* (vi. 4222). In 69 A.D. an *aedes Caesarum* was struck by lightning (Suet. Galba 1: *tacta de caelo Caesarum aede capita omnibus simul status deciderunt, Augusti etiam sceptrum e manibus excussum est*), and may perhaps be identified with this temple of Augustus (HJ 80). In connection with the temple Tiberius seems to have erected a library, *BIBLIOTHECA TEMPLI NOVI* or *TEMPLI AUGUSTI* (q.v.). Over this temple Caligula built his famous bridge to connect the Palatine and Capitoline hills (Suet. Cal. 22: *super templum divi Augusti ponte transmisso Palatium Capitoliumque coniunxit*), and its location is thereby indicated as somewhere on the north-west side of the Palatine, below the *domus Tiberiana*.

Of the construction of the original temple before the restoration by Antoninus, we know nothing from ancient sources other than coins. It has generally been supposed that a bronze coin of Caligula (37-40 A.D., Cohen, Cal. 9-11; HC fig. 99) represents it, and was struck to commemorate its completion or dedication. This coin represents an Ionic hexastyle structure, decorated with sculptures on the roof, within the pediment, and in front, and with garlands. Recently, however, this identification has been attacked by Richmond (op. cit. 198-203) who maintains that the temple of Caligula's coin is that of *APOLLO PALATINUS* (q.v.), while the temple of Augustus is represented on bronze coins of Tiberius of 34-36 A.D. (Cohen, Tib. 68-70). These show a hexastyle structure of the Corinthian order, with sculpture above the pediment, statues of Hercules and Mercury on pedestals beside the steps, a statue of Augustus in the cella, and around the back of the building a high curved wall—the *muris post templum Augusti* of the diplomata (see above).

Still more recently it has been maintained that the temple of Concord is represented on the coins of Tiberius, while that of Augustus is shown on those of Caligula (BM Imp. i. pp. cxxxviii, cxlvi; Tib. 116, 132-134; Cal. 41-43, 58†, 69).

The structure generally known as the temple of Augustus and the *bibliotheca templi divi Augusti* has recently been completely uncovered by the removal of the church of S. Maria Liberatrice (Ill. 9). It is a large rectangular construction of brick-faced concrete, with very lofty and massive walls, and belongs to the period of Domitian. That it forms



a single structural unit is shown very clearly by the unbroken lines of bonding courses of tiles which run right through it. It consists of :

(a) A large rectangular hall, with its main façade towards the vicus Tuscus ; in front of it was a vestibule 6 metres deep and 32 wide, with a large niche at each end. The front wall of this vestibule has collapsed, and we have only the six (originally eight) short cross walls that were built to support it by Hadrian. The hall behind was about 25 metres deep, and in its walls were rectangular and semicircular niches, arranged alternately ; above them the walls rose straight, with several rows of relieving niches, and no trace at all of any intermediate floor. The light came from a large rectangular window in the upper part of each side wall (smaller windows seem to have been originally intended). How it was roofed is uncertain ; if by a vault, it was the highest in antiquity, the key being 150 feet from the pavement (Rivoira, RA 110-111). No fragments of the supposed vaulting have, however, been found.

(b) Two smaller halls behind the large hall, accessible by doors from the back of it,<sup>1</sup> but arranged on an axis parallel to its width and having their main entrance on this axis, i.e. from the north-east, behind the lacus Iuturnae. The first of these halls measures about 21 metres by 20, and its walls are decorated with niches. The second was a peristyle, with four brick piers at the angles, with grey granite columns between them, surrounding the central open court. At its south-west end were three rectangular rooms (the apse in the central one does not even belong to the earliest period of its decoration as a church), and behind them a solid wall, which, with the triangular space on the south-west side of the front hall, served to conceal the divergence of orientation with the HORREA AGRIPPIANA (q.v.). From each of these halls a door leads into the ramp ascending to the Palatine (see DOMUS TIBERIANA).

The church of S. Maria Antiqua was built into the two smaller halls before the sixth century A.D., and was redecorated in part in or about 649, 705, 741, 757, and 772. It was partially abandoned after the earthquake of Leo IV in 847, and the church of S. Maria Nuova (S. Francesca Romana) was founded to replace it : though the presence of a huge pillar in the centre of the piscina of the peristyle of Caligula shows that a last effort was made to support the falling vaulting ; and Wilpert assigns some of the paintings in the front hall to the tenth century. In the thirteenth century the small basilica of S. Maria libera nos a poenis inferni (S. Maria Liberatrice) was erected above the site of the older church.

In 1702 the upper part of the back wall of S. Maria Antiqua was brought to light, but covered up again ; but the whole church has now been cleared (HCh 309 ; Rushforth in PBS i. 1-123 ; Mitt. 1902, 74-82 ;

<sup>1</sup> In the westernmost of these passage ways some frescoes of the seventh or eighth centuries A.D. were found in 1885, and the passage itself was, as a result, wrongly attributed to that period (NS 1885, 156).





9 AUGUSTUS, DIVUS, TEMPLUM

Before excavations (p. 63)



10 BASILICA CONSTANTINI AND ENTRANCE FROM SACRA VIA

The pavement shown is Augustan (p. 77)



1905, 84-94; CR 1901, 141-142, 329; 1902, 95-96, 284; HC 161-180; Gruneisen, *S. Marie Antique* (Rome, 1911); Wilpert, *Mosaiken und Malereien*, text, passim, pls. 133-135; 142-146; 151-158; 178-187; 227-228; Leclercq in Cabrol, *Dict. v.* 2006-2047; RE Suppl. iv. 471-473).

The original purpose of the whole group has not yet been determined. Against the identification with the *templum divi Augusti* we may note (a) that no traces attributable to the original temple have so far been found below the level of the building of Domitian, and that there is indeed no room for any such structure, (b) that what lies before us does not agree with the representation on the coins of Antoninus Pius, which would of course show the portico added to the building by Hadrian (AJA 1924, 397). And if the front hall cannot be the temple of Augustus, it is hard to see how the hall behind it can be called the temple of Minerva, or how *S. Maria Antiqua* can be identified with the *bibliotheca*, even if the suitability of its plan be admitted. On the other hand, it is difficult—we may say impossible—to find any other place for the temple of Augustus, which, as we have seen, was still in existence in 248 A.D.

The theory that the whole group may have taken the place of the great peristyle which Caligula erected as a vestibule to the imperial palace on the Palatine above, and have been an imperial reception hall, is rendered improbable by the inadequacy of the approaches from the front hall to those at the back (*S. Maria Antiqua*); see *DOMUS TIBERIANA*. See Hülsen, *cit. supra*; CR 1902, 95; JRS 1919, 177; Boll. d'Arte, 1921, 356 sqq.; Jahrb. d. Inst. xxxvi. 1-36; AJA 1924, 368-398; ZA 91-95.

**AURA**: mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue, in Region IV, but preserved in certain mediaeval documents where it designates a locality behind the basilica of Constantine. It was probably a statue of the nymph Aura who was beloved of Dionysus, and threw herself into the Sangarius (Mitt. 1907, 429-433; BPW 1914, 382; HCh 177, 312, 316, 584, 596). For the Arcus Aerae, see *FORUM NERVAE* (LPD ii. 346; Liber Censuum, ii. 162; HCh 177, 312). For representations of Aura, see Mitt. 1886, 126, 127; and (perhaps) Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, pl. iii. p. 52; but cf. SSCR 21.

**AURELII**: see *MONUMENTUM AURELIORUM*.

**AUREUM BUCINUM**: an erroneous reading of one MS. of the *Notitia*, where we should read *aura(m)*, *bucinum* with the *Curiosum* (BPW 1914, 382).

**AVENTINUS MONS**: the southernmost of the hills of Rome, stretching south-east from the Tiber; it is trapezoidal in shape, with sides that measure, beginning with that towards the river, about 500, 600, 750, 600 metres in length. It rises abruptly from the bank of the river on the north and south-west. Its height near S. Alessio is 46 metres above sea-level. Along the south-east side of this trapezoidal hill is a depression, through which ran the ancient *VICUS PORTAE RAUDUSCULANAE* (q.v.), followed by the modern *Viale di porta S. Paolo*, and beyond this depression

risers another elevation which gradually sloped off to the Almo beyond the line of the Aurelian wall. This part of the hill, on which stand the churches of S. Saba and S. Balbina, is sometimes called the pseudo-Aventine (see below), but is usually included under the Aventine. The line of the 'Servian' <sup>1</sup> wall crossed this eastern elevation south of S. Saba and west of S. Balbina, and thus included a section that was considerably smaller than the trapezoidal hill to the north-west.

Whether Aventinus originally included both these parts of the hill has been the subject of much discussion and cannot be regarded as settled. Ennius (ap. Cic. de Div. i. 107) seems to distinguish sharply between them, while later, in the last century of the republic and early empire, it is clear that the name was ordinarily applied to both (Varro, LL v. 163; Suet. reliq. (Roth) 291; Fest. 276; Plut. Rom. 9). The probability is that the original name of the western section by the Tiber, following the analogy of other similar names, was gradually extended to the part of the eastern hill included within the Servian wall. This inclusion is strengthened by the statements of Dionysius who, in his description of the Aventine, gives its circumference once (iii. 43) as eighteen stadia, and elsewhere (x. 31) as twelve. The latter figure is too small even for the western part, and must be considered as an error; the former corresponds quite closely to that area enclosed within the line of the Servian wall on both hills, and evidently refers to that. In strictly official language Aventinus may always have remained the designation of the western half only. A fragment of the *Acta Arvalia* recently found (NS 1914, 473; BC 1914, 37; DAP 2. xii. 37; BCr 1915, 66: in clivo capsar(io) in Aventino maior(i)), of 240 A.D., indicates clearly that then at any rate Aventinus maior, the main part of the hill, was distinguished from Aventinus minor, the part now called the pseudo-Aventine.

When names were given to the Augustan divisions of the city, the thirteenth was called Aventinus; while the twelfth, comprising the eastern part of the hill, was the *Piscina Publica* (for a full discussion of this question, see Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité*, Paris 1906, 5-14, and literature there cited; HJ 149-157).

According to the traditional view (Gilbert ii. 144-257) the Aventine, although it was surrounded by the wall of Servius Tullius, remained outside the pomerium until the time of Claudius, and this exclusion was due to religious scruples connected with the founding of the city (Gell. xiii. 14). Another explanation of this exclusion is that the hill was not included within any wall until the Servian wall was rebuilt in the fourth century, and therefore was outside the pomerium (CP 1909, 420-432; AJA 1918, 175; TF 117-120); for still other theories, and a résumé of the whole discussion, see Merlin, *op. cit.* 53-68; Beloch, *Röm. Gesch.* 205-208

<sup>1</sup> There are, however, no traces in this section of any construction earlier than 390 B.C. (see *MURUS SERVII TULLII*).



The name Aventinus is still unexplained, in spite of the many etymologies offered by Roman antiquarians (Varro, LL v. 45; Liv. i. 3. 9; Fest. 19; Verg. Aen. vii. 657, and Servius, ad loc.; Lydus, de mag. i. 34; Jord. i. i. 180-183; HJ 151-153; Merlin, op. cit. 26-36). The suggestion that the word represents an ancient Italian, or perhaps Ligurian, settlement may possibly find some support in the use of PAGUS AVENTINENSIS (q.v.). The statement of Festus (148: Murciae deae sacellum erat sub monte Aventino qui antea Murcus vocabatur) is probably false.

According to tradition, the Aventine was public domain until 456 B.C. when, by the lex Icilia, a portion of it was handed over to the plebs for settlement (Dionys. iii. 43, x. 31-32; Liv. iii. 31). It continued to be an essentially plebeian quarter until the empire, when many wealthy Romans built their residences there, but it was always a comparatively unimportant part of the city and contained few monumental structures (for a full description of the topography and monuments of the Aventine, see Merlin, op. cit.; HJ 149-170; Pl. 413-417, 421-422).

## B

BACCHUS, SACELLUM : see LIBER, SACELLUM.

BALNEUM : balneum, balnea, balneae, balineum, balinea, balineae—all these variants from the Greek *βαλανείον* are found, and were used without distinction, though originally, according to Varro, LL ix. 68, the plural was used only where there was one building for men and another for women. According to Reg. there were 856 in the city. Of the following that are known, almost all are called by the cognomen of the builder or owner.

BALNEUM ABASCANTI : mentioned in Reg. in Region I. It was probably near the porta Capena, and possibly built by T. Flavius Abascantus, the freedman of Domitian.

BALNEA ALEXANDRI : said to have been built by Alexander Severus in all those parts of the city that were not already supplied with them (Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 39).

BALINEUM AMPELIDIS : mentioned in Reg. in Region XIV. The name seems to occur also on a fragment (48) of the Marble Plan. It was probably near the MOLINAE (q.v.) on the line of the aqua Traiana.

BALINEUM ANTIOCHIANI : mentioned only in Not. in Region I. It was probably near the porta Capena, and built perhaps by Flavius Antiochianus, consul in 270 A.D.

BALINEUM BOLANI : mentioned only in Not. in Region I. It was perhaps built by M. Vettius Bolanus, consul some time before 69 A.D., whose interest in real estate and building is shown by the fact that he owned an insula in Trastevere, and restored a shrine to the Bona Dea (CIL vi. 65-67).<sup>1</sup>

BALNEUM CAESARIS : inscribed on a fragment (49) of the Marble Plan. These may possibly be the baths of the palace (balneum Palatii) in which Didius Julianus was murdered by Sept. Severus (Aur. Vict. Ep. 19 ; cf. also Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 23 : nec quicquam in Palatio curare (eunuchos) fecit nisi balneas feminarum).

BALNEUM CHARINI : mentioned by Martial (vii. 34) as surprisingly good baths built by a notorious profligate.

<sup>1</sup> The lettering of these inscriptions is against the attribution to his son, consul ordinarius in 111 A.D. ; see Pros. iii. 411. 323. 324. The date is given as 116 A.D., in CIL cit., and as 110 in HJ 640 ; but see CIL vi. 222, 691.

**BALINEUM CLAUDIANUM**: inscribed on part of a marble epistyle (CIL vi. 29767) that was copied near S. Silvestro al Quirinale in the eighteenth century and again in a house near the site of the baths of Constantine. Other inscriptions relating to the patrician Claudii have been found in this vicinity, so that the baths were probably here (HJ 420).

**BALINEUM CLAUDII ETRUSCI**: mentioned by Statius, who describes it in silv. i. 5. Its situation is unknown; but as it was supplied by the Anio (Vetus or Novus) the aqua Marcia, and the aqua Virgo, it must have been situated in the campus Martius, or at any rate low enough to be within the range of distribution of the last-named aqueduct. Cf. Mart. vi. 42, who describes it as luxuriously fitted up, and decorated with coloured marbles, and in a very sunny situation.

**BALINEUM COTINI**: a name found only on a fragment (52) of the Marble Plan.

**BALINEUM CRISPINI**: mentioned only in Persius (v. 126), with no indication of location.

**BALINEUM DAFNIDIS**: mentioned in Reg. in Region IV. Whether this is to be identified with the privatae balneae quae Daphnes appellantur (Schol. ad Iuv. vii. 233) is uncertain. For the form of the name cf. **BALINEUM AMPELIDIS**.

**BALINEUM DIANES(AE)**: mentioned in Reg. in Region XIV. The name was probably due to a statue or painting of Diana in the balnea or on the outside wall (see **LUDUS AEMILIUS**), and the building stood near the Molinae and aqua Traiana.

**BALINEUM FAUSTI** and **BALINEUM FORTUNATI**: } mentioned together by Martial (ii. 14. 11). They were in the campus Martius, and seem to have been equipped in a very meagre way.

**BALINEUM GERMANI**: known only from its mention on one lead plate (Rostowzew, Syll. n. 886; Rév. Num. 1899, 42-43.)

**BALINEAE GORDIANI**: erected by the Emperor Gordian in various parts of the city, in usum privatum exornatae (Hist. Aug. Gord. 32; see **THERMAE SURANAE**).

(**BALINEUM GRATIARUM**) } inscribed on a marble epistyle that was found in **XAPIΘN ΛΟΤΤΡΟΝ**: } the ruins of a beautiful room discovered in 1715 between the baths of Caracalla and the city walls (IG xiv. 1034, 1424; Mitt. 1894, 332; HJ xxi, 187).

**BALINEUM GRYLLI**: mentioned twice in Martial (i. 59. 3; ii. 14. 12), and described as *tenebrosus*; probably situated in the campus Martius.

**BALINEUM IULIORUM AKARIORUM**: on an inscription (CIL vi. 29764) found near the pons Gratiani and known only from the Einsiedeln Itinerary (De Rossi, Inscr. Christ. ii. p. 24, No. 24; cf. Mommsen, Sächs. Ber. 1850, 288, 308).

**BALINEUM LUPI**: see **AEOLIA**.

**BALINEUM MAMERTINI**: mentioned only in Reg. in Region I. These baths were probably near the porta Capena and may have been built by Sex. Petronius Mamertinus, praetorian prefect in 139-143 A.D. (Pros. iii. 28. 212).

**BALNEUM MERCURII**: mentioned in the Einsiedeln Itinerary (9), and possibly referred to in the *templum Mercurii* of the Mirabilia (1), as both *balneum* and *templum* are used in mediaeval documents for structures of various kinds. If there was a balneum Mercurii, it may have been near the AQUA MERCURII (q.v.) on the west slope of the Caelian (DAP 2. ix. 418).

**BALNEA NAERATII CEREALIS**: built by Naeratius Cerealis, consul in 358 A.D. (CIL vi. 1744, 31916), and situated on the Esquiline, in the space now bounded by the Vie Cavour, Manin, Farini, and the Piazza Esquilino. Parts of the foundations and some architectural fragments were discovered in 1873. The house of Naeratius probably stood near the baths (BC 1874, 84-88; 1905, 294-299).

**BALNEAE PALATII**: see **BALNEUM CAESARIS**.

**BALNEAE PALLACINAE**: see **PALLACINAE**.

**BALINEUM PHOEBI**: mentioned only in Juvenal (vii. 233), without any indication of location.

**BALNEUM PLAUTI(A)NI**: see **LAVACRUM PLAUTI(A)NI**.

**BALNEUM POLYCLETI**: see **LUDUS AEMILIUS**.

**BALINEUM PRISCI**: mentioned only in Not. in Region XIV. It was probably near the MOLINAE (q.v.) and the aqua Traiana.

**BALINEUM SCRIBONIOLUM**: located in Region XIV according to an inscription found at Grottaferrata (CIL xv. 7188; HJ 198; BC 1887, 286; PBS v. 267).

**BALNEAE SENIAE**: mentioned only by Cicero (pro Cael. 61, 62). There is no clue to its location.

**BALNEAE SEVERI**: baths erected by Severus on the right bank of the Tiber the existence of which depends on an emendation of the text in Hist. Aug. Sev. 19. 5: *eiusdemque etiam balneae*<sup>1</sup> (*iani, ianae codd.*) in Transtiberina regione ad portam nominis sui, quarum forma intercicens statim usum publicum invidit (Becker, de vet. Romae muris atque portis 127; Top. 213; HJ 629; WS 1884, 124; RhM 1884, 635). See **THERMAE SEPTIMIANAE**, **SEVERIANAE** (2).

**BALNEA STEPHANI**: mentioned twice by Martial (xi. 52. 4; xiv. 60). They were near his house on the Quirinal (see **DOMUS MARTIALIS**).

**BALNEA SURAE**: see **THERMAE SURANAE**.

**BALNEUM QUI COGNOMINATUR TEMPLUS** (in vicum Longum): mentioned in LP (xlii. 6) among the buildings that fell into the possession of the basilica of SS. Gervasius and Protasius, which was dedicated under Innocent I (401-417 A.D.). This basilica is now the church of S. Vitale (HCh 498).

<sup>1</sup> Magie (Loeb series ad loc.) prefers Zangemeister's *Septimianae* (RhM cit.) for *balneae*.



**BALNEUM TIGELLINI**: mentioned by Martial (iii. 20. 16), and perhaps belonging to the notorious favourite of Nero. The name occurs on a lead tessera (Rostowzew, Syll. 888), and in a Latin gloss. (CGL iii. 657. 14; Haupt, Opusc. ii. 447).

**BALINEUM TORQUATI**: mentioned in Reg. in Region I., and probably in the neighbourhood of the porta Capena.

**BALINEUM VERULANUM**: inscribed on a marble cippus (CIL vi. 182=30708) that was found between S. Maria Maggiore and S. Croce, in the Vigna Altieri near the tomb called Casa Tonda.

**BAAANEION TIMOΘINQN**: see **THERMAE NOVATI**.

**BALINEUM VESPASIANI**: mentioned only in Reg. in Region I. with the **BALNEUM TORQUATI**.

**BASILICA**: \* the name given by the Romans to a very common type of building erected for business purposes and also for the accommodation of the courts. It usually consisted of a rectangular hall, of considerable height, surrounded by one or two ambulatories, sometimes with galleries, and lighted by openings in the upper part of the side walls. The hall often ended in an apse or exedra. There were numerous variants in detail from this type, but the general effect was the same. For discussions of the basilica in general, see RE iii. 83 ff.; DS. i. 677 ff.

The recent discovery of the underground basilica just outside the Porta Maggiore has somewhat modified the views previously held. Here we have a building, undoubtedly pagan, belonging to the first century after Christ, which already shows, fully developed, the plan of the Christian basilica with a nave and two aisles, separated by pillars supporting arches (Giovannoni in DAP 2. xv. 113). This basilica is not mentioned in classical literature, and was quite unexpectedly discovered in 1915. It was reached by a long subterranean passage, with two lightshafts (which has now been closed up, a new approach having been constructed from the via Praenestina), which led into a square vestibule with a larger shaft. (It was the earth falling into this shaft (which lay right under the Naples railway line) which led to the discovery of the basilica.) The vestibule was decorated with painted stucco; and from it a window over the entrance door threw scanty light into the basilica itself, which was decorated entirely with reliefs in white stucco. The subjects are very varied, and have given rise to much discussion. The basilica can be inferred from them to have served for the meetings of a neo-Pythagorean sect which believed in a future life, as they can all be referred to the adventures of the soul in its passage towards the other world, the scene in the apse showing the actual plunge into the purifying flood. The worship was obviously secret: and the building was probably constructed in such a way as to excite as little attention as possible, the piers having been made by excavating pits, which were then filled with concrete. The vaults and arches were supported until the concrete had set on the solid

earth (not on scaffolding) which accounts for their irregularity : and it was only afterwards that the earth was cleared out from beneath.

See NS 1918, 30-52, for the original discovery ; and Mem. Am. Acad. iv. 79-87, Strong and Jolliffe in JHS 1924, 65-111, and Carcopino, *La Basilique Pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure*, Paris, 1927, for a full description, with references to the voluminous literature of the subject. Bendinelli's attempt in BC 1922, 85-126, to prove it to have been a tomb can hardly be accepted. A fully illustrated official account is to be expected.

**BASILICA AEMILIA or PAULLI** : on the north side of the forum, between the curia and the temple of Faustina. In 179 B.C. the censor M. Fulvius Nobilior contracted for the building of a basilica 'post argentarias novas' (Liv. xl. 51). In 159 P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, when censor, installed a water clock in basilica Aemilia et Fulvia (Varro, LL vi. 4 ; cf. Censorin. de die nat. 23. 7 ; Plin. NH vii. 215 : idque horologium sub tecto dicavit a.u. Dxcv). This use of the double name, Aemilia et Fulvia, would seem to indicate that it was thus given in Varro's source, and was a usual, perhaps the official, designation of the building in the middle of the second century B.C., and that it had not wholly dropped out of use in Varro's own time. If so, Fulvius' colleague in the censorship of 179, M. Aemilius Lepidus, must have had at least equal responsibility in its construction, notwithstanding Livy's statement, a hypothesis that is supported by references to the later history of the basilica. In 78 B.C., the consul M. Aemilius Lepidus decorated the building (here called basilica Aemilia) with engraved shields or portraits of his ancestors (Plin. NH xxxv. 13), and probably restored it somewhat ; for a coin of his son Lepidus, triumvir monetalis about 65 (Babelon i. p. 129, No. 25 ; BM Rep. i. 450. 3650-3)<sup>1</sup> represents it as a two-storied porticus on which shields are hung with the legend M. Lepidus ref(ecta) s(enatus) c(onsulto). In 55 B.C., the aedile L. Aemilius Paullus, brother of the triumvir (RE i. 564), undertook to restore the basilica with money furnished by Caesar from Gaul (Plut. Caes. 29 [where the earlier building is called Fulvia only] ; App. BC ii. 26 ; Cic. ad Att. iv. 16. 14). The theory that Paullus had almost finished the building, when he decided to rebuild entirely and gave out a new contract, does not seem correct (TF 67). The beauty of this restored building is emphasised by Plutarch and Appian. Cicero says that Paullus used the ancient columns of the earlier structure. Nevertheless, he does not seem to have completed the work, for in 34 B.C. his son L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, when consul, finished and dedicated the building (Cass. Dio xlix. 42).

In all references to the basilica after 54 B.C., except those cited above from Varro, Pliny and Plutarch, it appears as basilica Paulli (Stat. Silv. i. 1. 30 : regia Pauli), so that this, rather than basilica Aemilia, was probably its ordinary name.

<sup>1</sup> Restored by Trajan (Babelon, ii. p. 573, No. 7).

In 14 B.C. it was burned, and rebuilt in the name of the Aemilius who then represented the family (probably the same man who carried out the restoration of 22 A.D.), but really by Augustus and the friends of Paullus (Cass. Dio liv. 24). Still later, in 22 A.D., M. Aemilius Lepidus, son of the restorer of 34 B.C., asked the senate for permission to carry out another restoration at his own expense, according to Tacitus (Ann. iii. 72), who calls the building basilica Pauli Aemilia monumenta. Pliny (NH xxxvi. 102) reckons it, the forum of Augustus and the temple of Peace, as the three most beautiful buildings in the world, and mentions its columns of Phrygian marble as very wonderful. These must have stood in the interior of the basilica, but we do not know to which restoration they belong, and no traces whatever of them have been found in the ruins; while those of the basilica of S. Paolo fuori le Mura are 1.19 metres in diameter, and therefore too large. After the first century the basilica is mentioned only on one inscription on a slave's collar (CIL xv. 7189: in basilica Paulli), in the Regionary Catalogue (Reg. IV), and in Polemius Silvius (p. 545). It is represented in a fragment of the Marble Plan (Mitt. 1905, 53, fig. 13; cf. AJA 1913, 15, n. 1).

Dr. E. Van Deman has propounded (AJA 1913, 26-28) a theory (1) that the porticus Gai et Luci is to be identified with the front arcades of the basilica Aemilia; and (2) that the name porticus Iulia (Cass. Dio lvi. 27. 5—though the MSS. have Livia, HJ 315—Schol. Pers. sat. iv. 49: foeneratores ad puteal Scribonis Licini<sup>1</sup> quod est in porticu Iulia ad Fabianum arcum) was applied to it at a later date. If she is right in identifying the remains of the arch with some blocks of tufa on the north side of the temple of Caesar (JRS 1922, 26-28), the latter postulate is perhaps to be conceded; for the fornix Fabianus cannot have stood anywhere near the basilica Iulia (Jord. i. 2. 210). In that case Suet. Aug. 29 porticum basilicamque Gai et Luci must then refer to two separate monuments: for whatever the porticus may be, the basilica Gai et Luci must be the basilica Iulia (Mon. Anc. iv. 13-16: basilicam quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni . . . nominis filiorum meum incohavi). But the passage of Dio refers to a dedication in 12 A.D., which will not fit the date of the inscription of Lucius Caesar (2 B.C., see p. 74) any more than it agrees with the date of the dedication of the porticus Liviae.

The remains of the basilica Aemilia, of which nothing was previously visible, have been for the most part laid bare by the recent excavations. It occupied the whole space between the temple of Faustina (from which it was separated by a narrow passage) and the Argiletum.

There are some remains, including a column base which probably belongs to the earliest period of the basilica, of the structures of 179, 78, and 34 B.C. (TF 66-75), or of 78 and 54 B.C. (JRS 1922, 29-31), but it is clear that little change was made in the extent and plan of the basilica in the rebuildings of 14 B.C. and 22 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Vulg.: *Scribonii Libonis* is the emendation generally adopted.



It consisted of a main hall, divided into a nave and two aisles by two orders of columns of africano marble, respectively 0.85 metre and 0.55 metre in diameter, with bases and capitals<sup>1</sup> of white marble, and finely carved entablatures of the same material: two fragments of the main entablature, which show traces of later injury by fire, bear the remains of an inscription ... PAVL... RESTI... On the north-east side of the nave there was a second line of columns, but as it lies only about 4 feet from the outer wall, the intervening space cannot be treated as a second aisle. The object of this inequality may have been to give extra support, as there were probably no tabernae here. The pavement is of slabs of fine coloured marbles (giallo, cipollino, porta santa).

The main hall was about 90 metres long and 27 wide; it is most probable, though not certain, that it had no apsidal termination at either end. It was lighted by a clerestory, to which belong some pilasters of white marble, with beautiful acanthus decoration, which stood between the double windows.

Outside the south-west wall of the nave was a row of small chambers (*tabernae*), which, like it, were built of *opus quadratum* of tufa even in the reconstruction of 14 B.C. (or 22 A.D.). In three of them (one in the centre and one near each end) were doors into the nave: the entire difference in plan from the basilica Iulia may be due to the desire to keep the heat out of the nave in summer. These chambers were vaulted in concrete, the vault springing from a slight projection in the stone block at the top of the side wall—an Augustan characteristic, noticeable also in the basilica Iulia, the horrea Agrippiana, the temple of Castor and Pollux, etc. A flight of stairs in the smaller chamber at each end led to the space above them which opened on to the upper arcade of the façade; and at the end of each of their side walls was a marble pilaster, corresponding to the pillars which supported the main arcade, which had fifteen arches. Most of the travertine foundation blocks of these pillars are preserved, though some have been extracted by mediaeval and Renaissance quarrying; but the white marble blocks of which they were composed have been removed—with a single exception, which is of special interest, inasmuch as it comes at the south angle of the building, and shows clearly that here there was a projecting porch of one intercolumniation. This porch bore three inscriptions, set up in 2 B.C. in honour of Augustus and his two grandsons by the plebs, the senate, and the equites: half of the first inscription is preserved (CIL vi. 3747=31291)<sup>2</sup> but not in situ, while the second lies as it fell when the building was destroyed by earthquake. These inscriptions, with which have been connected two bases also dedicated to Gaius and Lucius Caesar a year earlier (DR 476-9 is not correct as to the circumstances of their discovery; see

<sup>1</sup> In Zeitschr. f. Gesch. d. Archit. viii. (1924), 73, objection is taken to the proposed restoration of the lower order with Ionic columns in Toeb. cit. infra.

<sup>2</sup> The attribution to Vespasian (Mitt. 1888, 89) has been given up.





11 BASILICA AEMILIA, LATE PORTICO IN (p. 75)



12 CASTOR, AEDES, THE PODIUM (p. 104)



Mitt. 1899, 260), have been used as the basis of the identification of the front arcades of the basilica with the porticus Gai et Luci. Here lie other fragments, including some of the entablature of the upper order of the façade, with a cornice resembling that of the temple of Divus Iulius, but smaller. The massive main order was Doric, with bucrania and paterae alternating in the metopes, and fragments of it are preserved, though up to 1500 a portion of the north-west side façade (which faced originally on to the Argiletum, and owing to the direction of the latter, was not at right angles to the front) was standing, as various Renaissance drawings show (notably Sangallo, Barb. 26), and the so-called Coner, PBS ii. pl. 77).

From the façade three narrow steps descended to a broad landing, from which four more steps led to the forum level. The shrine of VENUS CLOACINA (q.v.) was built at the foot of the steps, not far from the north-west end. The steps on the south-east side have recently been exposed at one point, which has rendered it possible to determine the length of the building.

At the beginning of the fifth century A.D. the wooden roofs of the nave and aisles were set on fire (perhaps in 410, when Alaric captured Rome) and numerous coins, from the time of Constantine to the end of the fourth century, were found on the marble pavement. Above the stratum of ashes is a layer, about 1 metre thick, of earth mixed with fragments of architecture, statues, bricks, pottery, etc.; and upon this stratum has fallen the brick wall which replaced the back wall of the tabernae after its destruction by fire. From this it is clear that the nave of the basilica was abandoned after the fire (from which, as the fragments show, the africano columns suffered especially) and was to a certain extent used as a quarry even in ancient times. Nor were the tabernae nor the façade rebuilt, though a large private building was established in the south-east portion; in some of the tabernae are marble pavements of the seventh-ninth century, and on the back wall of the last taberna but one, a fragment of an inscription, with the name of a saint, was found. The sixteen columns of red granite (Ill. 11) which stood on high white marble pedestals (none of which were found in situ) may have belonged to its portico. Certainly, the attribution of them to a restoration of the façade of the basilica in the fifth century must be given up. Nor, on the other hand, can they belong to the mediaeval church of S. Iohannes in Campo (HCh 270), which must have lain at a much higher level.

The final ruin of the whole, which caused the collapse of the brick wall at the back of the tabernae, may best be attributed to the earthquake of Leo IV in 847 A.D. (LPD ii. 108; see VENUS ET ROMA, TEMPLUM).

See RE i. 540; Suppl. i. 16; BC 1899, 169-204; 1900, 3-8; 1901, 20-30; CR 1899, 465; 1901, 136; 1902, 95; DR 396-408; Mitt. 1902, 41-57; 1905, 53-62; Atti 566-570; HC 123-132; Pl. 194-198; RL 1912, 758-766; LS ii. 191-193; AJA 1913, 14-28; BA 1914, Cr. 73; JRS

1919, 176-177; 1922, 29-30; DuP 99-100; D'Esp. Fr. ii. 59-61; Toeb. i. 27-34; ASA 83, 84; HFP 34). See also PILA HORATIA.

**BASILICA ALEXANDRINA:** a building one hundred feet wide and one thousand long, that Alexander Severus planned to erect inter campum Martium et Saepta Agrippiana (Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 26). It was commenced but never built (BC 1883, 12; 1893, 124). The passage may have been made up from Cic. ad Att. iv. 16. 8 (SHA 1916, 7. A, 12—see SAEPTA).

**BASILICA ANTONIARUM DUARUM:** mentioned only in one inscription (CIL vi. 5536). These Antoniae may have been the daughters of Octavia and Antonius.

**BASILICA ARGENTARIA:** apparently the headquarters for the sale of vessels of bronze, mentioned only in Reg. in Region VIII, between the temple of Concord and the barracks of the Fifth Cohort of Vigiles. It was probably between the forum of Trajan and the east slope of the Capitoline hill, on the CLIVUS ARGENTARIUS (q.v.). In Reg. app. the basilica Vascellaria is mentioned, but not the Argentaria, and this, together with the fact that artificers in bronze were called *argentarii vascularii* on the inscriptions, make it possible that the same building is referred to under the two names (Jord. i. 2. 438; ii. 216, 458; DE i. 978; RE ii. 706).

**BASILICA CALABRA:** see CURIA CALABRA.

**BASILICA CLAUDII:** mentioned only in Pol. Silv. (545), where it has been perhaps confused with aqua Claudii (Jord. ii. 217).

**BASILICA CONSTANTINI** (Pol. Silv. 545), Constantiniana (Chron. 146; Not. app.) or Nova (Not. Reg. IV.): begun by Maxentius but completed by Constantine (Aur. Vict. Caes. 40. 26: adhuc cuncta opera quae magnifice construxerat urbis fanum atque basilicam Flavii meritis patres sacravere) on the north side of the Sacra via, a site previously occupied, in part at least, by the horrea Piperataria (Chron. cit.) of Domitian.<sup>1</sup> It was the last of the Roman basilicas, which it resembled less than it did the halls of the great thermae. Its proper designation appears to have fallen into disuse at an early period, for in the sixth century it was called templum Romae;<sup>2</sup> (LPD i. 280; Mél. 1886, 25 ff.; cf. however, BC 1900, 303), and in the seventh when Pope Honorius took its bronze tiles for the roof of St. Peter's (LPD i. 323; cf. BC 1914, 106). The south aisle and the roof of the nave probably collapsed in the earthquake of Leo IV in 847 (LPD ii. 108); see VENUS ET ROMA, TEMPLUM).

The basilica stood on an enormous rectangular platform of concrete 100 metres long and 65 wide, and consisted of a central nave 80 metres

<sup>1</sup> See s.v.—though the remains which have actually been discovered belong in part at least to the porticoes of the Sacra Via of Nero (AJA 1923, 386, 421; Mem. Am. Acad. v. 115).

<sup>2</sup> It was later called templum Romuli, while the temple of Venus and Rome was called palatium Romuli; but the name never properly belonged to the so-called templum Divi Romuli at all.



long, 25 wide and 35 high, with side aisles 16 metres wide and 24.50 high. These aisles were divided into three sections by walls pierced by wide arches and ending on each side of the nave in massive piers. In front of these piers and at the corners of the nave were eight monolithic columns of marble, all of which have been destroyed except one that was removed by Paul V in 1613 to the Piazza di S. Maria Maggiore, where it now stands (LS ii. 209; JRS 1919, 180). The height of the shaft of this column is 14.50 metres, and it is 5.40 metres in circumference. On the piers rested the roof of the nave, divided into three bays with quadripartite groining. The ceiling was decorated with deep hexagonal and octagonal coffers. For the entasis see *Mem. Am. Acad.* iv. 122, 142.

The façade of the basilica as built by Maxentius was towards the east, and at this end was a corridor or vestibule, 8 metres deep, which extended across the whole width of the building. From this vestibule there were five entrances into the basilica, three into the nave, and one into each of the aisles. A flight of steps led up from the street in front to the vestibule, which was adorned with columns. At the west end of the nave was a semicircular apse, 20 metres in diameter, in which the fragments of the colossal statue of Constantine, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, were probably found in 1487 (HC 242; Cons. 5, 11 ff.). The statue probably sat in this apse, which would have been its natural place.

Constantine spoilt the original conception of the building when he constructed a second entrance from the Sacra via in the middle of the south side, where he built a porch with porphyry columns (?) and a long flight of steps (Ill. 10). Opposite this new entrance he constructed a second semicircular apse in the north wall, as large as that at the west end of the nave but lower (PBS ii. pls. 16, 59; CR 1905, 76). Thenceforth the basilica produced the same impression—of three parallel halls—whether one entered it from the south or from the east.

Besides the foundation, which has been almost wholly uncovered, the north wall and the north aisle—or, as it rather appears, the north sections of the three halls regarded as running north and south—are still standing. The semicircular apse in the central hall contains sixteen rectangular niches in two rows, with a pedestal or suggestus in the centre. A marble seat with steps runs round the apse, which was separated from the rest of the hall by two columns and marble screens, thus forming a sort of tribunal. Nothing of the nave remains except the bases of the great piers. The core of the porch and of the flight of steps leading down to the Sacra via is still visible, and several fragments of the porphyry columns have been set up, but not in situ. Of the pavement of slabs of marble considerable fragments have been found (Mitt. 1905, 117).

The material employed in this basilica was brick-faced concrete (AJA 1912, 429-432), and the great thickness of the walls—6 metres at one point at the west end—and the enormous height and span of the

vaulted roof made it one of the most remarkable buildings in Rome. The magnificence of its interior decoration was commensurate with its size and imposing character. It was modelled on the central halls of the great *thermae*.

The north-west corner of the basilica joined the wall of the forum of Vespasian, thereby cutting off the previously existing thoroughfare between the forum Romanum and the district of the Carinae. Maxentius therefore constructed a passage-way under the north-west corner of the building, about 4 metres wide and 15 long. In the Middle Ages this was known as the Arco di Latrone<sup>1</sup> from its dangerous associations (JRS 1919, 179). For the road round the back of the north-eastern apse see LS ii. 211; PBS ii. 17.

For the older literature and illustrations, see especially: Nibby, *Del Foro Romano, della Via Sacra, dell' Anfiteatro Flavio*, Rome 1819, 189 ff.; *Del Tempio della Pace* (under which name it was generally known before his time) e della Basilica di Constantino, Rome 1819; *Roma antica* ii. 238 ff.; Canina, *Edifici* ii. pls. 129-132; *Mél.* 1891, 161-167; *Mitt.* 1892, 289; more recent: Reber 392-397; Middleton ii. 224-229; *Théd.* 343-348; Petersen, *Vom alten Rom* 31-53; HC 227-231; HJ 11-14; *Durm* 174, 175, 232, 259-260, 265; NS 1878, 132, 163; 1879, 14, 263, 264, 312, 313; RE iv. 961-962; D'Esp. Fr. i. 100; ii. 100; DuP 105-107; *Toeb.* i. 117-130; ZA 109-111; RA 211-215; DR 419-428; ASA 84, 85.

**BASILICA FLOCELLARIA**: apparently a building devoted to the use of the flower sellers, mentioned only in Reg. app. and in Pol. Silv. (545), without any indication of its location.

**BASILICA FULVIA**: see **BASILICA AEMILIA**.

**BASILICA GAI ET LUCI**: see **BASILICA IULIA**.

**BASILICA HILARIANA**: a sort of sanctuary dedicated by the collegium dendrophorum Matris deum magnae et Attidis in honour of a certain M'. Poplicius Hilarus (CIL vi. 641, 30973). The vestibule of this basilica with its inscription on the mosaic floor was found in 1889 on the site of the Ospedale Militare, but nothing sufficient to indicate its exact form of construction (Rosch. ii. 2917-2918; BC 1890, 18-25, pls. i., ii.; 1918, 76-78; *Mitt.* 1891, 109; Cons. 277 ff.).

**BASILICA HOSTILIA**: see **BASILICA VESTILIA**.

**BASILICA IULIA**: on the south side of the forum, between the vicus Tuscus and the vicus Iugarius. It was perhaps begun by Aemilius Paullus on behalf of Caesar, probably in 54 B.C. (cf. the difficult passage Cic. ad Att. iv. 16. 8, a letter written in that year, and the commentators, especially Becker, Top. 301-306; Jord. i. 2. 394; and contrast AJA 1913, 25, n. 2), dedicated in an unfinished state in 46 (Mon. Anc. iv. 13; Hier. a. Abr. 1971), completed by Augustus, burned soon afterwards, and, when

<sup>1</sup> So Mon. L. i. 551; ASRSP 1881, 378. But the correct reading in Ordo Bened. is *per arcum Latone* (Jord. ii. 666; Lib. Cens., Fabre-Duchesne, ii. 158, § 72).

rebuilt in an enlarged form by Augustus, dedicated again in 12 A.D. in the names of Gaius and Lucius Caesar (Mon. Anc. iv. 13-16; Cass. Dio lvi. 27;<sup>1</sup> Suet. Aug. 29). It is not certain, however, that the building was entirely finished when dedicated for the second time (cf. Mon. Anc. loc. cit.). It was injured by fire under Carinus (Chron. p. 148) and restored by Diocletian (ib.), and again in 416 A.D. by a certain Gabinius Vettius Probianus, prefect of the city, who also adorned it with statues (CIL vi. 1156, 1658, 31883-31887; NS 1883, 47-48; Mitt. 1902, 54; Klio, 1902, 269-270). Notwithstanding its dedication under the names of Gaius and Lucius, it appears as the basilica Gai et Luci only in the three passages quoted above, and elsewhere as basilica Iulia, or tecta Iulia in the poets (Mart. vi. 38. 6; Stat. Silv. i. 1. 29). Its site is definitely described by ancient authorities (Mon. Anc. loc. cit.; Fest. 290; Stat. loc. cit.), and it is represented on the Marble Plan (frgs. 20, 23). From its roof Caligula threw coins among the people (Suet. Cal. 37; Joseph. xix. 11. 1. 11; cf. Mitt. 1893, 264; Chron. p. 145; JRS 1926, 134).

During the early empire the centumviral court held its sessions in this basilica (Mart. vi. 38. 5-6; Plin. Ep. i. 5; ii. 14; v. 9; vi. 33; Quint. xii. 5. 6) and a statue of Crispus was set up here as a reward for his frequent pleadings before the Emperor Domitian (Schol. Iuv. 4. 81). The basilica is mentioned in several inscriptions (CIL vi. 9709, 9711, 9712, 32296), in Reg. (Reg. VIII), and by Pol. Silv. (545). The amount and magnificence of the marble used in this basilica marked it as the special prey of the vandals of the middle ages, and a lime kiln was found on its very pavement (LD passim; BC 1891, 229-236). In the seventh or eighth century the outer aisle on the west side was converted into a church (Archivio Storico dell' Arte, 1896, 164; Frothingham, Monuments of Christian Rome (New York 1908) 83); this has generally been identified with S. Maria de Cannapara, mentioned in the catalogues of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, which must, however, have been at a considerably higher level (HCh 321). Nor can it be S. Maria in Foro (HCh 335); cf. HFP 15.

The basilica occupied a space 101 metres long and 49 wide, bounded on all sides by streets, the Sacra via, the vicus Iugarius, the vicus Tuscus, and a street on the south connecting the last two. In the later restorations the material of construction, but not the form, was changed (CR 1901, 136; Mitt. 1902, 60). The central court, 82 metres long and 16 wide, was surrounded on all sides by two aisles, 7.50 metres wide, over which were the galleries of a second story (cf. Plin. Ep. vi. 33; Suet. Cal. 37). These aisles were formed by the pillars of the façade, which were of marble, and by inner rows of similar pillars made of brick and faced with marble. The first floor of the basilica was therefore an open arcade, divided by the marble balustrades which joined the pillars. Of these pillars there were eighteen on each of the longer sides, and eight, counting the ends of the spur walls, on the shorter. The entire outside of the

<sup>1</sup> *Ἰουλία* is a correction, the text (*supra*, 73) having *Λιούλια*.



building was constructed originally of white marble, and on the outer faces of its pillars were engaged columns of the Doric order. The floor sloped slightly towards the north-east corner, and was paved with slabs of marble, coloured in the central court and white in the aisles. The central area was covered with a wooden roof (Stat. Silv. i. 1. 29; Mart. vi. 38. 6), which rose above the roof of the side aisles and admitted light through its side windows, as in the basilica Aemilia. For the fragments of the vaulting of the side aisles, see Mitt. 1901, 13-18.

A continuous flight of three steps leads down from the floor of the central court to that of the outer aisle in front, which, being lower, forms a sort of portico. From this aisle steps again lead down to the street, but as there is a considerable rise in the Sacra via, there are seven steps at the east end and only one at the west. On the south side was a row of rooms opening on the street, some of which, with massive tufa walls, have only been partially excavated. It is possible that there was a row of tabernae on this, the sunny side, as in the basilica Aemilia; there are traces of stairs ascending to an upper level, i.e. to the roof of these tabernae.

The existing remains consist of the foundation, with fragments of the marble pavement on which are inscribed upwards of eighty *tabulae lusoriae* (Mitt. 1896, 227-252);<sup>1</sup> the steps with portions of the marble casing; and on the vicus Iugarius some of the brick pillars and arches of the outer aisles belonging to the restoration of Diocletian, together with some fragments of the marble pillars of the outside. Against the second column from the front, on the west end, a heavy pier was built, which formed part of an arch across the vicus Iugarius. Some architectural fragments have been found, but the standing column of travertine and many of the brick piers are modern (Jord. i. 2. 385-391; HC 61-68; Théd. 150-153, 218-223; LS ii. 205-206; LR 275-279, with résumé of excavations since 1496; RA 202-205; DR 408, 419; RE Suppl. iv. 466-469; ASA 83). See PILA HORATIA.

**BASILICA IULIA AQUILIANA**: mentioned by Vitruvius (v. 1. 4) as occupying a long and narrow site, so that the *chalcidica* or porches were added at the ends. It has been conjectured that it was built in honour of Julius Caesar by C. Aquilius Gallus, the friend of Cicero. Its site is unknown (Jord. i. 2. 256; RE iii. 84; x. 8).

**BASILICA IUNI BASSI**: consul ordinarius in 331 A.D. (not 317, cf. Götting. Nachr. 1904, 345), situated on the Esquiline east of S. Maria Maggiore. The inscription, in mosaic, was copied in the sixteenth century (Iunius Bassus, v.c. consul ordinarius propria impensa a solo fecit et dedicavit feliciter, CIL vi. 1737) in the apse of a richly decorated hall belonging to it. He died in 359 (ib. 32004).

<sup>1</sup> This article, cited by various writers, contains a description of *tesserae lusoriae* used for the *ludus duodecim scriptorum*, but not a word about the *tabulae* on the pavement of the basilica, which are best described by Thédénat, cit.



In the time of Pope Simplicius (468-483) the hall was dedicated by the munificence of the Goth Valila (or Flavius Theodobius) as the church of S. Andrea cata Barbara Patricia (LP xlvi. 1).

Drawings of the fine decorations in marble and mosaic were made by Giuliano da Sangallo (Barb. 31<sup>v</sup> and text, p. 47) and at the end of the sixteenth century (see Hülsen in *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser* (Vienna, 1926), 53-67, at the end of which a list of the drawings is given; add Windsor, Portfolio 5, No. 60 (Inv. 12121), for which see PBS vi. 186, n. 2; and Holkham, ii. 8, 9, 11; Baddeley xciv., for which see PBS viii. 40, 49; Caylus 30, which represents the mosaic of the triumphator); and two of the mosaics are still in the Palazzo Massimi (MD 4114, 4115) and two more in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Cons. 260, 264, q.v. for full bibliography).

See BCr 1871, 5-29, 41-64; 1899, 171-179; BC 1893, 89-104; PBS vi. 186-188; viii. 49; Arm. 815; HJ 337; HCh 179-181, 585.

BASILICA MARCIANAE } mentioned in Reg. as in Region IX and in Pol.  
BASILICA MATIDIAE: } Silv. (545). These halls were undoubtedly near  
the *TEMPLUM MATIDIAE* (q.v.), and from the evidence of a medallion of Hadrian (Eckhel vi. p. 472; Gnechi ii. p. 5, No. 25, pl. 39, No. 5) they seem to have stood on each side of the area in front (north) of this temple, a little back from the east and west sides of the present Piazza Capranica; while the domed building known as the Tempio di S. Siede in the seventeenth century may have had a corresponding building opposite to it, each standing at the north end of one of these two basilicas, as Hülsen supposes. It cannot have given its name to the church of S. Stefano de Trullo, which was near the Hadrianeum (LS i. 132; HCh 485; BC 1883, 5-16; Mitt. 1899, 141-153; HJ 575; Hülsen in OJ 1912, 136-142; RA 134).

BASILICA MAXENTII: see BASILICA CONSTANTINI.

BASILICA NEPTUNI: a building restored by Hadrian (Hist. Aug. 19), and mentioned in Cur. in Region IX and in Pol. Silv. (545). This basilica is now generally, and properly, identified with the *στώα Ποσειδῶνος* built by Agrippa in 25 B.C. (Cass. Dio liii. 27), and with the *Ποσειδώνιον* that was burned in the great fire in the reign of Titus (ib. lxvi. 24) and stood between the Pantheon and the Hadrianeum. By some it has also been identified with the *PORTICUS ARGONAUTARUM* (q.v.), but it is probable that they were separate structures, although near together and possibly adjoining (Lucas, *Zur Geschichte der Neptunsbasilika*, Berlin 1904; OJ 1912, 132-135).

BASILICA NOVA: see BASILICA CONSTANTINI.

BASILICA OPIMIA: erected probably by the consul L. Opimius in 121 B.C., at the same time that he restored the temple of Concord. The basilica must have stood just north of the temple, between it and the Tullianum (Varro, LL v. 156), and it was probably removed when Tiberius rebuilt

the temple, as it is not mentioned after that date (CIL vi. 2338, 2339; DE i. 978; Théd. 145). The *celeberrimum monumentum* Opimi of Cicero (pro Sest. 140) refers probably to both temple and basilica; *celeberrimum* ('much frequented,' not 'magnificent') is contrasted with his lonely tomb on the shore at Dyrrachium (CP 1917, 194).

**BASILICA PORCIA**: the first basilica in Rome, built for judicial and business purposes by Cato in 184 B.C., in the face of much opposition (Liv. xxxix. 44; Ascon. in Mil. arg. 34; Plut. Cat. Mai. 19; Cat. Min. 5; de vir. ill. 47). It stood a little west of the curia, IN LAUTUMIIS (q.v.), on ground purchased by Cato and occupied by shops and two private houses, those of Maenius and Titius. In it the tribunes held court. It was burned in 52 B.C. with the curia of Sulla at the funeral of Clodius, and probably totally destroyed, as there is no further mention of it (Jord. i. 2. 344; Mitt. 1893, 84, 91; BC 1914, 107; Théd. 138-139).

**BASILICA SEMPRONIA**: erected in 170 B.C. by the censor Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, behind the TABERNAE VETERES (q.v.) and near the statue of Vortumnus, on a site that had been occupied by the house of Scipio Africanus and adjacent shops (Liv. xlv. 16). It stood therefore at the point where the vicus Tuscus entered the forum. Nothing is known of the history of the building, but it must have been destroyed when the Julia was built.

**BASILICA SICININI**: see SICININUM.

**BASILICA ULPIA**: see FORUM TRAIANI.

**BASILICA VASCELLARIA**: see BASILICA ARGENTARIA.

**BASILICA VESTILIA**: mentioned only in the Appendix to the Regionary Catalogue, where one MS. reads *vestiaria* and there are other variants. The *hostilia* of Pol. Silv. (545) is regarded as a corruption, and whatever the true reading may be, the structure was probably used for trading in the kind of goods specified in the name (Jord. ii. 220).

**BASIS Q. MARCI REGIS**: the pedestal of a statue of Q. Marcius Rex, erected on the Capitoline behind the temple of Juppiter, on which a *diploma honestae missionis* was fastened in 64 A.D. (CIL iii. p. 846, No. III).

**BELLONA, AEDES** (templum, Liv. x. 19; Fest. 33; Ov. Fast. vi. 205): the temple of Bellona, a goddess who probably represented that characteristic of Mars which was displayed in the fierceness of battle frenzy (WR 137-138; AR 1909, 70, 71). It was vowed by Appius Claudius Caecus in 296 B.C. (Liv. x. 19. 17; Plin. NH xxxv. 12; Ov. Fast. vi. 201-204; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 192 (Elog. x.)=xi. 1827), and dedicated a few years later on June 3rd (Ov. Fast. vi. 201). No traces, architectural or epigraphic, of the temple have been found, and its site is not known with certainty; but it was in the campus Martius, in circo Flaminio (Fast. Ven. ad III non. Iun.; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 319; Mirabil. 23; BC 1914, 383-385), probably about half-way between the north-east corner of the circus Flaminius and the

Petronia amnis. From it the senators heard the cries of the prisoners whom Sulla massacred in the Villa publica (Plut. Sulla 30; Sen. de clem. i. 12. 2; Cass. Dio, fr. 109. 5), and from the open area in front of it one looked at the eastern end of the circus Flaminius (Ov. Fast. vi. 205, 209). It was probably on the east side of the via Triumphalis and faced the east. For a suggestive but hardly convincing theory that this temple was at the west end of the circus Flaminius, in the Piazza Paganica, see BC 1918, 120-126). See Addenda to HERCULES CUSTOS, AEDES.

The senate met in this temple on various occasions (SC de Bacch. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 581=x. 104; Cic. in Verr. v. 41; Plut. Sulla 7; Cass. Dio l. 4), and most frequently, as the temple lay outside the pomerium, to receive victorious generals on their return to Rome, and to vote upon their claims for a triumph (Liv. xxvi. 21; xxviii. 9, 38; xxxi. 47; xxxiii. 22; xxxvi. 39; xxxviii. 44; xxxix. 29; xli. 6; xlii. 9, 21, 28; Sall. frg. v. 26; cf. BC 1908, 138). Foreign ambassadors were also received here (Liv. xxx. 21, 40; xxxiii. 24; xlii. 36). The temple is mentioned in the second and early third century (Plut. Cic. 13; Cass. Dio lxxi. 33; Hist. Aug. Sev. 22; Placidus, p. 14 Deuerl.=CGL v. 8. 22, 50. 8). Near it was a SENACULUM (q.v.) or place of assembly for the senators (Fest. 347), and in front of it stood the COLUMNA BELLICA (q.v.). Besides the literature already cited, see RE iii. 254-255; viii. 572-573; Rosch. i. 775; HJ 552-554; JRS 1921, 32.

BELLONA PULVINENSIS, AEDES: a temple mentioned in three inscriptions (CIL vi. 490, 2232, 2233; DE i. 175), of the Cappadocian goddess Ma-Bellona, whose worship seems to have displaced that of the Latin Bellona during the empire. This temple was probably not built before the third century, and its site is unknown. It had no connection with the pulvinar of the circus Flaminius (HJ 554; WR 349-350; RE iii. 256; PBS ix. 205-213, where CIL xiii. 7281, which refers to the restoration by the *hastiferi* (a priestly college of Bellona) *Civitatis Mattiacorum* of a *Mons Vaticanus*, is coupled with the existence of tombstones of her priests—the two last inscriptions cited—on the via Triumphalis, to support the conjecture that this temple was situated somewhere on the *montes Vaticani*).

BELLONA RUFILIA, AEDES: a temple mentioned in one inscription of the empire (CIL vi. 2234), evidently dedicated to the same Oriental deity who was worshipped in the temple of Bellona Pulvinensis, and probably built by some individual whose name is preserved in the epithet Rufilia. This explanation is more reasonable than that which derives the adjective from rufus, and interprets it as referring to the bloody character of the cult. The exact location of this temple is not known, but it was perhaps in Region III, as it stood 'ab Isis Serapis' (RE iii. 256; Rosch. i. 777; WR 349).

BELLONA, SACELLUM: a shrine of Bellona on the Capitol, which was inadvertently pulled down by the magistrates when the neighbouring temple



of Isis and Serapis was destroyed in 48 B.C. (Cass. Dio xlii. 26: 'Εννεῖόν τι; HJ 554; WR 349; RE iii. 285; Pr. Myth. ii. 386).

**BIBLIOTHECA APOLLINIS PALATINI**: \*the library established by Augustus in the temple of APOLLO (q.v.), perhaps opening out of the porticus or forming a part of it. It was also called the bibliotheca Palatina (Suet. de gramm. 20), and was large enough for meetings of the senate. There were two divisions of the library, one for Greek and one for Latin books, and medallion portraits of famous authors were fastened on the walls (Ov. Trist. iii. i. 63; Hor. Epist. i. 3. 17 and Scholia; Suet. Aug. 29; Plin. NH vii. 210; xxxiv. 43; Tac. Ann. ii. 37, 83; Schol. Iuv. i. 128; Fronto, Ep. iv. 5; Cass. Dio liii. 1; Serv. ad Ecl. iv. 10; CIL vi. 5188-91; Ihm, Centralblatt f. Bibliotheksw. 1893, 516; Hirschfeld, Verwaltungsgesch. i. 186; RE iii. 418; JRS 1914, 201-204; Boyd 5-8, 32-33). For the history of the building, see **AEDES APOLLINIS** and **DOMUS AUGUSTIANA** (p. 161).

**BIBLIOTHECA ASINII POLLIONIS**: the first public library in Rome, established by Asinius Pollio in the **ATRIUM LIBERTATIS** (q.v.) after his restoration of this building from the spoils of his Parthian campaign (Ov. Trist. iii. i. 71; Plin. NH vii. 115; xxxv. 10; Isid. Orig. vi. 5. 2). It contained Greek and Latin books, with portrait busts of authors, and seems to have served also as a museum for works of art in general (Plin. NH xxxvi. 23, 24, 25, 33, 34, who refers to it as Asini Pollionis monumenta; Ihm, Centralblatt f. Bibliotheksw. 1893, 515).

**BIBLIOTHECA TEMPLI D. AUGUSTI**: also called bibliotheca Templi novi, the library established by Tiberius in the temple of Augustus, and dedicated after his death (Suet. Tib. 74; Plin. NH xxxiv. 43). This library was burned with the temple under Vespasian or Domitian and restored by the latter. From a reference in Martial (xii. 8), it has been conjectured that the books themselves were removed after this fire and not actually replaced until just before the publication of this epigram in 101 A.D. (Friedländer, ad loc.). It is possible that this is the same library that was called bibliotheca domus Tiberianae in the fourth century (cf. Boyd 10-15, 34). For the discussion of the identification of this library, see **AUGUSTUS, TEMPLUM**.

**BIBLIOTHECA CAPITOLINA**: a library on the Capitoline, maiorum cura studioque compositam (Oros. vii. 16), about which nothing more is known except that it was burned during the reign of Commodus (Hier. a. Abr. 2202/189 A.D.; BC 1914, 91; Boyd 19-20).

**BIBLIOTHECA PANTHEI**: see **THERMAE ALEXANDRINAE**.

**BIBLIOTHECA PORTICUS OCTAVIAE**: established by Octavia after the death of Marcellus in 23 B.C. (Plut. Marc. 30; Ov. Trist. iii. i. 69) in the porticus Octaviae (Boyd 8-10, 33-34). It was arranged by C. Melissus, a freedman of Maecenas (Suet. de gramm. 21), and divided into two



sections, one for Greek and one for Latin books (CIL vi. 2347-9,<sup>1</sup> 4431-5, 5192). Library and books were burned in 80 A.D. (Cass. Dio lxvi. 24), but the books were probably replaced in the new building (Suet. Dom. 20). For the history of the building, and its parts, see PORTICUS OCTAVIAE.

BIBLIOTHECA TEMPLI PACIS : see PACIS TEMPLUM.

BIBLIOTHECA DOMUS TIBERIANAE : a library attached to the DOMUS TIBERIANA on the Palatine (q.v.), mentioned only in literature of the fourth century (Gell. xiii. 20. 1 ; Hist. Aug. Prob. 2 ; Fronto, Ep. iv. 5 ; see also BIBLIOTHECA TEMPLI D. AUGUSTI, and Boyd 14-15, 34-35).

BIBLIOTHECA ULPIA : see FORUM TRAIANI.

BONA DEA : a shrine of Bona Dea, which stood a little north of the present church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, known only from certain inscriptions found in the neighbourhood. One (CIL vi. 65) records the restoration of a sacrum Bonae Deae by M. Vettius Bolanus, consul c. 69 A.D. (cf. BALINEUM BOLANI) ; another (67) the erection of a simulacrum in tutelam insulae Bolani, and the gift of an aedes to Bona Dea restituta or restitutrix, by a certain Cladus who also made another present of some kind to the goddess (CIL vi. 66). Nothing further is known of this shrine (cf. CIL vi. 75 ; BC 1905, 349 ; NS 1905, 270 ; HJ 639-640 ; RE iii. 690 ; Gilb. ii. 177 ; iii. 445).

BONA DEA SUBSAXANA, AEDES (templa, Ov. Fast. v. 153) : a temple of Bona Dea at the north end of the eastern part of the Aventine, directly south of the east end of the circus Maximus. It lay just below that section of the hill called Saxum (v. REMORIA), now occupied by the church of S. Balbina, and hence was named Subsaxana (Ov. cit. ; Not. Reg. XII ; Merlin 108-110 ; BC 1914, 344-345). The early Roman goddess Bona Dea Fauna (Macrob. Sat. i. 12. 22 ; Fest. 68) had apparently been merged in the Greek goddess Damia, whose cult had perhaps been introduced into Rome after the capture of Tarentum, or a little later. To this period the founding of the temple is probably to be assigned. It was restored by Livia, the wife of Augustus (Ov. Fast. v. 157-158), and by Hadrian (Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19), and was standing in the fourth century (Not. Reg. XII), but has left no traces. The statement of Ovid (Fast. v. 155-156) that this temple was dedicated by a Vestal, Claudia, is based on an erroneous identification of this aedes with an aedicula which a Vestal, Licinia, dedicated in 123 B.C., and which evidently was not allowed to stand (Cic. pro domo 136). Bona Dea (Damia) was a goddess of healing and her temple a centre of healing, as is shown by the fact that in this temple snakes moved about unharmed and innocuous, and there was a store within it of herbs of every sort 'ex quibus antistites dant plerumque medicinas' (Macrob. Sat. i. 12. 25-26). No men were allowed to enter its precincts (Fest. 278 ; Macrob. Ov. locc. citt.). See HJ 181-183 ; WR 216-219 ; RE iii. 690-691 ; Rosch. i. 790-791 ; Gilb. ii. 206-211 ; DE i. 1015.

<sup>1</sup> 2347=4431 ; 2349=5192.

**BONUS EVENTUS, TEMPLUM** : a temple of Bonus Eventus to which there is but one reference in literature (Amm. Marcell. xxix. 6. 19) where it is said that the **PORTICUS BONI EVENTUS** (q.v.) was built near it in 374 A.D. The temple probably stood just west of the *thermae Agrippae*, and some ancient peperino walls found on the site of the church of S. Maria in Monterone may belong to it (ASRSP 1887, 471; BC 1878, 212-213; 1891, 224-227; 1914, 387-388). The date of crection of this temple is unknown, but it may have been one of the buildings of Agrippa (HJ 581; RE iii. 715; Rosch. i. 795-797).

**BUCINUM** : a name found in the Regionary Catalogue in Region IV, and once in the Digest (14. 4. 6. 16). It occurs in the Catalogue among monuments that were probably near the lower end of the Subura, and it was probably a conch shell or horn, represented in monumental form, that gave its name to the locality (Mitt. 1907, 429-433; BPW 1914, 382).

**BUSTA GALLICA** : a place 'media in urbe' (Liv. xxii. 14), where, according to Varro (LL v. 157), the bones of the Gauls were burned after the city had been retaken by Camillus. According to another version of the story (Liv. v. 48) the Gauls themselves burned here the bodies of their own number who died during the siege. There is no indication of its location (cf. BC 1914, 108-109), and the name of the mediaeval district of Portogallo should not be brought into connection with it (HCh 317). One might conjecture that the name and the tradition had arisen from the discovery of some prehistoric cemetery (cf. *DOLIOLA*, *EQUUS DOMITIANI*). It is mentioned in an inscription of the Sullan period as being at the foot of a flight of steps, the *Scalae* [? *Ca*]niniae: *In scalis . . . ninieis ab cleivo infimo busteis Gallicis versus ad summum cleivom* (BC 1899, 53; NS 1900, 310; Klio 1902, 259, No. 38; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 809).

## C

**CACA, SACELLUM**: a shrine of Caca mentioned twice in extant literature (Serv. ad Aen. viii. 190: hunc (Cacum) soror sua eiusdem nominis prodidit; unde etiam sacellum meruit in quo ei per virgines Vestae sacrificabatur (vulg.), ei pervigili igne sicut Vestae (F)=Mythog. Vatic. ii. 153; iii. 13; Lact. Inst. i. 20. 36: colitur et Caca quae Herculi fecit indicium de furto boum). It is supposed to have stood on the south-west corner of the Palatine near the SCALAE CACI (q.v.), but no trace of it has been found. For a discussion of Caca and the topographical questions involved, see Rosch. i. 842-843; RE iii. 1164; WR 144; De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* ii. 524-525; *University of Michigan Studies* iv. 234; Mitt. 1895, 163; Gilb. i. 51.

**CACI SCALAE**: see SCALAE CACI.

**CACUM**: another name for the forum Boarium, if the reading of the *Cosmographia* (Geogr. Lat. Min. ed. Riese, 83) is accepted (Jord. i. 2. 482; RE iii. 1165; Pr. Reg. 153 and HJ 40, in loc.). It may simply be an abbreviation of vicus Caci (Eranos 1923, 126-129).

**CAELIMONTIUM**<sup>1</sup>: \*the name given to Region II in Reg., and in one inscription (CIL xv. 7190). It included the greater part of the Caelian hill and extended east to the Aurelian wall. This word, Caelimontium, is evidently analogous in formation to Septimontium, and may have been used as the name of the region because it included the hill, or the region may have been so called because Caelimontium was one of its principal streets (cf. *Alta Semita*). Some evidence for the latter hypothesis is found in the adjective Caelimontienses (CIL vi. 31893, 31899), although it has been suggested (BC 1891, 353-354) that this may mean those who dwelt in a street or quarter that was called Caelimontium, a restricted use of the latter term which has parallels.

**CAELIMONTIENSES**: see above.

**CAELIOLUS** or **CAELIOLUM**: a part of the Caelian hill (Varro, LL v. 46), appearing as Caeliculus or Caeciculum in Cicero (*de Har. Resp.* 32), and probably the Caelius minor of Martial (xii. 18. 6). The vicus Capitis Africae, the modern via Claudia, seems to have divided the hill into two sections, and the smaller, eastern, section was presumably the

<sup>1</sup> The form Celimontium is given in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*; but the inscriptions have here been followed. Caelemontium was also used; compare CAMPUS CAELEMONTANUS.

Caeliolus. This is now marked by the church of SS. Quattro Coronati (Gilb. ii. 32; HJ 223; BC 1914, 353; Eranos, 1923, 55).

CAELIUS<sup>1</sup> MONS: the most south-easterly of the hills of Rome, stretching west from the eastern plateau, from its junction with the Esquiline near the Porta Maggiore, in an irregular tongue about 2 kilometres long and 400 to 500 metres wide. This tongue ends in two points, like promontories, an eastern, probably called CAELIOLUS (q.v.), where the church of the SS. Quattro Coronati now stands, and a western, the site of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. South of the Caelian is the valley traversed by the brook now called the Marrana, part of which was the VALLIS CAMENARUM (q.v.), and on the north it was separated from the Esquiline by the low ground that runs east from the Colosseum. Part of the northern side of the Caelian seems to have been called SUCUSA (q.v.), and this was probably just east of the Caeliolus. The height of the Caelian varies considerably, being 45 metres in the Villa Mattei and 54 in the Villa Wolkonsky.

The hill is said to have been called at first MONS QUERQUETULANUS (q.v.), from the oak groves that covered it (Tac. Ann. iv. 65), but this was perhaps an invention of the antiquarians to explain the PORTA QUERQUETULANA (q.v.) of the Servian wall. In the reign of Tiberius the senate voted to call the hill Augustus mons (Tac. Ann. iv. 64; Suet. Tib. 48), but this name never came into general use. In the Regionary Catalogues the second region of the city is called CAELIMONTIUM (q.v.). Caelius itself was explained by the antiquarians as the name given to this hill in consequence of the settlement upon it of Caeles Vibenna and his Etruscan companions who came to the assistance of one of the Roman kings (Varro, LL v. 46; Fest. 44, 355; Dionys. ii. 36; CIL xiii. 1668, 1. 21). It seems difficult to explain the existence of Caelius mons and Caelius, the name of a well-known plebeian gens, unless there be some connection between the two (Jord. i. 1. 186-188; see SEPTIMONTIUM).

Tradition varies in ascribing the addition of the Caelius to the city to Romulus (Varro, LL v. 46), Tullus Hostilius (Liv. i. 30. 33; de vir. ill. 4; Dionys. iii. 1), Ancus Marcius (Cic. de rep. ii. 18; Strabo v. 234), Tarquinius Priscus (Tac. Ann. iv. 65), and Servius Tullius (or. Claudii, CIL xiii. 1668), and is of course without value.

Both Caelius and Sucusa were included in the Septimontium (cf. Fest. 341, 348). The later 'Servian' wall, following undoubtedly the original line, crossed the Caelius about 250 metres west of the present church of S. Giovanni in Laterano, and thus included the western half of the hill within the area of the city, a condition that probably went back to the regal period. Whether this hill ever had its own fortifications is still undecided (Ann. d. Inst. 1871, 47; cf. Varro, loc. cit.; Jord. i. 1. 206; HJ 224).

<sup>1</sup> The form Coelius is unwarranted (Jord. i. 1. 186, n. 57; HJ 220, n. 1); the latter also points out that in CIL vi. 334=30739 *Caeli montis* are two words and not one.



In Augustus' division of the city, the Caelian fell into three regions—the western and southern slopes into Region I, the main portion into II, and the extreme eastern part into V. The hill was thickly populated during the republic, and we are told of an apartment house, belonging to Ti. Claudius Centumalus (Cic. de off. iii. 66), which the owner was ordered to demolish because it was so high as to cut off the view of the augurs. In 27 A.D. the hill suffered severely from a fire (Tac. Ann. iv. 64), and afterwards became a favourite place for the residences of the rich, which, with their gardens, seem to have occupied a considerable part of the whole (for the topography and monuments of the Caelian see HJ 220-255; Pl. 428-443; RE iii. 1273-1275).

CAESARES SEPTEM: found on an inscription at Praeneste (CIL xiv. 2886), but presumably indicating the district in Rome from which came a certain L. Domitius Agathemerus, a freedman of the pantomimist Paris, and a coactor argentarius (FUR p. 62, and frg. 107). Another inscription found at Reate (CIL ix. 4680) mentions a 'vinarius a septem Caesaribus.' The name is doubtless taken from a street or shop sign.

CALCARIENSES: see VICUS PULVERARIUS.

CAMELLENSES: found in the same inscriptions as CAELIMONTIENSES (CIL vi. 31893, 31899), and referring probably to some district on the Caelian (DE ii. 39; cf. Jord. ii. 406, 457; BC 1891, 354).

CAMENAE: originally fountain deities, afterwards identified with the Muses, who gave their name to the place where their cult was located. Topographically, Camenae was a general term (Vitr. viii. 3. 1; Mart. ii. 6. 16; Serv. ad Aen. vii. 697; cf. templa Camenarum, Schol. Iuv. iii. 16), including the valley (vallis Egeriae, Iuv. iii. 13), the grove (lucus, Iuv. loc. cit.; Liv. i. 21), the spring (fons, locc. citt.; Plut. Num. 4; Symmach. Ep. i. 20), and the shrine (aedicula, Serv. loc. cit.). The spring was undoubtedly at the foot of the southern extremity of the Caelian hill, inside the boundaries of the Villa Mattei, but it is impossible to identify it certainly with any particular one of those that are now found in the immediate vicinity (cf. LA 223-225; LS iii. 205; HJ 206). The grove was around the spring, and the vallis extended north-east from this point along the south-east side of the Caelian, and was traversed by the vicus Camenarum (CIL vi. 975, Reg. I), which joined the via Appia. This valley is now marked by the Via delle Mole and the Marrana brook. The spring was near the via Appia, and, according to tradition, Numa built beside it a small bronze aedicula (the day of dedication was Aug. 13, Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 108), which, after having been struck by lightning and removed to the temple of Honos et Virtus, was again transferred by Fulvius Nobilior to the temple of Hercules which was then called *aedes Herculis et Musarum*. Later a temple (aedes, Plin. NH xxxiv. 19) appears to have taken its place, which is mentioned only once. The grotto of the spring had also been adorned with marble in Juvenal's

time (iii. 10). Its water was excellent (Vitr. cit.; Frontin. de aquis i. 4).  
See AQUA MERCURII.

CAMENARUM AEDES, AEDICULA: see CAMENAE.

CAMPUS AGRIPPAE: a section of the campus Martius laid out as a sort of park by Agrippa, and finished and dedicated by Augustus in 7 B.C. (Cass. Dio lv. 8; Not. Reg. VII; Chron. p. 148). It was a favourite promenade of the Romans (Gell. xiv. 5. 1) extending from about the line of the aqua Virgo on the south at least as far as the present via S. Claudio on the north, and from the via Lata towards the slope of the Quirinal, although its boundaries on the east are uncertain. The PORTICUS VIPSANIA was built on the west side of the campus, along the via Lata. The identification of this campus with the ἄλλο πεδῖον of Strabo (v. 236) seems inadmissible (cf. Eranos, 1923, 53, where it is further identified with CAMPUS MINOR, the correlative 'maior' being the campus Martius proper, alluded to as circus Flaminius—the name later given to the ninth Augustan region—by Catullus).

CAMPUS BOARIUS: found on one inscription (CIL vi. 9226) and possibly on another (Q. Brutius . . . mercator bova(rus) de campo; NS 1902, 54; BC 1902, 84; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 1259; ILS 7480), and probably another name for forum Boarium.<sup>1</sup>

CAMPUS BRUTTIANUS: mentioned in Reg. and Pol. Silv. 545 in Region XIV, but otherwise unknown. (Cf. NS 1902, 54?)

CAMPUS CAELEMONTANUS (*sic*): mentioned only in one inscription (CIL vi. 9475). From analogy with campus Esquilinus and campus Viminalis, this campus is probably to be located on the Caelian, outside the Servian wall and near the porta Caelimontana. It is possible that it may be identical with the CAMPUS MARTIALIS (q.v.).

CAMPUS CODETANUS: see CODETA.

CAMPUS COHORTIUM PRAETORIARUM: perhaps the official name of the open area, referred to merely as campus (Tac. Ann. xii. 36; Cass. Dio lxxiv. 1), which lay between the castra Praetoria and the Servian agger. In this area no remains have been found except those of altars, shrines, and dedicatory monuments, such as would naturally be erected on the soldiers' drill ground (HJ 384; BC 1876, 175; 1877, 21 ff.).

CAMPUS ESQUILINUS: the name in use during the last period of the republic and early empire for that part of the Esquiline plateau that lay outside the porta Esquilina (Cic. Phil. ix. 17; Suet. Claud. 25; Strabo v. 237). What its exact limits were, either then or earlier, is not known, but it is said to have been situated north of the via Labicana (Strabo, loc. cit.), and it probably included part of the present Piazza Vittorio Emanuele and the district immediately north of it. It formed a part of what had

<sup>1</sup> The mention in the first inscription of a 'cancellar(i)us primi loci campi boari ann. xxvi' (i.e. a gatekeeper of a cattle-pen) is against this identification; it was probably the actual cattle-market, the situation of which is unknown.

been the early Esquiline necropolis (Hor. Sat. i. 8. 8; cf. HJ 265-271; DE ii. 2163-2167), a place of burial for prominent Romans (Cic. loc. cit.) as well as for the poor (Hor. loc. cit.), but it had been reclaimed at the beginning of the Augustan period and was used as a park (Hor. loc. cit. 14-16). It is referred to as *Agri novi* by Prop. iv. 8. 2; cf. Hor. cit.: *vetatque novis considere in hortis*. Executions also took place here (Suet. loc. cit.).

**CAMPUS FLAMINIUS**: found only in Varro (LL v. 154), and explained by him as the site on which the circus Flaminius was built and from which that structure took its name. The circus was named of course from its builder, but we must admit, probably, that this part of the campus Martius had derived its name from some earlier member of the same family—a strange coincidence. Campus Flaminius was probably synonymous with *prata Flaminia* (Liv. iii. 54, 63; cf. however, HJ 484).

**CAMPUS IOVIS**: mentioned only once (Hist. Aug. Pescenn. 12), with no indication of its location. It has been suggested that it might have been in Region VII, near the *NYMPHAEUM IOVIS* of Reg., and that this may have been built by Diocletian, who assumed the cognomen of *Iovius* as a sign of his devotion to the cult of Juppiter (Pr. Reg. 110, 136). It is, however, more likely that it is a mere invention on the analogy of campus Martius (SHA 1916, 7-A, 13).

**CAMPUS IGNIFER**: see **TARENTUM**.

**CAMPUS LANATARIUS** (perhaps *LANARIUS*): mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue in Region XII. It was probably somewhere between the baths of Caracalla and the present church of S. Saba.

**CAMPUS MARTIUS**: the level ground between the slopes of the Capitoline, the Quirinal, and the Pincian hills, and the Tiber. This term varied somewhat in its signification; for, while originally and in its widest sense it embraced all this district, other names for small sections seem to have come into use later. Thus as early as the fifth century B.C. the south portion of the plain was probably known as *PRATA FLAMINIA* (q.v., Liv. iii. 54, 63), and campus Martius was the ordinary designation of what lay beyond. After Augustus had divided the city into fourteen regions, the name campus Martius was restricted to that portion of Region IX (circus Flaminius) which lay west of the *via Lata*, the modern Corso; and here again there seems to have been a further distinction, for a cippus (CIL vi. 874) found near the Pantheon indicates that the campus Martius of the time of Augustus was divided into two parts—the district between the cippus and the circus Flaminius, which had been more or less built over, and the open meadow to the north, the *campus proper*; cf. ib. 31189; BC 1883, 11-12.

The campus Martius covered an area of about 250 hectares (600 acres), extending a little more than two kilometres north and south from the Capitoline to the *porta Flaminia*, and a little less than two kilometres



east and west in its widest part, between the Quirinal and the river. It was low, from 10 to 15 metres above the level of the sea in antiquity (13 to 20 now), and from 3 to 8 above that of the Tiber, and of course subject to frequent inundations. It contained several swamps or ponds, as well as streams, the largest of which, the PETRONIA AMNIS (q.v.), which formed the limit of the city auspices (AR 1909, 67-70) came from a spring on the Quirinal, called the Cati fons, and flowed into the largest swamp, the palus Caprae or Capreae, where were afterwards the pool and baths of Agrippa. In the north-west part of the campus, near the great bend in the river, there were hot springs, probably sulphurous, and other traces of volcanic action. Some small part at least was wooded, for we know of two groves, AESCULETUM and LUCUS PETELINUS (qq.v.).

The campus Martius, frequently called campus alone (Liv. xl. 52. 4; Cic. Cat. ii. 1. 1; Iuv. ii. 132; Hor. Carm. iii. 1. 11; Ov. Fast. ii. 860; iii. 519), derived its name from the cult of Mars, or from the fact that it was consecrated to Mars. According to one form of the tradition it was private property of the Tarquins, and after their expulsion became state land, and was dedicated to Mars (Liv. ii. 5: *ager Tarquiniorum qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit consecratus Marti Martius deinde campus fuit*; Flor. i. 9: *populus Romanus agrum Marti suo consecrat*; Schol. Iuv. i. 132: *hic enim ager Tarquini superbi fuit et pro illius fuga Marti consecratus dictus est Martius campus*; Plut. Popl. 8: *τοῦ δ' Ἀρείου πεδίου τὸ ἡδίστον ἐκέκτητο Ταρκύνιος καὶ τοῦτο τῷ θεῷ καθιέρωσαν*); according to another (Dionys. v. 13), it had been consecrated to Mars at an earlier period and afterwards appropriated by Tarquin. This view is supported by the existence of an ARA MARTIS (q.v.), situated probably east of the Pantheon in the Via del Seminario (CP 1908, 65-73), which, according to Festus (189; cf. Plut. Marcell. 8), was mentioned in a law of Numa and therefore dated from the early regal period. The note of Servius (Aen. ix. 272: *mos fuerat ut viris fortibus sive regibus pro honore daretur aliqua publici agri particula ut habuit Tarquinius Superbus in campo Martio*) may be reconciled with either form of this tradition, but the first was probably the more generally accepted.

Another tradition concerning the public ownership of part or all of this district is apparently embodied in certain references to the gift of a CAMPUS TIBERINUS (q.v.) or Martius to the state by a Vestal virgin, Gaia Taracia or Fufetia (Plin. NH xxxiv. 25: *invenitur statua decreta et Taraciae Gaiae sive Fufetiae virgini Vestali ut poneretur ubi vellet . . . meritum eius ipsis ponam annalium verbis: quod campum Tiberinum gratificata esset ea populo*; Plut. Popl. 8; cf. HJ 475; Gell. vii. 7. 4). As Gellius alone identifies campus Tiberinus and campus Martius, much uncertainty is attached to the whole matter (Gilb. ii. 112-113; RE vii. 480-483; Mommsen, RF ii. 7-8; Mitt. 1921-2, 23-28).

At any rate the campus belonged to the state from the beginning of the republic, and we are told (Oros. v. 18. 27) that Sulla, under the financial



pressure of the impending war with Mithridates, was the first to sell any part of this public domain to private owners, although the name *prata Flaminia* (vid. sup.) seems to indicate some private ownership at a very early date. It is probable, however, that these *prata* had become public property but retained their original name. There are further indications of the encroachment by individuals on the boundaries of the campus in the first or possibly the second century B.C., such as the suburb called *AEMILIANA* (q.v.), just outside the *porta Carmentalis*, and perhaps a villa and gardens of the elder Scipio (Cic. de nat. deor. ii. 11; Phil. ii. 109; Cass. Dio lvi. 1: ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἀπάντησας). Private houses did not begin to multiply to any extent (cf. Cic. ad Att. xiii. 33) before the time of the empire, but they became fairly numerous, for the Regionary Catalogue lists 2777 *insulae* and 140 *domus* in Region IX.

From the beginning the campus Martius was used as pasture for sheep (Schol. Iuv. vi. 528) and horses (Dionys. v. 13); was cultivated for grain (cf. the story of Tarquin's grain); and furnished space for the athletic and military exercises of the Roman youth (Dionys. loc. cit.; Hor. Carm. iii. 7. 25-27; Veget. de re mil. i. 10). It was entirely outside the pomerium during the republic and probably remained so down to the reign of Claudius (see POMERIUM). By the time of Hadrian the pomerium had been extended to include the *prata Flaminia*, but the campus Martius in its narrower sense was not included until the wall of Aurelian was built. Because it was public property and outside the pomerium, the campus was used as the place of assembly for the citizens (Liv. i. 44; Dionys. iv. 22; Gell. xv. 27), in their military capacity as an army and in their civil capacity as the *comitia centuriata*. The enclosed space in which this *comitia* voted came to be known as *ovile* or *saepta* (q.v.; Serv. Ecl. i. 33 et al.). Audience was given here to foreign ambassadors who could not enter the city (Liv. xxx. 21. 12; xxxiii. 24. 5), and foreign cults were domiciled in temples erected here.

We know certainly of only three other cult centres besides that of Mars in the campus Martius before the Punic wars—the *ara Ditis et Proserpinae* in Tarento, the *Apollinare*, an altar or grove, and the temple of Apollo which was built in 431 B.C., and the temple of Bellona built in 296 B.C. Between 231 and the battle of Actium at least fifteen other temples were erected, and more during the next century. The construction of the circus Flaminius in 221 B.C. marked an epoch in the history of the southern part of the campus, but there was no public building of any note in the campus Martius proper before the end of the republic, when Pompeius built the first stone theatre in Rome in 55 B.C. Caesar conceived the idea of changing the course of the Tiber by digging a new channel on the west of the Janiculum, and of building over all the plain between that hill and those on the east side of the city (Cic. ad Att. xiii. 33). The river bed was not changed; but Augustus and his coadjutors began the construction of all kinds of public buildings, with

the result that, by the time of the Antonines, all of this district except the north-west section, which was still kept open, was covered with many of the most wonderful structures in Rome, circuses, theatres, porticoes, baths, columns, obelisks, mausolea, temples, etc. The remarkable appearance of the campus even before the death of Augustus is described by Strabo in a well-known passage (v. 3. 8, p. 236), where, however, the traditional text requires rearrangement (A. W. Buren, *Ann. Brit. Sch. at Athens*, xxii. 1916-18, 48-50, following P. Meyer, *Straboniana*, 20).

There is some doubt as to whether the murder of Valentinian III in 455 A.D. occurred in the Campus Martius proper, or in the campus Martius, or drill ground (the words are frequently used in this sense nowadays both in France and in Italy) attached to the imperial villa 'ad duas lauros,' beyond the third milestone of the via Labicana (Johannes Ant. fr. 85, p. 126; Chron. Min. i. 162, 303, 490; ii. 86, 157, 186; iii. 422). In the former case, we should have to suppose the existence in the fifth century A.D. of another locality in the campus Martius, bearing the same name 'ad duas lauros,' and the latter appears to be preferable (BCr 1879, 76; Studi e Documenti xvii. (1896), 47, 48; BC 1906, 74-77; T x. 390; Mem. AP i. 3 (1927) 158; contrast Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, i. 300).

With the decline of the city after the barbarian invasions, the rapidly dwindling population gradually abandoned the surrounding hills and was concentrated in the campus Martius, which contained the main part of Rome until the new developments in the nineteenth century.

For the history of the campus Martius, its development and monuments, see HJ 472-506 (historical development), 507-621 (monuments); Pl. 339-392; LR 442-511; F. Lohr, *Das Marsfeld*, Gütersloh, 1909; AR 1909, 67-82).

**CAMPUS MARTIALIS**: an open area on the Caelian hill, where the festival of the Equirria was celebrated when the campus Martius was under water (Ov. Fast. iii. 519-523; Fest. 131). It was probably just outside the Servian wall, and perhaps identical with the campus Caelemontanus. (For an unsuccessful attempt to identify it with the campus minor of Catullus (lv. 3) and to locate it outside the porta Capena, see BC 1906, 209-223). Its name may have been preserved by the mediaeval church of S. Gregorio in Martio (HJ 225; HCh 258, 259).

**CAMPUS MINOR**: \* mentioned only in Catullus (lv. 3). Its location is entirely unknown, although it has been identified with the ἄλλο πεδῖον of Strabo (v. 236), and with the campus Martialis (HJ 499; Ellis, *Catullus ad loc.*; BC 1906, 209-223; Pr. Reg. 159). See **CAMPUS AGRIPPAE**.

**CAMPUS NERONIS**: a name found, together with the synonymous prata Neronis, in documents of the seventh to eleventh centuries inclusive (Jord. ii. 430; LP xci. c. 22), and evidently identical with the πεδῖον Νέρωνος of Procopius (BG i. 19, 28, 29; ii. 1 and 2, pass.). It was the

district on the right bank of the Tiber where Nero's NAUMACHIA (q.v.) and afterwards the moles Hadriani were situated.

CAMPUS OCTAVIUS : mentioned only in Reg. app. and Pol. Silv. 545, and otherwise entirely unknown.

CAMPUS PECUARIUS : mentioned in Reg. app. and on one inscription (CIL vi. 9660). It was perhaps in or near the campus Boarius (but cf. Mitt. 1893, 300).<sup>1</sup>

CAMPUS SCELERATUS : an open area just inside the porta Collina and south of the vicus portae Collinae, where Vestal virgins who had broken their vows were buried alive (Liv. viii. 15 ; Dionys. ii. 67 ; Plut. Numa 10 ; Fest. 333 ; Serv. ad Aen. xi. 206).

CAMPUS TIBERINUS : another name for the CAMPUS MARTIUS (q.v.) according to Gellius (vii. 7. 4), who, with Pliny (NH xxxiv. 25 ; cf. Plut. Popl. 8), relates the story of its presentation to the people by a Vestal, Gaia Taracia or Fufetia (RE vii. 480-483). It has also been explained as that part of the campus Martius that borders the river from the island northward and identified with the CAMPUS MINOR (q.v.) of Catullus (lv. 3), and the ἄλλο πῆδιον of Strabo (v. 236 ; HJ 475 ; Gilb. ii. 113 ; cf. the 'Ager Turax' of Cato ap. Macrobi. i. 10. 16).

CAMPUS VATICANUS : see VATICANUS (2).

CAMPUS VIMINALIS : found only in Reg. in Region V, where it is followed by the word *subager*. This may be equivalent to *sub aggere* and belong to campus Viminalis (and in this case it may be contrasted with *super aggerem* ; see AGGER), or it may conceal the name of another monument or locality. In any case the campus Viminalis was probably outside the agger and not far from the porta Viminalis (Pr. Reg. 132 ; Jord. ii. 129 ; HJ 336, 370.)

CANALIS : the channel of the CLOACA MAXIMA (q.v.) in the forum before it was covered over (Plaut. Curc. 476 ; Fest. 45).

CAPITA BUBULA, AD : the birthplace of Augustus on the Palatine (Suet. Aug. 5)—near the CURIAE VETERES (Serv. Aen. viii. 361), and therefore probably on the north-east—which probably took its name from some monument or building decorated with bulls' heads. See VICUS BUBLARIUS.

CAPITOLINUS MONS : \*the smallest of the hills of Rome, with a length of about 460 metres and an average width of 180, lying between the forum and the campus Martius and extending in a general north-east-south-west direction. It was surrounded by steep cliffs on all sides except the south-east, where it was accessible from the forum valley, and was composed of three distinct parts, the elevations at the north and south

<sup>1</sup> It is often thought to have been near the Emporium and Horrea (BC 1891, 318-321 ; Mitt. 1892, 284). On the other hand, the sepulchral inscription CIL vi. 33887, which is that of a 'negotiator celeberrimus suariae et pecuariae,' might point to a site near the FORUM SUARIUM (q.v.).



ends and the depression between them. The present height of the north summit at the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli is 39 metres above the mean level of the Tiber; that of the south summit, the Via di Monte Tarpeo, 38 metres; and that of the Piazza del Campidoglio, 30 metres.

In the earliest period the north elevation seems to have belonged to the Sabine settlement on the Quirinal. Possibly the south portion came into possession of the Palatine Romans, but at any rate the whole hill became part of the enlarged city at the stage known as the City of the Four Regions, when the Romans and Sabines had united, although it was not included in one of the regions themselves.<sup>1</sup> This seems to have indicated that it belonged to the community as a whole. Originally the north summit—and presumably the south—was fortified in the usual way by escarpments and breastwork where the cliff was steep, and elsewhere by tufa walls, some traces of which have been found (see ARX).<sup>2</sup> When the Palatine and Sabine settlements were united, the wall of the enlarged city included the whole hill and ran along its north-east side, the line of the later so-called MURUS SERVII TULLII (q.v.). Traces of the latter have been found at some points (see ARX).

On the north elevation was the ARX (q.v.), or citadel, and on the south Tarquin established the worship of the triad of great gods—Jupiter, Juno and Minerva—thereby marking this point as the religious centre of the community (Gilb. ii. 448-456). To it was given the name Capitolium (*caput, capitalis*), which the Roman antiquarians explained by a story that in digging for the foundations of the great temple of Jupiter, the workmen found a human skull of great size which was regarded as prophetic of the future greatness of the city (Liv. i. 55; Varro, LL v. 41). Capitolium, therefore, was originally the proper designation of this part of the hill, and continued to be so used (Cic. pro Scaur. 47; Varro, LL v. 149; Verg. Aen. ix. 448; Hor. Carm. iii. 30. 8; Liv. iii. 18. 10; Plin. NH xix. 23; Mon. Anc. iv. 3; and very freq.). The official designation of the hill was Arx et Capitolium (Liv. ii. 7. 10; iii. 68. 7; Gell. v. 12. 2; Liv. iii. 18. 1: arce Capitolioque; iii. 19. 7: in arce in Capitolio; vi. 20. 13: arce aut Capitolio; Val. Max. vi. 3. 1: in arce aut in Capitolio) or Capitolium et Arx with variations (Cic. pro Rab. 35; Liv. i. 33. 2; vi. 11. 4; xxxviii. 51. 8; Val. Max. iii. 2. 7; Tac. Ann. xi. 23), which indicated its double nature and continued in use down to the end of the republic, although the increasing importance of the Capitolium and the decreasing necessity for a citadel led to the gradual application of the term Capitolium to the entire hill (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 191, 6, 198. 18; Cic. pro Font. 30; Liv. iii. 19. 12; Val. Max. i. 1. 11; Serv. Aen. i. 720; Suet.

<sup>1</sup> Beloch (Röm. Gesch. 204, 205) expresses considerable scepticism as to the existence of a Sabine settlement on the Quirinal. In any case the division of the Capitol between two different communities is not easy to imagine.

<sup>2</sup> Except those in Via S. Pietro in Carcere 1, the antiquity of which (despite ZA) is doubtful, these walls probably belong to the 'Servian' enceinte and not to any separate fortifications of the Capitol and in part also to the "substructiones Capitolii" (Plin. NH xxxvi. 104).



Tib. 3; Gell. xvii. 21. 24; and freq.). On the other hand, the word Capitolium was also employed to designate simply the temple of Jupiter itself, as the most significant part of the whole (Cic. de orat. iii. 180; Vitruv. iii. 3. 5; Plin. NH vii. 182; Vell. ii. 3. 1; Tac. Hist. iii. 71; and freq.). The adjective Capitolinus was of course derived from the noun, and mons Capitolinus became a common name for the whole hill (ad Her. iv. 43; Fest. 322; Solin. i. 12; iv. 13; Flor. Ep. i. 11, 13; Oros. ii. 19. 8; Manil. iv. 28; Vib. Seq. geogr. min. 157 (Riese)); collis Capitolinus (Liv. i. 12. 1; Mart. xii. 21. 6; Arnob. Nat. iv. 3; August. de civ. ii. 22; iii. 8, 12; iv. 23). The depression between the two summits was called INTER DUOS LUCOS (q.v.) or ASYLUM (q.v.), the latter name being explained by the story that Romulus welcomed here the refugees from other towns (Liv. i. 8). The precipitous cliff at the south-west corner of the Capitolium, from which criminals convicted of capital offences were hurled, was known from early times as saxum Tarpeium (Varro, LL v. 41) or rupes Tarpeia (Tac. Hist. iii. 71), and both the whole hill and its southern part were called TARPEIUS MONS (q.v.), but the statement of the Roman antiquarians that this was the original name of the hill is false. It was also called Saturnius: cf. Varro, LL v. 42 (antiquum oppidum in hoc fuisse Saturnia scribitur); Fest. 322; Solin. i. 13.

The principal approach to both summits of this hill was the CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS (q.v.), originally a path leading from the forum to the depression between the summits, where it divided; but the erection of the TABULARIUM (q.v.) at the end of the republic, and of the mediaeval buildings, destroyed all traces of earlier conditions on the ridge between the elevations. There were also two flights of steps, the CENTUM GRADUS and (perhaps) the GRADUS MONETAE (qq.v.), which led to the top of the hill from the forum side.

The Capitolium proper, or south summit, was occupied by the most famous of all Roman temples, that of IUPPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS CAPITOLINUS (q.v.), and the AREA CAPITOLINA (q.v.) or space in which this temple and others stood; while on the north summit were the Arx and temple of IUNO MONETA (q.v.).

During the first centuries of the republic, private dwellings were erected to some extent on the hill, for in the year 390 B.C. there was a guild of those who dwelt in Capitolio atque arce (Liv. v. 50); and after the treason of Manlius, a law was passed which forbade any patrician to live on either summit (Liv. vi. 20). In spite of such prohibitions, the gradual destruction of the fortifications and the demands of a rapidly increasing population led to continual encroachments upon this quasi-sacred hill. In 93 B.C. a considerable tract, which had belonged to the priests, was sold and came into private possession (Oros. v. 18; cf. also Cic. pro Mil. 64). By the middle of the first century the whole hill, with the exception of the area Capitolina, the actual sites of the temples, and the steepest parts of the slopes, was occupied by private houses (Tac.

Hist. iii. 71; cf. Hist. Aug. Elag. 30). Remains of these houses have been found on the Arx near the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli, and at the foot of the stairway leading from the Piazza d'Aracoeli to the church (NS 1888, 497; 1889, 68; Mitt. 1889, 255; BC 1873, 111-122, 143-146; 1888, 331; see also Acciaresi, Giuseppe Sacconi (Rome 1911), p. 40, fig. 45; Capitolium ii. 270-275; cf. Fea, Fasti 114).

For the Capitoline in general, see Jord. i. 2. 1-154; Gilb. i. 2424-57; RE iii. 1531-1538; E. Rodocanachi, *Le Capitole romain antique et moderne*, Paris, 1904, and the English translation by Frederick Lawton, *The Roman Capitol in Ancient and Modern Times*, London 1906; Hülsen in *Festschrift für H. Kiepert*, Berlin 1898, 207-222; and *Bilder aus der Geschichte des Kapitols*, Rome, 1899; Rueter, *Das Kapitoll*, Progr. Halberstadt, 1898).

CAPITOLIUM: see CAPITOLINUS MONS and AEDES IOVIS OPT. MAX. CAPITOLINI.

CAPITOLIUM VETUS: the name given in historical times to a shrine of the Capitoline triad, Juppiter, Juno, and Minerva, on the Quirinal, which was older than that on the Capitoline (Varro, LL v. 158). It stood on the northern edge of the hill, just north-west of the present Ministero della Guerra (Mart. v. 22; vii. 73; Not. Reg. VII), where dedicatory inscriptions belonging to it have been found (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 726-9=vi. 30925-9;<sup>1</sup> cf. p. 3034; HJ 395, 411; RhM 1894, 408; BC 1889, 390; RE iii. 1540; Rosch. ii. 653).

CAPRALIA: apparently a popular designation for the district around the Caprae palus (Fest. 65).

CAPRAE PALUS (Capreae, Ov. Fast. ii. 491): the pool or swamp in the campus Martius where Romulus is said to have been snatched from the sight of the Romans and carried up to heaven (Liv. i. 16. 1; Flor. i. 1; Solin. i. 20; et al.). It is called Ἀἴγρος ἔλος by Greek writers (Plut. Rom. 27; Numa 2; Camil. 33; Zonar. vii. 4), and probably extended from the lowest part of the campus Martius, the site of the Pantheon, towards the Tiber, although its actual limits cannot now be determined (HJ 473-4), and it should perhaps be placed nearer the AEDICULA CAPRARIA and VICUS CAPRARIUS (Eranos, 1923, 120-122). De Rossi's attempt (BC 1883, 254-258) to place it near the via Nomentana is certainly mistaken (PBS iii. 44).

CAPUT AFRICAE: probably an institution (*paedagogium*) for the training of imperial pages, mentioned in Reg. in Region II and on several inscriptions (CIL v. 1039; vi. 1052, 8982-8987), that may have been named from some monument belonging to it or in the immediate neighbourhood. It is quite probable that there was also a street named from it, the vicus Capitis Africae, running probably from the south-east end of the Colosseum to the Macellum Magnum, the present church of S. Stefano Rotondo, along

<sup>1</sup> vi. 30928 (with 30921, 30923)=i<sup>2</sup>. 732 may belong either to this locality or to the Capitol proper.

the east side of the temple of Claudius. The name was preserved by the churches of S. Agatha and S. Stephanus in caput Africae (HCh 165, 475), the latter of which existed till the fifteenth century (LPD ii. 45; DE i. 350-351; Ann. d. Inst. 1882, 191-220; HJ 238-239).

CAPUT GORGONIS: mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue in Region XIV. It is possible that it was the name of a street leading from the river to the ancient grove and shrine of Furrina (q.v.) (Mitt. 1907, 250). We may note that Plutarch calls the grove ἄλσος Ἐριννύων (C. Gracch. 17).

CAPUT TAURI: see FORUM TAURI.

CARCER: the ancient state prison of Rome, situated between the temple of Concord and the curia at the foot of the Capitol (Liv. i. 33: media urbe imminens foro). Cf. Vell. ii. 7. 2; Val. Max. ix. 12. 6; Plin. vii. 212; Seneca, controv. ix. 27. 20; Fest. 264.

It was used simply as a place of detention, and not of penal servitude, though executions (i.e. those of Jugurtha and Vercingetorix and of the Catilinarian conspirators) also took place here. The subterranean part was called Tullianum (applied in Amm. Marc. xxviii. 1. 57 to the whole). The name (Liv. xxix. 22. 10; xxxiv. 44. 8; Serv. ad Aen. vi. 573; Calpurn. Flacc. decl. 4: Acta Chrysanth. et Dariae, 25 Oct. p. 483) is by Varro (LL v. 151) and Festus (356) derived from Servius Tullius, who was the builder of this portion of the carcer: while Livy (i. 33) attributes the construction of the carcer to Ancus Martius. Sallust (Cat. 55) describes it in a well-known passage: in carcere locus quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paullulum ascenderis ad laevam, circa duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus iuncta, sed incultu, tenebris, odore foeda atque terribilis eius facies est.

This lower chamber of the building is subterranean and was originally accessible only by a hole in the roof. It is nearly 7 metres in diameter: in the walls only three courses of stone are visible, and it is thus less than 6 feet high: but three more courses may still be hidden by the present floor, and this would give the 12 feet of which Sallust speaks. The building was, according to one theory, in origin a cupola grave, like those of Mycenae: while others think that it served as a water reservoir, and derive the name Tullianum from *tullus*, a spring. A small spring does indeed still rise in the floor; and the absence of incrustation, used as an argument against the second hypothesis, has little weight, as the water is not calcareous.

It has generally been believed that the cupola was cut by the constructors of the upper chamber; Tenney Frank (TF 39-47) now supposes, without sufficient reason, that the lower chamber originally had a flat wooden roof, which later served as a scaffolding for the flat stone vault, which dates from after 100 B.C. But the holes to which he points in support of this theory may just as well have been cut for this scaffolding.

There is little doubt that the chamber was originally circular (the statement that the straight chord on the side towards the Comitium is of rock, is incorrect). See JRS 1925, 121.

Most authorities attribute to it a high antiquity : but Frank assigns the lower chamber to the third century B.C. owing to the use of peperino (not tufa, as all other authorities state) and the regularity of the blocks, uniformly 56 cm. high : while the date of the drain leading into the forum appears to be debateable.

The upper room is a vaulted trapezoid, the sides varying in length from 5 to 3.60 metres. This Frank assigns to about 100 B.C. on similar grounds ; and the vault of the lower chamber, as we have seen, to a slightly later date.

A new façade of travertine was added by C. Vibius Rufinus and M. Cocceius Nerva, *consules suffecti*, perhaps in 22 A.D. (CIL vi. 1539=31674 ; cf. 9005 ; Pros. i. p. 428, No. 972 ; iii. p. 424, No. 395), but, it may be, a good deal later (Mommsen, *Westdeutsch. Zeitschr., Korrespondenzblatt*, 1888, 58, puts it a little before 45 A.D. ; cf. ILS iii. p. 342).

It was still used as a prison in 368 A.D. (Amm. Marc. xxviii. 1, 57), so that the tradition that it was converted into an oratory in the fourth century is without foundation ; and the fons S. Petri, ubi est carcer eius of Eins. (7. 2), cannot have been here (Mon. L. i. 481 ; HCh 421-422).

The name Mamertinus is post-classical.

The building near the Regia, mis-called Carcer by Boni, is a series of cellars,<sup>1</sup> and may belong to about 70-40 B.C. (CR 1902, 286 ; Mitt. 1902, 94 ; 1905, 116-117 ; TF 87 ; HC).

See Jord. i. 2. 323-328 ; RL 1902, 226-239 ; HC 119-123 ; AJA 1923, 397 ; ZA 60-63 ; Leclercq in Cabrol, Dict. v. 2053-2057 ; HFP 5-8.

CARINAE : the western end of the southern spur of the Esquiline hill, including the slope to the valley of the Subura on the north and that of the Colosseum on the south, and corresponding to the district between the present church of S. Pietro in Vincoli and the Via del Colosseo (Liv. xxvi. 10 ; Varro, LL v. 47 ; Hor. Ep. i. 7. 48 ; Dionys. i. 68. 1 ; iii. 22. 8 ; RE iii. 1590-91 ; Mon. L. xv. 787). This was the Fagatal of earlier times, but this name seems to have been displaced by Carinae, which Servius says (ad Aen. viii. 361) was derived from certain buildings erected near the temple of Tellus that resembled the keels of ships. It was crossed by the murus terreus (Varro, LL v. 48), which was probably a remnant of pre-Servian fortification. The most conspicuous monument on the Carinae was the temple of TELLUS (q.v.), but during the republic many prominent Romans dwelt here and Florus (ii. 18. 4) calls it *celeberrima pars urbis*.

CARMALUS : see CERMALUS.

<sup>1</sup> They might well be slaves' bedrooms, like those in the large Republican house near the arch of Titus (CR 1900, 239 ; 1905, 76 ; AJA 1923, p. 405, fig. 6). Cf. also DOLIOLA.



**CARMENTIS**: a shrine of Carmentis (or Carmenta), originally a fountain nymph, to whom were afterwards attributed functions of prophecy and assistance in child-birth. The shrine was at the foot of the Capitoline hill, near the **PORTA CARMENTALIS** (q.v.), which was named from the shrine, and probably within the limits of the forum Holitorium (Solin. i. 13: *pars etiam infima Capitolini montis habitaculum Carmentae fuit, ubi Carmentis nunc fanum est, a qua Carmentali portae nomen datum*; Serv. Aen. viii. 337: (*ara Carmentis*) *est iuxta portam quae primo a Carmente Carmentalis dicta est*; Dionys. i. 32: *βωμοὺς ἐθεασάμην ἰδρυμένους Καρμέντη μὲν ὑπὸ τῇ καλουμένῃ Καπιτωλίῳ παρὰ ταῖς Καρμεντίσι πύλαις*). Once it is referred to as *sacellum* (Ov. Fast. i. 629; cf. Liv. v. 47, ad Carmentis, and Plut. q. R. 56, *ἱερόν*); twice as *fanum* (Gell. xviii. 7. 2; Solin. i. 13); as *ara* in Vergil (Aen. viii. 337) and in Servius' note, ad loc.; as *βωμοί* once (Dionys. loc. cit.); and finally as *arae* in Varro (ap. Gell. xvi. 16. 4: *huius periculi* (i.e. the danger of being born feet first) *deprecandi gratia arae statutae sunt Romae duabus Carmentibus quarum altera Postverta cognominatast, Prorsa altera, a recti perversique partus et potestate et nomine*). Ovid (Fast. i. 633-636) and Servius (Aen. viii. 336) explain these two Carmentes Postverta and Prorsa (under the form Porrima) as sisters or companions of the Arcadian goddess, Evander's mother, who derived their names from the knowledge of the past and power to foretell the future, and it may be that besides the original altar of Carmenta other altars were erected in process of time to Postverta and Prorsa representing either other aspects of Carmenta herself or her companions. In this way the use of varying terms to designate their shrine might be explained. For Carmenta and this question of terminology, see Gilb. i. 258-259, 264-265; WR 219-220; Rosch. i. 851-854; RE iii. 1594-1596, and literature cited; BC 1913, 154-184; CIL i<sup>a</sup>. p. 307 (II, 15 Jan.).

**CASA ROMULI**: the house of Romulus on the south-west corner of the Palatine hill, near the top of the *scalae Caci*, represented by a hut of straw with a thatched roof, that was regarded with great veneration and restored, whenever injured by fire, in the same style (Dionys. i. 79; Plut. Rom. 20; Cass. Dio xlviii. 43; liv. 29; JRS 1914, 196; TF 105). No exact identification with any existing remains is possible.<sup>1</sup> It was perhaps the same as the *tugurium Faustuli* that is mentioned once (Solin. i. 18), and was preserved at least to the fourth century (Not. Reg. X; Hieron. praef. in libr. Didymi de Spiritu Sancto ii. 105, ed. Vallars.). An 'aedes Romuli' occurs in the list of the Argei (Varro v. 54: *Cermalense quinticeps apud aedem Romuli*), which evidently stood in some relation to the casa, and it has been conjectured that the casa may have stood

<sup>1</sup> It is suggested (ZA 174) that it may have perpetuated the memory of the existence of actual huts, traces of which were found in the excavations of 1907 (see p. 377). TF 104, 105 identifies it with what is more generally believed to be the fifth *sacrarium* of the Argei (see p. 53).

within the aedes. Another *casa Romuli*, probably a replica of the first, stood on the Capitoline hill, perhaps in the area *Capitolina* (Vitr. ii. 1. 5; Sen. Contr. ii. 1. 4; Conon, Narr. 48, where it is called *Καλύβητις* . . . *γνώρισμα τῆς Φανστύλου διαίτης ἣν ἐκ φορυτῶν καὶ νέων φραγάνων συνιστῶντες διασώζουσιν*), but we know nothing of this after the year 78 A.D. (dipl. mil. a. 78, Röm.-Germ. Centralmuseum v. 181; Jord. i. 2. 51; Rodocanachi, Capitole 44; HJ 39; RE iii. 1633, vi. 2091). (See *AUGURACULUM*, with which one view identifies it; DAP 2. xii. 150-153.)

**CASTOR, AEDES** : a temple of Castor (or the Dioscuri?) in *circo Flaminio*, that is, in Region IX, to which there are but two references. Its day of dedication was 13th August (Hemerol. Allif. Amit. ad id. Aug.; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 325 : *Castori Polluci in Circo Flaminio*; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 107), and it is cited by Vitruvius (iv. 8. 4) as an example of an unusual type (*columnis adiectis dextra ac sinistra ad umeros pronai*), like a temple of Athene on the Acropolis at Athens, and another at Sunium (Gilb. iii. 76, 84).

**CASTOR, AEDES, TEMPLUM** :\* the temple of Castor and Pollux at the south-east corner of the forum area, close to the *fons Iuturnae* (Cic. de nat. deor. iii. 13; Plut. Coriol. 3; Dionys. vi. 13; Mart. i. 70. 3; FUR fr. 20, cf. NS 1882, 233). According to tradition, it was vowed in 499 B.C. by the dictator Postumius, when the Dioscuri appeared on this spot after the battle of Lake Regillus, and dedicated in 484 by the son of the dictator who was appointed *duumvir* for this purpose (Liv. ii. 20. 12, 42. 5; Dionys. loc. cit.). The day of dedication is given in the calendar as 27th January (Fast. Praen. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 308; Fast. Verol. ap. NS 1923, 196; Ov. Fast. i. 705-706), but by Livy (ii. 42. 5) as 15th July. The later may be merely an error, or the date of the first temple only (see WR 216-217, and literature there cited).

Its official name was *aedes Castoris* (Suet. Caes. 10 : *ut enim geminis fratribus aedes in foro constituta tantum Castoris vocaretur*; Cass. Dio xxxvii. 8; and regularly in literature and inscriptions—Cic. pro Sest. 85; in Verr. i. 131, 132, 133, 134; iii. 41; Liv. cit. and viii. 11. 16; Fest. 246, 286;<sup>1</sup> Gell. xi. 3. 2; Mon. Anc. iv. 13; Plaut. Curc. 481; CIL vi. 363, 9177, 9393, 9872, 10024—*aedes Castorus* (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 582. 17) or *Kastorus* (ib. 586. 1; cf. EE iii. 70) appear merely as variants of this), but we also find *aedes Castorum* (Plin. NH x. 121; xxxiv. 23; Hist. Aug. Max. 16. 1; Valer. i. 4; Not. Reg. VIII; Chron. 146), and *Castoris et Pollucis* <sup>2</sup> (Fast.

<sup>1</sup> = Lindsay 290, 362 : 257 (Paul. exc.) has 'pro significat in, ut pro rostris, pro aede, pro tribunali'. Of the original text of Festus (256) nothing remains but the letters *stor*, which may represent *Ca>stor<is*, and refer to the orator's platform in front of the temple (Rivista di Filologia, 1925, 105; Mem. Am. Acad. v. 79, n. 3).

<sup>2</sup> The inversion of the two names which was supposed by Tomassetti, who (BC 1890, 209-219; cf. LR 274) wished to attribute to the temple a fragmentary inscription T.C. (i.e. [Polluci e]t C[astori]), for which cf. Jord. i. 2. 372; Mitt. 1891, 90; CIL vi. 30903), is rendered impossible by the fact that the inscription cannot be fitted on to the building.

Praen. CIL p. i<sup>2</sup>. 308; Asc. in Scaur. 46; Suet. Tib. 20; Cal. 22; Flor. Ep. iii. 3. 20, cf. Lact. Inst. ii. 7. 9; CIL vi. 2202, 2203, although perhaps not in Rome, cf. Jord. i. 2. 369), forms due either to vulgar usage or misplaced learning. Besides aedes, templum is found in Cicero (pro Sest. 79; in Vat. 31, 32; in Pis. 11, 23; pro Mil. 18; de domo 110; de harusp. resp. 49; ad Q. fr. ii. 3. 6), Livy once (ix. 43. 22), Asconius (in Pis. 23; in Scaur. 46), the Scholia to Juvenal (xiv. 261), the Notitia and Chronograph (loc. cit.). In Greek writers it appears as τὸ τῶν Διοσκουρῶν ἱερόν (Dionys. vi. 13), τὸ Διοσκόρειον (Cass. Dio xxxviii. 6; lv. 27. 4; lix. 28. 5; Plut. Sulla 33), νεὼς τῶν Διοσκούρων (Cass. Dio lx. 6. 8; App. BC i. 25; Plut. Sulla 8; Pomp. 2; Cato Min. 27).

This temple was restored in 117 B.C. by L. Caecilius Metellus (Cic. pro Scauro 46, and Ascon. ad loc.; in Verr. i. 154; Plut. Pomp. 2). Some repairs were made by Verres (Cic. in Verr. i. 129-154), and the temple was completely rebuilt by Tiberius in 6 A.D., and dedicated in his own name and that of his brother Drusus (Suet. Tib. 20; Cass. Dio lv. 27. 4; Ov. Fast. i. 707-708). Caligula incorporated the temple in his palace, making it the vestibule (Suet. Cal. 22; Cass. Dio lix. 28. 5; cf. DIVUS AUGUSTUS, TEMPLUM, DOMUS TIBERIANA), but this condition was changed by Claudius. Another restoration is attributed to Domitian (Chron. 146), and in this source the temple is called templum Castoris et Minervae, a name also found in the Notitia (Reg. VIII), and variously explained (see MINERVA, TEMPLUM). It had also been supposed that there was restoration by Trajan or Hadrian (HC 161), and that the existing remains of columns and entablature date from that period, but there is no evidence for this assumption, and the view has now been abandoned (Toeb. 51). The existing remains are mostly of the Augustan period (AJA 1912, 393), and any later restorations must have been so superficial as to leave no traces.

This temple served frequently as a meeting-place for the senate (Cic. in Verr. i. 129; Hist. Aug. Maxim. 16; Valer. 5; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 586. 1), and played a conspicuous rôle in the political struggles that centred in the forum (Cic. de har. resp. 27; de domo 54, 110; pro Sest. 34; in Pis. 11, 23; pro Mil. 18; ad Q. fr. ii. 3. 6; App. BC i. 25), its steps forming a sort of second Rostra (Plut. Sulla 33; Cic. Phil. iii. 27). In it were kept the standards of weights and measures (CIL v. 8119. 4; xi. 6726. 2; xiii. 10030. 13 ff.; Ann. d. Inst. 1881, 182; Mitt. 1889, 244-245), and the chambers in the podium (see below) seem to have served as safe deposit vaults for the imperial fiscus (CIL vi. 8688, 8689),<sup>1</sup> and for the treasures of private individuals (Cic. pro Quinct. 17; Iuv. xiv. 260-262 and Schol.). No mention is made of the contents of this temple, artistic

<sup>1</sup> 8688 'actori Caesaris ad Castor, et ad loricata(m)' seems to allude to two separate buildings; and the latter is mentioned alone ('a loricata') in ib. 8690-2 (=xv. 7143-7145). Mommsen (CIL in loc.) believes this 'loricata' to be a building defended by a loricæ (i.e. a kind of government safe deposit); contrast Jord. i. 2. 374, who follows Hirschfeld (Verwaltungsgeschichte, i. 3 f.) in referring it to the STATUA DIVI IULII (q.v.).



or historical, except of one bronze tablet which was a memorial of the granting of citizenship to the Equites Campani in 340 B.C. (Liv. viii. 11. 16).

The traces of the earlier structures (including some opus quadratum belonging to the original temple ; see Ill. 12) indicate successive enlargements with some changes in the plan of cella and pronaos (for the discussion of these changes and the history of the temple, see Van Buren, CR 1906, 77-82, 184, who also thinks that traces can be found of a restoration in the third century B.C. ; cf. however, AJA 1912, 244-246). The Augustan temple was Corinthian, octastyle and peripteral, with eleven columns on each side, and a double row on each side of the pronaos. This pronaos was 9.90 metres by 15.80, the cella 16 by 19.70, and the whole building about 50 metres long by 30 wide. The floor was about 7 metres above the Sacra via. The very lofty podium consisted of a concrete core enclosed in tufa walls, from which projected short spur walls. On these stood the columns, but directly beneath them at the points of heaviest pressure travertine was substituted for tufa. Between these spur walls were chambers in the podium, opening outward and closed by metal doors. From the pronaos a flight of eleven steps, extending nearly across the whole width of the temple, led down to a wide platform, 3.66 metres above the area in front. This was provided with a railing and formed a high and safe place from which to address the people. From the frequent references in literature (see above) it is evident that there was a similar arrangement in the earlier temple of Metellus. Leading from this platform to the ground were two narrow staircases, at the ends and not in front. The podium was covered with marble and decorated with two cornices, one at the top and another just above the metal doors of the strong chambers. Of the superstructure three columns on the east side are standing, which are regarded as perhaps the finest architectural remains in Rome. They are of white marble, fluted, 12.50 metres in height and 1.45 in diameter. The entablature, 3.75 metres high, has a plain frieze and an admirable worked cornice (for the complete description of the remains of the imperial temple previous to 1899, see Richter, Jahrb. d. Inst. 1898, 87-114; also Reber, 136-142; D'Esp. Fr. i. 87-91; ii. 87; for the results of the excavations since 1899, CR 1899, 466; 1902, 95, 284; BC 1899, 253; 1900, 66, 285; 1902, 28; 1903, 165; Mitt. 1902, 66-67; 1905, 80; for general discussion of the temple, Jord. i. 2. 369-376; LR 271-274; HC 161-164; Théd. 116-120, 210-212; DE i. 175-176; WR 268-271; DR 160-170; RE Suppl. iv. 469-471; Mem. Am. Acad. v. 79-102<sup>1</sup>; ASA 70; HFP 37, 38).

This temple was standing in the fourth century, but nothing is known of its subsequent history, except that in the fifteenth century only three columns were visible, for the street running by them was called via Trium Columnarum (Jord. ii. 412, 501; LS i. 72, and for other reff. ii. 69,

<sup>1</sup> The conclusions of this article are based on inaccurate drawings.



199, 202 ; DuP 97). In the early nineteenth century it was often wrongly called the Graecostasis or the temple of Jupiter Stator.

**CASTRA EQUITUM SINGULARIUM** : the barracks of the equites singulares, a select corps of cavalry organised about the end of the first century as a bodyguard for the emperor. Some remains of these barracks were found in 1885 in the Via Tasso, just north-west of the Scala Santa, consisting principally of the wall of a large rectangular court, in which were niches and in front of the niches inscribed pedestals (BC 1885, 137 ; Ann. d. Inst. 1885, 235 ; PT 131). These inscriptions and others found near by (CIL vi. 31138-31187) mention *castra priora* and *castra nova* or *nova Severiana*, and one MS. of the Notitia reads *castra eq. sing. II*. There were, therefore, two barracks, the later apparently erected by Severus, but they were probably adjacent structures, or even parts of the same building (HJ 246 ; DE ii. 2148). Other fragments of walls that probably belong to the castra have been found in front of the Lateran (BC 1913, 72-74).

**CASTRA FONT(ANORUM)** : an uncertain reading of an inscription (CIL vi. 70) known only from Gudius, and of unknown provenience. Cf., however, ib. 30855.

**CASTRA LECTICARIORUM** : mentioned only in Reg. in Region XIV and in the Breviarium, otherwise unknown.

**CASTRA MISENATIUM** : barracks occupied by sailors from the imperial fleet stationed at Misenum, who were detailed for service in the city, especially in the Colosseum and naumachiae (RE iii. 2638 ; Jord. ii. 116 ; Hist. Aug. Com. 15). These barracks were between the thermae Traianae and the via Labicana, where inscriptions relating to them have been found (CIL vi. 1091 ; IG xiv. 956 B. 15). The name occurs on a fragment (5) of the Marble Plan, and in the Regionary Catalogue in Region II.

It is uncertain whether we should assign to them a long row of small chambers in brickwork of the same size and plan which runs along the north side of the via Labicana between the thermae of Titus and the church of S. Clemente (LF 30 ; NS 1888, 727 ; HJ 302). Numerous concrete foundation walls were cut in making a drain from S. Clemente to the Colosseum in 1912-1914, when the mithracum and the house under the church were successfully freed from water (see Nolan, Basilica of S. Clemente 250, and the series of photographs of the sections of the drain then prepared—for private circulation—a copy of which is in the library of the British School at Rome).

**CASTRA PEREGRINA** : on the Caelian hill, the barracks of the peregrini, soldiers detached for special service in Rome from the provincial armies. They consisted principally of the frumentarii, who were originally employed on supply service, but also used as military couriers (their institution dates perhaps from Augustus), and in the second and third

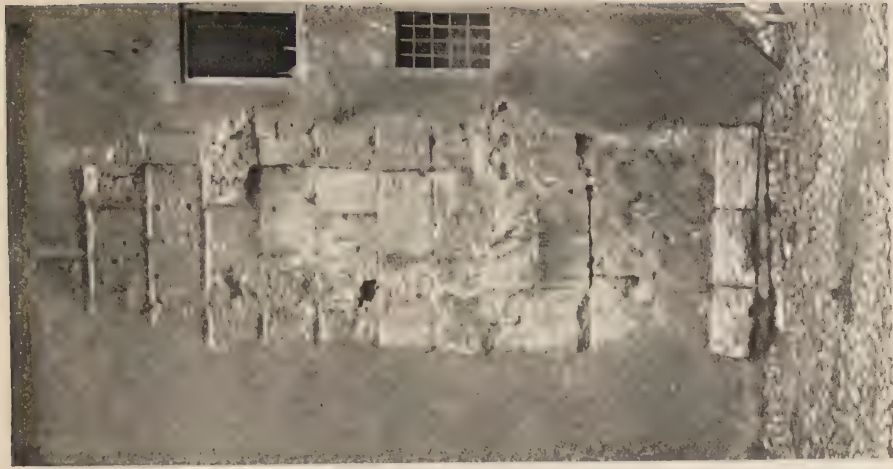
centuries as a sort of special police (Not. Reg. II ; Amm. Marc. xvi. 12. 66). Certain inscriptions relating to these barracks (CIL vi. 230, 231 (=30721), 354) had long ago been found near S. Maria in Navicella, and they were located by Hülsen (DAP 2. ix. (1907) 411) and by Lanciani (LR 339 ; LF 36) further to the north ; but the ruins of a part of the castra and several inscriptions connected with them were found in 1905 under the Convent of the Little Company of Mary, just south-east of S. Stefano Rotondo (CR 1905, 328-329 ; BC 1904, 351 ; 1905, 108 ; cf. NS. 1907, 183 ; 1909, 37). For a full account, see Baillie Reynolds in JRS 1923, 153-187. It now becomes improbable that the inscription (CIL vi. 29843) ANTONINIANA (q.v.) can be restored as CASTRA ANTONINIANA, and referred to this building (cf. HJ 234-235).

Within the castra was a shrine (*templum*) of Juppiter Redux erected in honour of Severus and Mammaea by a centurio frumentarius (CIL vi. 428).

CASTRA PRAETORIA : \* the barracks of the praetorian guard, built by Tiberius at the instigation of Sejanus in 21-23 A.D. when these troops were quartered permanently within the city (Suet. Tib. 37 ; Tac. Ann. iv. 2 ; Cass. Dio lvii. 9. 6 ; Schol. Iuv. x. 95). They were in the extreme north-eastern part of Rome, just beyond the inhabited district (Plin. NH iii. 67 ; Suet. Nero 48 ; Not. Reg. VI), about 500 metres east of the agger, on a site that was one of the highest in Rome (59-60 metres above sea-level), and commanded both the city and the roads leading to the east and north-east. The camp was constructed on the usual Roman model, forming a rectangle 440 metres long and 380 wide, with rounded corners. The longer axis, the *cardo maximus*, ran nearly north and south, and at its ends, in the middle of the shorter sides, were the *porta praetoria* and the *porta decumana*. It is not certain, however, whether the *porta praetoria* was on the north side or the south (HJ 387-388 north, Antonielli, BC 1913, 31-47 south). The *cardo maximus* did not divide the castra equally, and the gates at its ends, *porta principalis dextra* on the west and *porta principalis sinistra* on the east, were 190 metres from the north side and 250 from the south.<sup>1</sup>

The original walls of Tiberius (AJA 1912, 398) are of brick-faced concrete, 4.73 metres high where they are still preserved (see below), and had battlements and turreted gates (Ill. 13) (Tac. Hist. iii. 84 ; Herod. vii. 11. 12). On the inside of the wall were rows of vaulted chambers occupied by soldiers, some of which, on the north and east sides, are still visible. They were 3 metres high, of *opus reticulatum* lined with stucco, and above them ran a paved walk for the guards (for the discovery of these

<sup>1</sup> This has been the view hitherto ; but Richmond points out that the arrangement of the barracks shows that the *via principalis* (which on the analogy of all other camps must have run through in a straight line) can only have run from north to south, the east to west line being interrupted. He therefore places the *porta praetoria* on the west, the *decumana* on the east, and the *porta principalis dextra* and *sinistra* on the north and south respectively (PBS x. 13).



14 CIRCUS FLAMINIUS  
Pier of an Arcade (p. 112)



13 CASTRA PRAETORIA, NORTH GATE (p. 106)





and other chambers in the castra, see BC 1872-3, 5, 12-14; 1876, 176-178). A view of the principia is perhaps to be found on one of the 'Aurelian' panels of the Arch of Constantine (PBS iii. 263). As would be expected from the importance of the praetorian guard, the castra are mentioned frequently in the literature of the empire (Tac. Ann. xi. 31; xii. 69; xiii. 14; xv. 53, 59; Hist. iii. 84; Suet. Claud. 21; Hist. Aug. Did. Iul. ii. 6; Max. et Balb. x. 5; Frag. Vat. 195; Herod. ii. 6, 7; vii. 11, 12; Chron. 147) and in inscriptions (CIL vi. 9277, 9661, 9992), especially those on lead pipes, which show the care expended by successive emperors on the water supply of the barracks (CIL xv. 7237-7244;<sup>1</sup> LA 438-442, Nos. 103-127).

Two interesting coin types of Claudius represent on the reverses his reception in the praetorian camp after the murder of Caligula: the legends are respectively *imper(ator) recept(us)*, which is shown in the type with a soldier on guard, and *praetor(ianus) recept(us)* (i.e. *in fidem*), i.e. the acceptance by Claudius of the fealty of the praetorians—an idea well symbolised by the clasping of hands (BM Imp. p. cliii; Claud. 5, 8-10, 20-25, 28-37, 38 and p. 174 n. ‡=Cohen, Claud. 40-46, 77-80).

The regular name of the barracks was castra praetoria, but they seem also to have been called vulgarly castrum praetorium (CIL xv. 7239 *b, c*) and castrae praetoriae (ib. *d*); and in the Middle Ages castra custodiae (BC 1914, 399, 402). The cohortes urbanae were also quartered here before the construction of the Castra Urbana.

Aurelian incorporated the castra in his line of fortification, which joined the castra at the north-west corner and again near the middle of the south side. The north and east wall of the castra thus formed the continuation of the Aurelian wall, and its original height was increased by an addition of 2.5 to 3 metres at the top and by digging away the soil about its foundations to a depth of 2.3 metres (Homo, Aurélien 244-245, 266-268). The original wall can be distinguished from that of Aurelian by the difference in brickwork and by the outline of the battlements (LR fig. 171 shows Aurelian's battlements, and not those of Tiberius; for the latter, see RA 41-46, and especially fig. 46, in which both the lines of battlements are seen). The gates on the north and east sides were also walled up by Maxentius (?). In 312 Constantine disbanded the praetorian guard and dismantled their barracks, presumably by destroying the inner walls that had not been used by Aurelian (Zos. ii. 17; Aur. Vict. Caes. xl. 25; Lact. de mort. pers. 26), although a part of the west wall is reported as standing in the sixteenth century (LS ii. 243; HJ 389, n. 41).

Within the castra was the shrine of the standards of the guard (CIL vi. 1609; Herod. iv. 4. 5; v. 8. 5-7), a tribunal, on which these standards were set up, restored by the statores attached to the barracks (CIL vi. 3559; WS 1902, 356-358), a shrine of Mars (CIL vi. 2256), and an

<sup>1</sup> The provenance of ibid. 7245 is uncertain, and it apparently refers to a centurion of the first cohort of the vigiles.

armamentarium, or imperial armoury, mentioned twice by Tacitus (Hist. i. 38. 80) and in two inscriptions (CIL vi. 999, 2725; RE ii. 1176).

In the north part of the castra, east of the north gate, was an altar of Fortuna Restitutrix, of which the remains were found in 1888 in a room paved with black and white mosaic (NS 1888, 391; BC 1888, 401; CIL vi. 30876).<sup>1</sup> Certain antiquarians of the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries speak of an arcus Gordiani near the porta Chiusa (for reff. see HJ 390, n. 45; LS i. 169; BC 1913, 38), and this has been connected by some with architectural fragments found in the via Gaeta and the viale Castro Pretorio (BC 1872-3, 103, 233-237). One or more such arches may very probably have stood in or near the castra, but there is no evidence of an arch of Gordian, or that the fragments discovered belonged to that arch mentioned in the Renaissance (BC 1913, 37-42). For further discussion of the castra, see Gilb. iii. 198-199; HJ 385-390; LR 439-442 (the relief from an arch with a Victory is at Ny-Karlsberg, No. 511); for tabulae lusoriae found within it, BC 1877, 81-100; for inscribed amphorae in the camp and vicinity, BC 1879, 36-112, 143-195; 1880, 82-117; CIL xv. 4529-4898 passim). The latest study of it is in PBS x. 12-22 (by I. A. Richmond).

CASTRA RAVENNATIUM: \* mentioned only in the Breviarium of the Regionary Catalogue, and in the Mirabilia (10), where they are said to have been on the right bank of the Tiber (cf. LP xvii. 1). These barracks evidently were for the use of sailors from the imperial fleet at Ravenna (HJ 647; BC 1914, 391; DuP 58), who were detailed for special duty in the city. (Cf. CASTRA MISENATIUM.) The name was preserved in that of the church of S. Stephanus Rapignani near S. Crisogono (HCh 483).

CASTRA SILICARIORUM: } mentioned only in the Breviarium of the  
CASTRA TABELLARIORUM: } Regionary Catalogue. Their location is un-  
CASTRA VICTIMARIORUM: } known, but like the castra Lecticariorum they  
were evidently the headquarters of special corps whose functions are  
indicated by their names.

CASTRA (URBANA): barracks constructed by Aurelian in campo Agrippae (Chron. 148; Not. Reg. VII), and spoken of in connection with his temple of Sol. Although urbana is not found in either source, it is probable that these castra were those of the cohortes urbanae, previously quartered in the castra Praetoria (Sym. Ep. ix. 57; Dig. xlviii. 5, 16 (15) 3; CIL vi. 1156). They were probably close to the FORUM SUARIUM (q.v.), somewhat north of the campus Agrippae, and just east of the temple of Sol. Cf. NS 1909, 430; BC 1915, 176, 346 (a dedication by the tenth cohors urbana Antoniniana to Caracalla?); CIL vi. 31248 a.

<sup>1</sup> This inscription (cf. also RE vii. 35) belongs to the Severan period, and repairs at that time are vouched for by brickstamps (CIL xv. 3: Castris praetori(s) Aug. n.) which should be attributed to this period rather than to that of M. Aurelius and Commodus. The bearded head is found again on CIL xv. 381 (PBS x. 22 n. 4). A Christian cemetery of the beginning of the sixth century was also found in the castra (De Rossi, Roma Sott. i. 218; Grisar, Geschichte Roms, i. 668).

**CATABULUM**: probably a sort of warehouse and depot on the *via Lata*, opposite the *Saepta* and near the church of *S. Marcello*, which was a station of the *cursus publicus*, and where certain goods subject to import duty (*anabolicae species*, *Hist. Aug. Aurel.* 45) were received and unpacked (*HJ* 462; *Mitt.* 1896, 320-1; *LPD* i. 164, 166; *LP* xxxi. 3; *Acta SS.* 16 Jan. p. 369; *HCh* 308; *RE* iii. 1782, s.v. *Catabolenses*; cf. *DOMUS LUCINAE*).

**CATI FONS**: a spring on the western slope of the *Quirinal*, near the *porta Salutaris*, from which the *Petronia amnis* flowed down into *Caprae palus*. It took its name from a certain *Catus* (*Fest.* 45), and is perhaps the present *Acqua di S. Felice* (*HJ* 402; *LA* 24), which rises in the courtyard of the royal palace.

**CATIALIS COLLIS**: a part of the *Quirinal* hill, named from a certain *Catus* (*Placidus* 29, *Deuerl.*) who is evidently identical with the *Catus* of the *Cati fons*.

**CELLA NIGRINIANA**: a warehouse of some kind, known only from one inscription (*CIL* vi. 31065) that was found on the site of the *Palazzo Antonelli*, on the west slope of the *Quirinal*. Several other similar warehouses of the early empire stood here and were destroyed by the building of the *thermae Constantinianae* (*HJ* 419).

**CELLA SOLIARIS**: see *THERMAE ANTONINIANAE*.

**CELLAE VINARIAE NOVA ET ARRUNTIANA**: a wine warehouse (*CIL* vi. 8826) on the right bank of the *Tiber* that was excavated when the garden of the *Villa Farnesina* was reduced in size for the new embankment. It was just north of the line of the *Aurelian wall* and was buried beneath its *glacis*. It was a rectangular structure, resembling the *horrea*, of which the first story consisted of vaulted store-rooms and the second of a complex of courts surrounded by long porticoes (*NS* 1878, 66; 1879, 15, 40, 68; 1880, 127-142; 1884, 238; *BC* 1927, 46).

**CENTUM GRADUS**: a flight of one hundred steps leading up to the *Capitol*, near the *Tarpeian rock*, at the south-west corner of the hill (*Tac. Hist.* iii. 71; *BC* 1914, 90; *Festschrift f. Kiepert* 222; *Pais*, *Ancient Legends* III).

**CERES LIBER LIBERAQUE, AEDES**: a temple on the slope of the *Aventine hill*, near the west end of the *circus Maximus*. According to tradition there was a famine in Rome in 496 B.C., and the dictator *L. Postumius*, after consulting the *Sibylline books*, vowed a temple to *Demeter*, *Dionysus*, and *Kore* if they would bring abundance again to the city. The temple was built, and dedicated in 493 B.C. by the consul *Sp. Cassius* (*Dionys.* vi. 17, 94) to *Ceres*, *Liber*, and *Libera*, with whom the Greek deities were identified. *Beloch* (*Röm. Gesch.* 329) assigns it to the fourth century B.C.

It was *araeostyle*, with columns of the *Tuscan order*, and the *fastigium*



was decorated with statues of gilded bronze or terracotta of Etruscan workmanship (Vitr. iii. 3. 5). The walls of the cella were decorated with frescoes and reliefs by two Greek artists, Gorgasus and Damophilus,<sup>1</sup> and there was a Greek inscription stating how much had been done by each (Plin. NH xxxv. 154; see Merlin 153-155). This temple, called by Cicero (Verr. iv. 108) *pulcherrimum et magnificentissimum*, was enriched by many works of art, such as golden bowls and statues, from the fines levied by plebeian magistrates (Liv. x. 23. 13; xxvii. 6. 19, 36. 9; xxxiii. 25. 3). It contained a bronze statue of Ceres, said to have been the first made in Rome, which was paid for out of the confiscated property of Sp. Cassius (Liv. ii. 41. 10; Plin. NH xxxiv. 15); and a painting of Bacchus (and Ariadne?) that was brought from Corinth by Mummius (Plin. NH xxxv. 24, 99; Strabo viii. 381; cf. Merlin 162). Twice it was struck by lightning (Liv. xxviii. 11. 4; App. BC i. 78), and twice it is mentioned in connection with prodigies (Liv. xl. 2. 2; xli. 28. 2). It was burned down in 31 B.C., restored by Augustus, and dedicated by Tiberius in 17 A.D. (Cass. Dio l. 10; Tac. Ann. ii. 49; Merlin, 366-367; CIL vi. 9969), and was standing in the fourth century (Not. Reg. XI). The site of the temple was near the west end of the circus on the Aventine side, but how far up the slope is not certain—perhaps near the junction of the modern Vicolo di S. Sabina and Via S. Maria in Cosmedin (Dionys. vi. 94; Liv. xl. 2. 1; DAP 2. vi. 238-239; Merlin 93-95, and literature cited there; BC 1914, 115), but no traces of it have been found.

The worship of Ceres was essentially plebeian, and the political importance of this temple was very great. It was the headquarters of the plebeian aediles, the repository of their archives, and the treasury in which was placed the property of those who had been found guilty of assaulting plebeian magistrates (Dionys. vi. 89; x. 42; Liv. iii. 55. 7). Copies of senatus consulta were also deposited here after 449 B.C. (Liv. iii. 55. 13; Mommsen, Staatsr. ii. 476-477, 490). The temple possessed the right of asylum (Varr. ap. Non. 44: asylum Cereris), and was a centre of distribution of food to the poor. It was regularly called aedes, but delubrum once by Pliny (NH xxxv. 24), and in Greek *Δημητρεῖον* (Strabo viii. 381), *Δημήτριον* (Cass. Dio l. 10), and *Δήμητρος ἱερόν* (App. BC i. 78). In ordinary usage the official title was abbreviated to aedes Cereris (see Merlin, passim; HJ 115-117; RE iii. 1974-1975; xiii. 70-73; Gilb. ii. 242-250). For a sacerdos Cereris publica p.r.q. (i.e. a slave), see CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 974=vi. 2182=ILS 3347 (cf. vi. 2181=32443=ILS 3343).

CERES MATER ET OPS AUGUSTA, ARA: an altar erected by Augustus in 7 A.D. in vico Iugario, probably in honour of Livia, and dedicated on 10th August (Hemerol. Amit. Vall. Ant. ad iv id. Aug.; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. pp. 240, 324; Jord. i. 2. 365, 468; RE iii. 1977).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ulrichs, Malerei vor Caesar, 4-5; E. Douglas Van Buren, Terracotta Revetments, 31-32.



**CERMALUS**: the original name of the western and north-western part of the Palatine hill (v. **PALATIUM**), towards the Velabrum and vicus Tuscus (Varro, *LL* v. 54; *Plut. Rom.* 3), which was one of the montes of the Septimontium (*Fest.* 341, 348). The name continued in use during the early empire (*Cic. ad Att.* iv. 3. 3; *Liv.* xxxiii. 26; *Plut. loc. cit.*; cf. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* i. 21. 108. 3: *Κάρμαλον*), but it may have been limited at that time to a street, perhaps the Cermalus min(or or -usculus) of an inscription (*CIL* vi. 33920; cf. *Eranos* 1923, 54).

**CEROLIENSIS**: } two variants of the same word, found only in a corrupt  
**CERONIENSIS**: } passage in Varro (*LL* v. 47). The adjective form used here with *locus* points to a substantive Cerolia or Cerniae, which may also have been in use. This was the name of the valley between the Caelian hill and the Carinae, partly occupied afterwards by the Colosseum (*HJ* 221; *Wissowa, Ges. Abh.* 245; *Jord.* ii. 245-246).

**CHALCIDICUM**: \* an annex to the Curia Iulia built by Augustus (*Mon. Anc.* iv. 1; cf. *Mommsen, ad loc.*), called τὸ Ἀθηναίων (*Cass. Dio* li. 22). It seems to have been a sort of porticus—perhaps a repository for records (*RE* iii. 2039). The Chalcidicum was probably what was afterwards called the Atrium Minervae (*Not. Reg.* VIII; *Jord.* i. 2. 255), and in the CURIA of Diocletian (q.v.) it was the central court, through which the via Bonella now runs. See *DR* 336-338.

**CICINENSES**: found in one inscription (*CIL* vi. 9103=31895). It is to be connected with **SICININUM** (q.v.), and was in the vicinity of S. Maria Maggiore. See *Hülsen in Geogr. Jahrb.* 1911, 192.

**CICONIAE NIXAE**: mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue in Region IX in just this form, but doubtless referred to as *ad Nixas* in the calendar of Philocalus (a. 354 ad id. Oct.; *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. p. 332), and as *de Ciconiis* on an inscription (*CIL* vi. 1785=31931). It designated a certain district, probably an open square, on the bank of the Tiber, in which there was a statue, or perhaps a relief on one of the surrounding buildings, of two or more storks with crossed bills. It was probably a little south of the Mausoleum Augusti, near the present Piazza Nicosia, and seems to have been a landing-place for wine (*CP* 1908, 70-71).

**CIMBRUM**: see **NYMPHAEUM**.

**CINCIA**: the site of the monumentum Cinciorum (*Fest.* 57), i.e. the tomb of the Cincii, and perhaps their house also. Elsewhere (*Fest.* 262) the site of this tomb is called *Statuae Cinciae*, and identified with that of the porta Romanula of the ancient Palatine settlement.

**CIRCUS FLAMINIUS**: \* built by C. Flaminius Nepos while censor in 221 B.C. It was in the prata Flaminia (q.v.; *Liv.* iii. 54. 15), in the southern part of the campus Martius (*Liv. ep.* 20; *Fest.* 89; *Cassiod. Chron.* ad a. 534), and was named after its builder, although Varro says (*LL* v. 154) that it took its name from a **CAMPUS FLAMINIUS** (q.v.). In it were celebrated the

*ludi plebei* (Val. Max. i. 7. 4), the *Taurii* (Varro v. 154), and other games, e.g. the *ludi saeculares* in 158 B.C. (Liv. xl. 52. 4); and assemblies of the people were frequently held here (Cic. ad Att. i. 14. 1; pro Sestio 33; post red. in sen. 13, 17; Plut. Marcell. 27; Liv. xxvii. 21. 1). It was also a market-place (Cic. ad Att. i. 14. 1), and within it part of the ceremony of the triumph took place (Liv. xxxix. 5; Plut. Lucull. 37).<sup>1</sup> In 9 B.C. Augustus delivered the *laudatio* of Drusus here (Cass. Dio lv. 2. 2); and in 2 B.C. water was brought into the circus and thirty-six crocodiles butchered immediately after the dedication of the forum of Augustus (ib. 10. 8). If P. Meyer (Straboniana, ii. 20) and A. W. Van Buren (Ann. Brit. Sch. Athens, 1916-18, 48-50) are correct, Strabo (v. 3. 8) mentions it between the circus Maximus and the forum Romanum.

Extant literature furnishes no information concerning the construction of the building, its restorations or its contents, except that contained in the statement of Vitruvius (ix. 9. 1: *plinthium sive lacunar quod etiam in circo Flaminio est positum Scopinas Syracusius (dicitur invenisse)*). This circus was so conspicuous a building and so important a centre that it soon gave its name to the immediate vicinity, and other buildings were described as *ad circum Flaminium* (Plin. NH xxxiv. 13) or *in circo Flaminio* (Liv. xl. 52. 2; Plin. NH xxxvi. 26, and very frequently; cf. Mart. xii. 74. 2: *accipe de circo pocula Flaminio*). In the Regionary Catalogue it is the official name of Region IX. It is marked on a fragment (27) of the Marble Plan (cf. FUR 21-22). Money changers appear to have had their stations in its arcades (CIL vi. 9713). In the Einsiedeln Itinerary (1. 2; 2. 2; 8. 3) the name is wrongly applied to the Stadium, though some think the *Ordo Benedicti* has the name correctly (Mon. L. i. 521; cf. BC 1901, 57, 58), while others think the circus is the basilica Iovis.

At the close of the twelfth century a considerable part of the circus, called *castellum aureum*, was still standing (a bull of Celestin III of 1192 mentioning the churches of S. Lorenzo and S. Maria in *Castello aureo* or *de castro aureo* (Domnae Rosae; Bullar. Vat. i. 74; Caetani-Lovatelli, *Passeggiate nella Roma antica*, Rome 1909, 108-128; HCh 284-285, 331)). Its ruins were described by Biondo (*Roma instaurata* iii. 109) in the fifteenth century, but almost entirely removed in the sixteenth to make room for the Mattei palace, and the whole site then gradually covered by modern buildings. Some remains of the curved end lie in and beneath the Palazzo Caetani in the Piazza Paganica (Ill. 14) and of the long sides in various cellars, especially those of the Palazzo Longhi Mattei Paganica. The construction is of concrete faced with *opus reticulatum*, but the pillars are built of large squared blocks of tufa and travertine. None of these remains can belong to the original date of erection.

The major axis of the circus ran almost due east and west. On the east (the *carceres* end) the limits of the circus seem to be set by the discovery of private houses and the pavement of an ancient street just east

<sup>1</sup> See also JRS 1921, 33-34.

of the Piazza Margana (Bull. d. Inst. 1870, 48 ff. ; cf. Fulvius, *Antiquitates urbis* p. l(x)v ; LR 453 ; LS ii. 64-66). If so, the length of the circus was about 260 metres, and its width about 100.

The few remains (cf. Canina, *Edifizi* iv. pls. 186, 187) and drawings of the sixteenth century architects (LR 454-456 ; HJ 551, n. 122 ; JRS 1919, 187) show that this circus was built on the general plan adopted in later structures of a similar character, and that its lower story opened outwards through a series of travertine arcades, between which were Doric half-columns. In the Middle Ages the arcades on the north side were converted into dark shops, and gave the name to the street on that side, the *Via delle Botteghe oscure* ; cf. the churches of S. Lucia de calcarario or de apothecis obscuris (HCh 300-301 ; cf. 306, and v. *DOMUS ANICIORUM*, 2) and of S. Salvator in Pensulis (ib. 449) ;<sup>1</sup> and the memory of the rope makers who plied their trade in the arena is preserved in the *Via dei Funari* and the churches of S. Nicola and S. Caterina dei Funari (HCh 399 ; Arm. 551-568). See HJ 548-551 ; RE vi. 2580-2581 ; Marchetti-Longhi in *Mem. L* 5. xvi. 621-770.

**CIRCUS GAI ET NERONIS** : built by Caligula as a private course for chariot racing in the *HORTI AGRIPPINAE* (q.v.). It was called circus Gai et Neronis (Plin. NH xxxvi. 74) and circus Vaticanus (ib. xvi. 201), and was a favourite place for the sports and orgies of Claudius and Nero (cf. Suet. Claud. 21 ; Tac. Ann. xiv. 14 (?) ; Suet. Nero 53 (?)). On the spina Caligula erected an obelisk (*OBELISCUS VATICANUS* (q.v.)) from Heliopolis (Plin. NH xvi. 201 ; xxxvi. 74 ; CIL vi. 882=31191).

In the fourth century the north side of the circus was destroyed to make room for the first basilica of St. Peter, and the south wall and the two southernmost rows of columns of the church were built on the three parallel north walls of the circus (see plan in Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* 129). In the fifth century two mausolea were erected on part of the spina, one of them being the tomb of the wife of the Emperor Honorius (see Lanciani, *op. cit.* 198-205 ; Mél. 1902, 388). One of these was destroyed about 1520 (see *SEPULCRUM MARIAE*), but the other stood until the eighteenth century (DuP 38 ; Cerrati, *cit.*). For the mediaeval name *Palatium Neronianum*, see HCh 259 (S. Gregorii de Palatio). Some remains of the circus were visible in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and in the seventeenth, when the new church of St. Peter was being built, the ruins were described by G. Grimaldi, whose notes are extant in several MS. copies (see Hülsen, *Il Circo di Nerone al Vaticano*, in *Miscellanea Ceriani*, Milan 1910, 256-278, and also Tiberii Alpharani *De Basilicae Vaticanae Structura*, published by M. Cerrati, *Studi e Testi* fasc. 26 (1914) xxxiv.-xxxvii.). Cerrati points out that the reason of the collapse of the old basilica was that its walls were built, not on the centre of the walls of the circus, but slightly to one side. The axis of the circus ran east and west,

<sup>1</sup> We may add S. Lorenzo in Pensulis (HCh 293), which is probably the same as S. Lorenzo in Pallacinis (see *PALLACINAE*).



and the carceres were at the east end, toward the Tiber, flanked by two towers placed unsymmetrically. According to Grimaldi, the circus was 90 metres wide and 161 long, but the length is probably underestimated (IJJ 657-8; LR 551-554; RE iii. 2581-2); while Cerrati determines the width as 500, not 400, palms (i.e. 111.50 metres).

CIRCUS HADRIANI: see NAUMACHIA VATICANA.

CIRCUS MAXIMUS: the first and largest circus in Rome, which was gradually built up in the VALLIS MURCIA (q.v.), between the Palatine and Aventine hills. This valley was admirably adapted for the purpose, being 600 metres long and 150 wide. Here the first recorded games were held (Ov. Ars Am. i. 103-108; cf. Trist. ii. 283; Fast. ii. 391-392; iv. 391, 680), horse races in honour of CONSUS (q.v.) ascribed to Romulus, at which occurred the rape of the Sabine women (Varro, LL vi. 20; Plut. Rom. 14). To the Tarquins tradition ascribed the beginnings of the circus and the assignment of definite places or curiae to senate and knights where they could erect wooden platforms on supports (*fori*), from which to view the games, either to Priscus (Liv. i. 35. 8; Dionys. iii. 68. 1) or Superbus (Liv. i. 56. 2; Dionys. iv. 44. 1; de vir. ill. 8;<sup>1</sup> cf. Chron. 145), but the first definite statement is that of Livy for 329 B.C. (viii. 20. 1: carceres eo anno in circo primum statuti), which makes it plain that there had been nothing permanent before that date. These carceres were probably of wood, for a century later they were painted (Enn. ap. Cic. de div. i. 108: omnes avidi spectant ad carceris oras quam mox emittat pictis e faucibus currus). For further mention of the *fori publici*, see Liv. xxix. 37 (204 B.C.); CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 809 (first century B.C.).

It is probable that after the carceres the next permanent part of the circus to be constructed was the spina (see below), and that on it were placed those statues of which we have record, one of Pollentia (Liv. xxxix. 7. 8 (189 B.C.): malus in circo instabilis in signum Pollentiae procidit atque id deiecit), and others (Liv. xl. 2. 1: signa alia in circo maximo cum columnis quibus superstabant evertit). It is also possible that the arch of Stertinius (see FORNIX STERTINII) with its gilded statues, erected in 196 B.C. (Liv. xxxiii. 27. 4), may have stood in the line of the spina, but the temple of IUVENTAS (q.v.) of 191 (Liv. xxxvi. 36. 5) was on one side. A permanent spina presupposes the covering over of the stream, which flowed through the circus. This came from the valley between the Caelian and Esquiline, passing through the (marshy?) depression which later on Nero converted into the *stagnum* of the domus Aurea and then traversed the valley between the Caelian and Palatine. It was converted into a cloaca, and discharged into the Tiber about 100 metres below the Cloaca Maxima, where its mouth may still be seen (LF 30, 35; cf. our Ill. 5). In KH iv. it is wrongly connected with the mediaeval Marrana Mariana (see AQUA IULIA).

In 174 B.C. the censors, Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus,

<sup>1</sup> 'Foros' is a conjecture: the text is corrupt.



added considerably to the equipment of the circus, but owing to the fragmentary condition of the text in Livy (xli. 27. 6), nothing can be made out with certainty except that they restored the *carceres*, and set up ova, or sets of seven large eggs of wood, with which to record the number of laps run in the races for the benefit of the spectators—an arrangement that became permanent (Varro, RR i. 2. 11; Cassiod. Var. iii. 51. 10). In 55 B.C., at the dedication of the temple of Venus Victrix, Pompeius caused twenty elephants to fight in the circus, and they broke down the iron railing with which he had intended to protect the spectators (Plin. NH viii. 20, 21). More effective protection was afforded by the moat or *euripus* which Caesar constructed in 46 B.C. between the arena and the seats (Plin. loc. cit.; Suet. Caes. 39: *circensibus spatio circi ab utraque parte producto et in gyrum euripo addito... venationes editae... quingenis peditibus elephantis vicenis tricenis equitibus hinc et inde commissis. nam quo laxius dimicaretur, sublatae metae inque earum locum bina castra exadversum constituta erant*). This passage seems to mean that Caesar lengthened the circus and removed the goals temporarily, but does not justify the conclusion (HJ 123) that up to this time there had been no permanent section of the *spina*. In 33 B.C. Agrippa placed on the *spina* seven dolphins, probably of bronze, which served with the ova to indicate the laps of the races (Cass. Dio xlix. 43. 2).

How extensive and how permanent the circus had become before the Augustan period, it is impossible to say. In 31 B.C. a fire destroyed a considerable part of it (Cass. Dio l. 10. 3). Augustus himself records only the construction or restoration of the *pulvinar ad circum maximum* (Mon. Anc. iv. 4), a sort of box on the Palatine side of the circus from which the imperial family could view the games, but Cassiodorus attributes to him much more (Var. iii. 51. 4: *mundi dominus ad potentiam suam opus extollens mirandam etiam Romanis fabricam in vallem Murciam tetendit Augustus*). Pliny, on the other hand, speaks very distinctly of the existing circus as the work of the dictator Caesar (NH xxxvi. 102: *nec ut circum maximum a Caesare dictatore exstructum longitudine stadiorum trium latitudine unius sed cum aedificiis iugerum quaternum ad sedem ccl̄ inter magna opera dicamus*). At any rate, our definite information about the monument, whether due to Caesar or Augustus, begins with the Augustan period, and subsequent changes probably did not affect materially its general plan. Besides building the *pulvinar*, Augustus set up on the *spina* the obelisk from Heliopolis (Plin. NH xxxvi. 71; Ammian. xvii. 4. 12), which is now in the Piazza del Popolo (see OBELISCUS AUGUSTI).

According to Dionysius's description (iii. 68), written in 7 B.C., the circus was then one of the most wonderful monuments in Rome, three and one-half stadia (621 metres) long and four plethra (118 metres) wide, a *euripus* or water channel, ten feet wide and ten feet deep, surrounding the arena except at the *carceres* end. The seats rose in three sections,

the lower story being built of stone, and the two upper of wood. The short side, opposite the carceres, was crescent-shaped, and the total seating capacity was 150,000. The carceres, or chariot stalls, were without roof, and closed by a rope barrier which could be dropped before them all at once. Around the outside of the building was a one-storied arcade containing shops (*ἐργαστήρια*) and *οἰκῆσεις*, perhaps a sort of pergola (Mitt. 1887, 220) above them. Through this colonnade were entrances to the lower section of seats and stairways to the upper, arranged alternately to facilitate ingress and egress.

The chambers in the outer arcade, which Dionysius mentions, were occupied in large part by questionable characters, cooks (Cic. pro Mil. 65), astrologers (Cic. de div. i. 132; Iuv. 6. 588; Hor. Sat. i. 6. 113-4) and prostitutes (Iuv. 3. 65; Priap. 27; Anth. Lat. i. 190; Hist. Aug. Elag. 26; Cyprian. de spect. 5). Augustus and succeeding emperors also watched the games from the imperial residences on the Palatine, or the houses of their friends, as well as from the pulvinar (Suet. Aug. 45; Claud. 4; cf. CIL vi. 9822, and perhaps Fest. 364). That the circus was faced with marble on the inside, and presumably on the outside also, is to be inferred from Ovid (Ars Am. i. 103-104: *tunc neque marmoreo pendebant vela theatro nec fuerant liquido pulpita rubra croco*; cf. Calp. Ecl. 7. 69—aet. Neronis). Augustus is said to have assigned separate seats to the senators and knights (Cass. Dio lv. 22. 4), but apparently not in any fixed section, for Claudius did this for the senators (Cass. Dio lx. 7. 3-4; Suet. Claud. 21), and Nero for the knights (Suet. Nero 11; Tac. Ann. xv. 32; Plin. HN viii. 21; cf. Calp. Ecl. 7. 26-29).

In 36 A.D. part of the circus on the Aventine side was burned (Tac. Ann. vi. 45; Cass. Dio lviii. 26. 5). This is called *pars circi inter ultores* in a fragmentary chronicle of Ostia (BC 1916, 211-212), where *ultores* probably refers to certain *di ultores* whose shrines were in this part of the circus.<sup>1</sup> The damage was probably repaired at once, for Caligula celebrated the *ludi circenses*, evidently with considerable pomp (Suet. Cal. 18: *minio et chrysocolla constrato circo*; cf. Plin. NH xxxvi. 162: *invenere et alium usum in ramentis squamaque circum maximum ludis circensibus sternendi ut sit in commendatione candor*).

Claudius built carceres of marble instead of the tufa, of which they had previously been constructed, and gilded goals, probably of bronze, in place of the earlier wooden metae (Suet. Claud. 21). Nero removed the euripus to make room for additional seats for the equites (Plin. NH viii. 21), and protected the spectators from the wild beasts by a continuous round bar of wood, covered with ivory, which revolved and therefore gave no hold to the animals (Calp. Ecl. 7. 49-53). At some later time the name euripus was given to basins of water on the spina, or in its line, and then to the spina itself. Into these basins flowed streams of water from the mouths of the dolphins (Tert. de spect. 8: *delphines Neptuno*

<sup>1</sup> The reading 'inter vitores' (basketmakers) is preferable (Eranos, 1926, 86-88).

vomunt; Cassiod. Var. iii. 51. 8: euripus maris vitrei reddit imaginem unde illuc delphini aequorei aquas influunt; cf. the mosaics of Barcelona and Lyons, DS i. figs. 1520, 1523; for euripus used of the whole spina, Tert. loc. cit. ea (i.e. Magna mater) praesidet euripo; adv. Hermog. 31: statua super euripum; Anth. Lat. 3. 5-6; Sid. Apoll. Carm. 23. 360; RE vi. 1284; Lydus, de mens. i. 12).

In 64 A.D. the great fire of Nero broke out in the tabernae on the Palatine side of the circus (Tac. Ann. xv. 38), and must have destroyed a considerable part of this side at least. It is probable that in this, as in other fires, it was only the upper structure of wood that was burned. Nero evidently rebuilt the circus, for it was in use in 68 when he returned from Greece and passed through it in triumphal procession (Suet. Nero 25; Cass. Dio lxii. 20. 4, 21. 1). Of the circus during the reign of Vespasian Pliny (NH xxxvi. 102) says that it was three stadia long, one wide, covered four iugera of land, and seated 250,000 persons. He calls the circus, the basilica Aemilia, and the temple of Peace the three most beautiful buildings in the world. The text of this passage is, however, corrupt, and the figures are open to question (see below). Again, in the reign of Domitian, both the long sides were injured by fire (Suet. Dom. 5: naumachia e cuius postea lapide maximus circus deustis utrisque lateribus extructus est), but to what extent is not known. The restoration was carried out by Trajan with stone from Domitian's naumachia; he increased its seating capacity sufficiently by adding two stadia to the length of the cavea (Pausan. v. 12. 6; Cass. Dio lxviii. 7. 2). A passage in Pliny's Panegyric (51) seems to mean that Trajan removed a sort of private box (*cubiculum*), from which Domitian, while invisible to the people, had viewed the games, and sat himself exposed to the gaze of the spectators. His enlargement of the circus was probably on the Palatine side, where an addition two stadia long could have been built on the north side of the street that bounded the north side of the circus, and could be connected by arches with the cavea. Whether Pliny's further statement—populo cui locorum quinque milia adiecisti—refers to the seats in this addition, is very doubtful (cf. a similar statement in CIL vi. 955; Mommsen, Staatsrecht, iii. 446). It was under Trajan that the circus seems to have reached its greatest size and magnificence.

During the reign of Antoninus Pius there was a ruina circi (Hist. Aug. Pius 9), doubtless the same catastrophe which is mentioned in Chron. 146: circensibus Apollinaribus partectorum columna ruit et oppressit homines mxxii. What the partecta were, is not known, but a similar accident is recorded under Diocletian (ib. 148: partectorum podium ruit et oppressit homines xlii). Caracalla is said to have enlarged the ianuae circi (ib. 147), presumably some of the arches of the lower arcade. Constantine restored the circus magnificently (Aur. Vict. Caes. 40. 27: a quo etiam post circus maximus excultus mirifice; Nazar. Paneg. 35: circo ipso maximo sublimis porticus et rutilantes auro columnae tantum inusitati ornatus



dedere), and prepared to bring an obelisk from Heliopolis, which, however, was actually done by Constantius in 357 (Amm. Marc. xvii. 4. 12-16). This was set on the spina and was the highest in Rome (now in the Piazza del Laterano; see *OBELISCUS CONSTANTII*). References to the circus and its games in literature after Constantius are numerous (e.g. Amm. Marc. xxviii. 4. 29; Symmach. *passim*), but give practically no information about the building except the section of the letter of Theodoric, contained in Cassiodorus, *Varia* iii. 51. In addition to what has been already quoted from that letter, we learn that the spina was decorated with reliefs representing Roman generals in triumphal procession over the bodies of their captives, a scene that recurs on a diptych of the consul Lampadius of the fifth-sixth century (DS i. fig. 1532).

Additional information about the circus is furnished by fragments of the Marble Plan (38-40, 124, 153, 370; BC 1899, pl. i. n. 7; cf. HJ 135 n. 63 and pl. iii; also DAP 2. xi. 107-110), reliefs on sarcophagi, coins, mosaics, and smaller works of art (for lists and descriptions see Ann. d. Inst. 1863, 137-149; 1870, 232-261; Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad. 1873, 67-71; RE iii. 2579-2580; HJ 138-139; DS i. figs. 1515-1534). Modern excavations have brought to light comparatively few remains of the structure, mainly foundations of some parts of the east end, and of both the long sides, especially that on the north. The lines of the paved streets around the building have also been found, so that the exact site, the orientation, and the principal dimensions of the circus in its final shape, can be determined with considerable accuracy (NS 1876, 101, 138-139, 184; 1877, 8, 110, 204; 1888, 191, 226-227; Mitt. 1892, 295; 1893, 289; BC 1888, 171; 1908, 241-253; Mél. 1908, 229-231; 1909, 132-135; CRA 1908, 327-328). The ruins under S. Anastasia (HJ 134 n. 616; ZA 269-274) form no part of the circus proper, but belong to buildings on the lower slopes of the Palatine. Only the arched chambers on the right of the church belong to the circus.

The length of the arena was 568 metres, and its width increased from 75 metres at the carceres to 84 at the beginning of the spina and 87 at its east end. The length of the spina was 344 metres, and the total length of the circus 600. The width of the cavea proper was 27 metres, but this was much increased by the additions built over the streets on the north and south sides. The extreme width thus secured on the Palatine side was about 80 metres, and the maximum width of the circus about 200 (Mél. 1908, 229-231; BC 1908, 248-249).

The exterior had three stories with arches and engaged columns, like the Colosseum, but all covered with marble. The cavea was divided into three bands or zones of seats, separated by corridors. The upper and perhaps the middle zone were probably made of wood. The arrangement of approaches and stairways was also probably somewhat like that of the Colosseum. The west end contained the carceres or stalls for the chariots (Varro, LL. v. 153), set on a curve so that the distance was



the same from each to the starting line (*alba linea*, Cassiod. Var. iii. 51. 7) drawn across the arena which marked the start and finish. The carceres, twelve in number (ib. 4), were closed by rope barriers supported by small hermae (*hermulae*), which were dropped simultaneously at the start. This fact probably explains the use of the name Duodecim portae (Obseq. 70; Not. Reg. XI) for this end of the building. Above the middle of the carceres was the box of the magistrate presiding over the games, from which he gave the signal for the start with a mappa (Cassiod. Var. loc. cit.; Suet. Nero 22). At each end of the carceres were towers and battlements suggesting a walled town, and this part of the circus was sometimes called oppidum (Varro, cit.; Fest. 184). The east end of the circus was curved, with a gateway in the centre through which the procession seems to have usually entered at the beginning of the games. In 81 A.D. this gateway was replaced by a triple arch, erected by the senate in honour of Titus and his capture of Jerusalem (CIL vi. 944). It is represented on the Marble Plan (fr. 38). A podium, or raised platform, surrounded the arena. On this were the chairs of high officials, and from it the cavea rose gradually. On the spina were the two obelisks, the eggs and dolphins (see above), and at each end the metae or goals, three cones of gilt bronze (Cassiod. Var. iii. 51. 7). The altar of CONSUS (q.v.) was near the east end of the spina, and other shrines seem to be represented on the reliefs. Tertullian (de spect. 8) gives a list of various divinities who were worshipped in the circus—CASTOR AND POLLUX, SOL, MAGNA MATER, NEPTUNE, VENUS MURCIA (qq.v.), and some minor deities. Their shrines were either on the spina or in the cavea (HJ 140).

The seating capacity of the circus has given rise to much discussion. Dionysius' statement (iii. 68) that the Augustan building held 150,000 spectators, and Pliny's (xxxvi. 102) that in his time it held 250,000, have both been questioned; and that of the Notitia that in the fourth century it had 385,000 loca has been interpreted to mean that number of running feet of seats, which would accommodate about 200,000 spectators. This seems reasonable, but there is no doubt that the capacity of the building was greatly increased after the time of Augustus and on this basis Dionysius' figure would seem too high. Estimates of the final capacity vary from a maximum of 385,000 to a minimum of 140,000, but no certainty has been reached (BC 1894, 321-324; Richter 178; HJ 137; RE iii. 2578).

Throughout the republic the circus was used for gladiatorial combats and fights with wild beasts, as well as for races; but after the building of the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, and still more after the erection of the Colosseum, the first species of entertainment was largely, although not entirely removed from the circus. The last recorded games took place under Totila in 550 A.D. (Procop. b. Goth. iii. 37), and in that century the destruction of the circus began. The form of the circus was still clearly recognisable in the sixteenth century (DuP 107-112). At present

a small portion of the seats at the curved end, on the N.E. side, are still visible, and traces were found further N.W. in making a drain in 1873-4 along the Via dei Cerchi (Mora in *Messaggero*, 25th March, 1924). The name *de gradellis*, applied to churches of S. Gregorio and S. Maria (HCh 258, 336 sqq.) does not refer to the circus (LS i. 90) but probably to the steps that descended to the mills in the Tiber. See in general HJ 120-144; RE iii. 2572-2581; Gilb. ii. 454-456; iii. 313-319; DS ii. 1187-1201; ZA 265-269.

CIRCUS MECINUS: a corruption in Varro (LL v. 153) for circus Maximus.

CIRCUS VATICANUS: see CIRCUS GAI ET NERONIS.

CISPIUS MONS: the northern spur of the Esquiline, separated from the Oppius on the south by the valley of the Subura, and from the Viminal on the north by the corresponding depression through which ran the vicus Patricius (Varro, LL v. 50; Gell. xv. 1. 2; Mon. L. xv. 784-5). The beginning of the Cispius, the point where it projected south-westward from the plateau of the Esquiline is now marked by S. Maria Maggiore, where the altitude is about 54 metres. The Cispius, the Oppius, and the Fagutal were the three parts of the Esquiline, and constituted three of the montes of the SEPTIMONTIUM (q.v.) (Fest. 341, 348). According to Varro (ap. Fest. 348) Cispius was a native of Anagni who came to Rome in the reign of Tullus and guarded this hill (Jord. i. 1. 183-188; DE ii. 2161-2162).

CLAUDIUS, DIVUS, TEMPLUM: a temple of the deified Claudius on the Caelian, begun by Agrippina, almost entirely destroyed by Nero, and rebuilt by Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 9: *fecit et nova opera . . . templum divi Claudii in Caelio monte, coeptum quidem ab Agrippina sed a Nerone prope funditus destructum*). This destruction was probably due, in part at least, to the construction of the distributing station of the aqua Claudia, which Nero extended to the Caelian (Frontin. de aquis i. 20; ii. 76).<sup>1</sup> Part of it may have been sacrificed to the domus Aurea, which extended to the north-west corner of the Caelian opposite the Colosseum, where this temple stood, the site now occupied by the gardens of the Passionist Fathers. It is mentioned in one inscription (CIL vi. 10251a), and Aurelius Victor (Caes. 9, cf. Epit. 9) speaks of *Claudii monumenta*. There was also a porticus Claudia (Mart. de spect. 2. 9-10: *Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras / Ultima pars aulae deficientis erat*), which was clearly just inside the limits of the domus Aurea, and would most naturally be located on the Caelian in connection with the temple of Claudius (FUR p. 33; cf. however, Mnemosyne, 1906, 83-84).<sup>2</sup> Three fragments of the Marble Plan (45, 77, 96) probably belong together and represent parts of

<sup>1</sup> We may associate with these alterations the fine fountain decoration in the shape of a ship's prow found near the arch of Constantine (BC 1882, 63; Bocconi, *Musei Capitolini*, 293. 11).

<sup>2</sup> The reading *desipientis* (= *insanae*) is here proposed.

this temple and the buildings of the aqueduct, but they contain no indication of a porticus (Mitt. 1903, 20). Nevertheless, it is probable that the porticus Claudia surrounded the temple.

The last mention of the temple is in the fourth century (Not. Reg. II), though a bull of Honorius III of 1217 speaks of the *formae et alia aedificia positae intra clausuram Clodei*. Nothing is known of the history of its destruction. It was (if the combination suggested above of the fragments of the *forma Urbis* is correct) prostyle hexastyle, fronting towards the north, and stood on a lofty and extensive podium, some of the substructures of which have been excavated and are now visible (LS i. 71; iii. 76; Ann. d. Inst. 1882, 205; NS 1880, 463; 1909, 427). These substructures are different on the different sides of the podium, those on the west consisting of double rows of travertine arches with engaged columns and entablature; those on the north containing what seem to be reservoirs for water; and those on the east consisting of alternately square and semicircular recesses which are separated from the podium by narrow passages. These passages are, probably, simply air spaces. The recesses are divided from one another by narrow semicircular niches in groups of three. This difference in style and construction is probably due to the combination of temple and nymphaeum which was the result of Vespasian's restoration (HJ 232-234; Gilb. iii. 124; LA 371; ZA 144 sqq.; Rivoira, RA 68, 73, who assigns the brick facing of the concrete substructures on the east to Nero—they are not represented on the Marble Plan, where the rectangular spaces round the temple are garden beds—and the travertine arches on the west to the original construction).

CLEMENTIA, ARA: an altar erected in 28 A.D. by the senate to the clementia of Tiberius (Tac. Ann. iv. 74; cf. AMICITIA, ARA), of which nothing more is known (RE iv. 20; WR 335).

CLEMENTIA CAESARIS, AEDES: \* a temple erected in 44 B.C. to Clementia and Caesar, in which the two were represented holding each other by the right hand (Cass. Dio. xlv. 6: *ναὸν αὐτῷ τῇ <τ>* 'Επιεικείᾳ αὐτοῦ; App. BC ii. 106: *κοινὸν (ναὸν) αὐτοῦ καὶ 'Επιεικείας ἀλλήλους δεξιουμένων*; Plut. Caes. 57: *τῆς 'Επιεικείας ἱερὸν*). This temple is probably represented on a coin of Sepullius Macer as tetrastyle (Cohen, Caes. 44 = Babelon ii. 29, No. 52 = BM Rep. i. 549. 4176, 4177; cf. RE iv. 20; WR 278). Its site is not known.

CLITELLAE: mentioned only once (Fest. 59)—*clitellae dicuntur . . . locus Romae propter similitudinem et in via Flaminia loca quaedam devexa subinde et accliva* (cf. English 'saddle'). The nearest portion of the via Flaminia which can be described as being up- and downhill is close to Castelnovo di Porto (JRS 1921, 151-154).

CLIVUS ARGENTARIUS: the street that formed the only immediate connection between the forum and the campus Martius before the imperial fora were built. It left the forum between the curia and the carcer, and ran



along the slope of the Capitoline hill, corresponding closely with the modern Via di Marforio. Clivus Argentarius is found only in mediaeval documents (*Ordo Benedicti*, p. 143 ;<sup>1</sup> *Mirab.* 24), but the name was probably in use under the empire and derived from the shops of the argentarii (see *BASILICA ARGENTARIA*). In the time of the republic it seems to have been called *LAUTUMIAE* (q.v. ; *Jord.* i. 2. 438 ; ii. 445, 634, 666).

**CLIVUS BASSILLI** : a road, mentioned only once (*CIL* vi. 36364), that seems to have branched off from the via Tiburtina in the area now occupied by the cemetery of S. Lorenzo (*PBS* iii. 90 ; *Mitt.* 1891, 112).

**CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS** :\* the principal approach to the Arx and Capitolium. This was originally a path, in effect a continuation of the Sacra via, which led up by a steep ascent from the west corner of the forum to the depression, *Inter duos Lucos*, where it divided. At the end of the regal period the path to the depression, with the branch to the Capitolium, was made into a road suitable for vehicles, and henceforth known as the clivus Capitolinus (*Liv.* iii. 18. 7, 19. 7 ; *Serv. Aen.* ii. 116 ; viii. 319 ; *Plin. NH* xix. 23 ; *Vell.* ii. 3. 2). In 174 B.C. it was paved by the censors, Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus, and a porticus was built on the right side of the road from the temple of Saturn to the Capitolium (*Liv.* xli. 27. 7 ; *Tac. Hist.* iii. 71). It is probable, however, that this porticus did not extend below the depression in later times. In 190 B.C. Scipio erected a decorative arch at the top of the clivus (*Liv.* xxxvii. 3).

This was the only means of access to the mons Capitolinus except the flights of steps—*Centum Gradus*, *Gradus Monetae* (?)—and afforded a convenient place for commanding the forum with troops (*Cic. pro Sest.* 28 ; post red. 12 ; *Phil.* ii. 16, 19 ; ad *Att.* ii. 1. 7). Along part of it, probably *Inter duos Lucos*, there were private houses (*Cic. pro Mil.* 64 : *domus in clivo Capitolino scutis referta*).

The clivus begins near the arch of Tiberius at the corner of the basilica Julia. Here some arches of the time of Sulla are preserved, which supported it and a street branching from it (they have by some been wrongly explained as the *ROSTRA* (q.v. ; cf. *Mitt.* 1902, 13-16 ; *IIC* 71). It then skirts the north front and the west side of the temple of Saturn, making a sharp turn at the corner of the porticus deorum Consentium, and ascends to the Asylum with an average gradient of 1 : 8. Part of the back wall of the porticus serves as a foundation for the clivus, but its upper course has been changed by more recent structures. Portions of the lava pavement of the clivus still exist at various points near the bottom of the ascent, including a small piece attributable to 174 B.C. and another attributable to Sulla ; while that in front of the temple is one of the best specimens of Augustan paving in Rome, having been preserved by the erection upon it of the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus

<sup>1</sup> Mabillon ; = Fabre-Duchesne, *Liber Censuum*, ii. 154, § 50.



(see SACRA VIA). Another piece of its pavement may be seen to the south of the porticus Deorum Consentium (a good deal is hidden by the modern road) and another to the south-west of the Tabularium (KII iv.). No trace remains of the upper part of the clivus or of the branch that led to the arx, which was at first the more important of the two. It is probable that the clivus reached the substructures of the area Capitolina on its north-east side, then turned at right angles, and with a rather steep rise of perhaps 1 : 15 passed around the south corner of the area, and entered it on the south-east side. The PORTA STERCORARIA (q.v.) was probably not far above the temple of Saturn (Jord. i. 2. 62, 78, 120-121; Gilb. i. 313-315; ii. 311-317, 445-448; Hermes, 1883, 104-128, 616-619; 1884, 322-324; Richter, BRT i. 21-31: Capitolium und Clivus Capitolinus; Pl. 294, 295; RE iii. 1530-1531; Rodocanachi, Capitole 16 et passim; JRS 1922, 14-16; 1925, 121; CR 1899, 464; TF 54-58).

CLIVUS CAPSARIUS: a street on the Aventine known only from a fragment of the Acta Arvalia of 240 A.D. (NS 1914, 473-474; DAP 2. xii. 37: in domu Fab. Fortunati promag. q.e. in clivo Capsar. in Aventino maiore). The capsarii looked after the clothes of persons using the public baths (CIL vi. 9232: capsararius de Antonianas (thermas)), and the clivus may have received its name because the attendants of the clothes rooms of the baths of Caracalla lived in it (cf. DE ii. 101).

CLIVUS COSCONIUS: a street of unknown location, built by a viocurus of the same name (Varro, LL v. 158).

CLIVUS DELPHINI: a street mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue in Region XII. It was probably a little north of the thermae Antoninianae, and possibly connected the via Nova with the via Ardeatina, along the line of the modern Via di S. Balbina.

CLIVUS MAMURI: a street mentioned only in mediaeval documents (LP xlii. 6; Acta S. Susan. 11 (*vicum*), Aug. p. 632; BC 1914, 373), which probably took its name from the statua Mamuri (Not. Reg. VI). This, the statue of Mamurius Veturius, the legendary maker of the ancilia (Fest. 131; Ov. Fast. iii. 382-392; Plut. Numa 13; WR 147, 558), was probably close to the temple of Quirinus and the CURIA SALIORUM (q.v.) and the street may have run south-east from the Alta Semita (HJ 410; Gilb. i. 295; iii. 370; RhM 1894, 405, 417).

CLIVUS MARTIS: the name given to that part of the via Appia, just before it is crossed by the line of the later Aurelian wall, where it ascended to the temple of MARS (q.v.). Cf. Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 97, Marti in Cl[ivo], 1st June. In process of time the grade of the road was removed or at least very much diminished (CIL vi. 1270). In 296 B.C. the clivus was paved (Liv. x. 23), and repaved in 189 B.C., when it was provided with a porticus, and afterwards known as the VIA TECTA (q.v.) (Liv.

xxxviii. 28 ; Ov. Fast. vi. 191-2). This via Tecta is to be distinguished from the via Tecta in the campus Martius.

CLIVUS ORBIUS (URBIUS) : the earliest name of a street that led up the Carinae to the top of the Oppius, crossing the vicus Cuprius (Sol. i. 25 ; Liv. i. 48). In this street Tullia is said to have murdered her father, and it was afterwards called vicus Sceleratus (Liv. loc. cit. ; Dionys. iv. 39 ; Varro, LL v. 159 ; de vir. ill. 7. 18 ; Fest. 332, 333 ; Ov. Fast. vi. 609). The line of the VICUS CUPRIUS (q.v.) seems fairly certain, approximately that of the Via del Cardello and Via del Colosseo, and therefore the clivus Orbius probably corresponded in part at least with the Via di S. Pietro in Vincoli, where ancient pavement has been found (HJ 258). Pais (Legends 273) locates it farther south, within the area of the domus Aurea, but with less plausibility.

CLIVUS PALATINUS, the name applied for convenience (it has no ancient warranty) to the road ascending to the Palatine from the SACRA VIA (q.v.) near the Arch of Titus. A small piece of its pavement belonging to the time of Sulla was found at about 29 metres above sea-level, and considerable remains of that laid by Augustus at a slightly higher level have been found near the Arch of Titus. That of Nero was slightly higher again and was about 17 m. wide (AJA 1923, 397 sqq. ; Mem. Am. Acad. v. 121-123). [Dr. Van Deman has since shown me that the arcade of Nero ran up as far as the arch attributed to Domitian by Boni, and by her to Augustus (see ARCUS DOMITIANI (I), T.A.)]

CLIVUS PATRICI : see VICUS PATRICIUS.

CLIVUS PUBLICIUS : a street constructed and paved by Lucius and Marcus Publicius Malleolus, who were curule aediles about 238 B.C. (Fest. 238 ; Varro, LL v. 158 ; Ov. Fast. v. 293-4). It began in the forum Boarium, near the west end of the circus Maximus and the porta Trigemina (Frontin. 5 ; Liv. xxvii. 37), and must have extended across the Aventine in a southerly direction (Liv. xxvi. 10), past the temple of Diana to the VICUS PISCINAE PUBLICAE (q.v.). It was said to have been burned to the ground in 203 B.C. (Liv. xxx. 26), which must mean that it was thickly built up.

CLIVUS PULLIUS : a street running south from the Subura across the western end of the Oppius to the Fagutal (Sol. i. 26 ; Varro, LL v. 158), passing the point now occupied by the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli. An inscription of the end of the fourth century (CIL vi. 31893 ; BC 1891, 354-355) was found here which mentioned the clivumpullenses, and until the end of the sixteenth century the line of the street was marked by the church of S. Giovanni in Carapullo or in clivo Plumbeo (HJ 257 ; BC 1907, 180 ; HCh 271).

CLIVUS RUTARIUS : mentioned only in one inscription (CIL vi. 7803), from which it cannot be determined whether it is the name of a part of the via Aurelia outside the porta Aurelia, or of another street running into this.

**CLIVUS SACER**: written *sacer clivus* in the three passages in which it occurs at all (Hor. Carm. iv. 2. 35; Mart. i. 70. 5; iv. 78. 7), another name, apparently confined to poetry, for the SACRA VIA (q.v.) proper, that is, the ascent from the forum to the summa Sacra via. It is often stated that this was also the name of the street that branched off from the summa Sacra via and ascended the Palatine (CLIVUS PALATINUS, q.v.), but probably without reason (HJ 21, 105; HC 250; Richter 160; Gilb. iii. 423; CR 1902, 336; Mitt. 1902, 97; 1905, 119).

**CLIVUS SALUTIS**: a street mentioned only in Symmachus (Ep. v. 54. 2) and LP xlii (vit. Innoc. i. 6), but probably identical with the vicus Salutis or Salutaris of an inscription (CIL vi. 31270) that was found at the S.W. end of the Via del Quirinale.<sup>1</sup> This street was evidently named from the collis Salutaris or the temple of Salus, and probably connected the Alta Semita with the vicus Longus, corresponding in general with the Via della Consulta (HJ 405; RhM 1894, 404). The ancient pavement has been found along this line, in some places as deep as 18 metres below the present level (BC 1889, 386; 1890, 11).

**CLIVUS SCAURI**: a street ascending from the depression between the Palatine and the Caelian, and running east to the top of the latter hill, the point now marked by the Piazza della Navicella. It branched off from the street connecting the circus Maximus and Colosseum, just north of the Septizonium where the church of S. Gregorio now stands, and seems to have coincided in general with the modern Via di SS. Giovanni e Paolo. The name occurs only in post-classical documents (Jord. ii. 594-595;<sup>2</sup> LPD i. 481, n. 19) and in various tenth century documents of the Reg. Sublac. (HCh 256-257), but is probably ancient, and may be the vicus Scauri of one inscription (CIL vi. 9940). It has been conjectured that the vicus trium Ararum mentioned on the Capitoline Base in Region I (CIL vi. 975), and in a dedicatory inscription found in front of S. Gregorio (CIL vi. 453), may have been another name for the lower part of this street (HJ 201, 231; DAP 2. ix. 409). There was also a church of S. Trinitas in clivo Scauri to the west of S. Gregorio near the ARCUS STILLANS (q.v.); see HCh 493.

**CLIVUS SUBURANUS**: the irregular continuation of the Subura, where it ascended between the Oppius and Cispus to the porta Esquilina (Mart. v. 22. 5; cf. x. 19. 5). The remains of ancient pavement show that it followed in general the line of the Vie di S. Lucia in Selci, di S. Martino, and di S. Vito. A street which ran northward to join it from the west side of the thermae of Trajan was found in 1922 (NS 1922, 219).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> HJ cit. calls it Via Venti Settembre; but the street is rightly called Via del Quirinale from the Piazza del Quirinale to the Quattro Fontane (KH i.-iii.).

<sup>2</sup> But the reference in Eins. 9. 2 is to the monastery of S. Gregorio (Mon. L. i. 503; HCh 256, 257) and not to the road.

<sup>3</sup> It is described as running north and south (i.e. parallel to the west side of the thermae) for over 50 metres, but the thermae face north-east.



CLIVUS TRIARIUS : a street known only from one inscription (CIL xv. 7178), but perhaps identical with the vicus Triari of the Capitoline Base (CIL vi. 975) in Region XII.

CLIVUS VICTORIAE : the ascent to the Palatine from the Velabrum on the west side (Fest. 262 ; FUR 37, 86), which took its name from the temple of VICTORIA (q.v.). It probably began at the porta Romana, a little south of the present church of S. Teodoro. The present path, skirting the cliff, ascends to the north corner of the hill, where it turns abruptly to the right and passes under the substructures of the domus Tiberiana. Ancient pavement exists all along this path, and there is no reason for doubting that this is the line of the clivus as it existed after the erection of this part of the palace ; but this building must have materially altered previous conditions and the earlier line of the street. A repaving of it may be alluded to in an inscription of the Sullan period found in the forum (BC 1899, 53 ; NS 1900, 310 ; Klio 1902, 259, No. 38 ; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 809).

CLIVIUS URBIUS : see CLIVUS ORBIUS.

CLOACA MAXIMA : a sewer constructed, according to tradition, by Tarquinius Superbus to drain the forum and the valleys between the hills (Liv. i. 38. 6 ; 56. 2 ; Dion. iii. 67. 5 ; iv. 44. 1 ; Strabo v. 8 ; Plin. NH xxxvi. 104, who gives an eloquent description of it, lasting as it did almost unimpaired to his own day, and mentions that the whole system was inspected by Agrippa during his aedileship (33 B.C.), ut paulo ante retulimus [this passage is lost] urbe pensili subterque navigata M. Agrippae in aedilitate post consulatum). Cf. Cass. Dio xlix. 43.<sup>1</sup> Even in the time of Theodoric the cloacae of Rome were objects of wonder (Cassiod. Var. iii. 30). This tradition has been strikingly confirmed—and it is one of the most important historical results of the recent excavations in the forum—by the fact that the latest tombs in the prehistoric necropolis of the forum belong to the sixth century B.C. (Mitt. 1905, 115 ; HC 4).

The course of the cloaca Maxima proper began in the Argiletum, where it collected the waters of the Esquiline, Viminal and Quirinal, and flowed through the forum and Velabrum to the Tiber. The windings of the whole of its course show that it was in origin a stream flowing through a marshy valley, which Tarquin regulated by walls ; and despite what the writers of the empire say about his having constructed it underground from the first, Plautus's reference to it as canalis (Curc. 476) has led most scholars to suppose that it was not roofed until after his own time.<sup>2</sup> Some of its windings too appear to have been due to the erection of buildings under the empire, e.g. that near the temple of Minerva, though the style of construction seems older (see below).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also vir. ill. 8. 3 (Tarquinius Superbus) cloacam maximam fecit, ubi totius populi viribus usus est, unde illae fossae Quiritium sunt dictae ; Georg. Cedren i. 260, ed. Bonn. καὶ τὰς ὑπονόμους τάφρους δ' ὧν ἐπὶ τὸν Τίβεριν τὸ ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν ὕδωρ ὀχετεύεται . . . κατεσκεύασεν ; CIL vi. 7882 ; faber lectarius ab clo(a)ca maxima.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also canalicolae forenses (Fest. 45).



It is probable that nothing remains of the original drain, though a small section in cappellaccio under the basilica Aemilia may be attributed to such an early period; but it has not yet been properly described (CR 1901, 137-138; TF 69-74). Some of the branch drains near the temple of Saturn, on the other hand, may be assigned to the beginning of the fifth century B.C. at latest (JRS 1925, 121; ASA 3).

In the rest of its course there is nothing belonging to any period before the third century B.C., and much is a good deal later, being assignable to the restorations of Agrippa. The whole, however, needs further examination in the light of modern criteria.

The cloaca proper seems to have begun near the north-west corner of the forum of Augustus. From this point to the via Alessandrina it is built entirely of peperino, vaulted, and paved with blocks of lava—the characteristic style of the republic; while onwards as far as the forum the roof has been restored in brick-faced concrete of the empire. The channel is here 4.20 metres high and 3.20 wide. Eight branches empty into this section—none of them, as Lanciani notes, from private houses, which must have relied largely on cesspools. Beneath the nave of the basilica Aemilia the channel of the cloaca Maxima has been found crossing it obliquely; this portion had been rebuilt in tufa and travertine in 34 A.D. Originally it appears to have run in the direction of the column of Phocas (TF fig. 10, p. 69), though it must soon have turned westward; but a branch was built (in 78 B.C., as Frank thinks—but did the cloaca at that time already run round the outside of the basilica?) to connect it with the line of the cloaca as rebuilt (by Agrippa?), which skirted the basilica on the north-west and south-west, then turned at right angles to the south-west near the shrine of Venus Cloacina, crossed the area of the forum, passed under the east end of the basilica Iulia, and thence into the Velabrum. According to Ficoroni (*Roma Antica*, i. 74) the whole of this lower section was cleared in 1742; the conduit was found to be built of blocks of travertine and was as much as 10 metres below ground. A part of it, belonging to the republican period, with later restorations, is still visible opposite the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro. It has recently been connected with the main sewer of modern Rome, so that the forum can no longer be inundated by its backwash (*aliquando Tiberis retro infusus recipitur*, as Pliny says), as it was, for the last time, in the flood of 1901: *Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis litore Etrusco violenter undis ire deiectum monumenta regis templaque Vestae* (Hor. *Carm.* i. 2. 13). The three concentric arches at the mouth of it, which show a combination of Gabine stone and Grotta Oscura stone, are assigned to 100 B.C. or slightly before (TF 142, n. 9; ASA 5; cf. Ill. 43).

See Jord. i. 1. 441-443; 447-452; Richter, *Ant. Denk.* i. 37; Narducci, *Fognatura di Roma* 39-49; BC 1890, 95-102; Mitt. 1889, 236; 1891, 86-88; LR 29 sq.; Pl. 107-109; 271-273; CR 1901, 137-138; ZA 262-265.

**CLOACINA, SACRUM** : a shrine of Cloacina, the divinity of the cloaca (cloaca Maxima), in the forum near the Tabernae novae (Liv. iii. 48 : prope Cloacinae ad tabernas quibus nunc novis est nomen ; Plaut. Curc. 471 : apud Cloacinae sacrum). In process of time Cloacina was arbitrarily identified with Venus and called Venus Cloacina (Plin. NH xv. 119 : traditur myrtea verbenâ Romanos Sabinosque, cum propter raptas virgines dimicare voluissent, depositis armis purgatos in eo loco qui nunc signa Veneris Cloacinae habet ; cluere enim antiqui purgare dicebant ; cf. Serv. Aen. i. 720). The origin of the cult and the erection of the first shrine belong probably to the first period in the history of the CLOACA MAXIMA (q.v.), although tradition ascribed it to Titus Tatius (Lact. Inst. i. 20. 11). Coins struck during the second triumvirate (Babelon, ii. 242 ; Mussidia 6. 7 ; WS 1902, 418-424 ; BM Rep. i. p. 574 n., 4242-54) represent a small round structure with a metal balustrade, the legend CLOACIN, and two female figures, one holding a flower, which evidently represent Venus Cloacina. There is no doubt that this is the shrine of which the foundations were discovered directly in front of the basilica Aemilia in 1899-1901. The existing remains stand over the drain that flows under the basilica, near the point where it empties into the cloaca Maxima, and consist of a marble base, round except on the west side, where it has a rectangular projection, 2.40 metres in diameter, resting on a slab of travertine and eight courses of various kinds of stone. The character of these courses shows that the foundation was gradually raised as the basilica encroached upon it (Mitt. 1893, 284 ; 1902, 45 ; 1905, 62-63 ; BC 1900, 61-62 ; 1903, 97-99 ; CR 1901, 138 ; HC 136-138 ; Théd. 75, 257 ; RE iv. 60-61 ; WR 245 ; DR 182-184 ; JRS 1922, 21 ; HFP 34 ; TF 74, on the other hand, assigns all the tufa courses to the period of Sulla).

**CODETA** : a district on the right bank of the Tiber, so called because of the myrtle ('mare's tail') which grew there (Fest. 58). A campus Codetanus is mentioned in Reg. in Region XIV, which is probably the same as the Codeta, but it cannot be located more definitely. It is possible that a fragmentary inscription from a terminal cippus (CIL vi. 30422, 3) may refer to this district (HJ 624-625, 652). See NAUMACHIA AUGUSTI.

**CODETA MINOR** : mentioned only once (Suet. Caes. 39) as that part of the campus Martius in which Caesar constructed a naumachia for his triumph in 46 B.C. It was perhaps just opposite the Codeta of Region XIV.

**COHORTIUM VIGILUM STATIONES** : the seven barracks of the seven cohorts of police and firemen, established by Augustus when he reorganised the city in fourteen regions. Besides the stationes, there were fourteen smaller posts, *excubitoria* (Baillie Reynolds, The Vigiles of Imperial Rome (Oxford, 1926), 43-63). From actual remains and inscriptions found in situ, the location of four stationes is determined :

I on the east side of the via Lata, directly opposite the Saepta (Not.

Reg. VI; CIL vi. 233, 1056, 1092, 1144, 1157, 1180, 1181, 1226; *ib.* (not in situ) 2959-61). The plan of this statio is certainly preserved on a fragment (36) of the Marble Plan, and represents a rectangular building with its main axis extending due north and south at an angle of 18 degrees with the via Lata, and divided into three parts, each of which consisted of a central court surrounded by a porticus and rows of chambers. Extensive remains brought to light by the excavations of the seventeenth century showed, however, that many changes had been made in the barracks after the time of Severus (HJ 461, and literature there cited; NS 1912, 337).

II on the Esquiline (Not. Reg. V), at the south end of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele (CIL vi. 414, 1059; *ib.* (not in situ) 2962-68, 32752; LS iii. 162).

IV on the Aventine (Not. Reg. XII), just north of the church of S. Saba (CIL vi. 219, 220, 643, 1055; *ib.* (not in situ) 2972-76; Ann. d. Inst. 1858, 285-289; BC 1902, 204-206; NS 1901, 10; 1902, 270, 357, 465; 1925, 382-387; HJ 187; PT 140).

V on the Caelian (Not. Reg. II), just west of the Macellum magnum, the present church of S. Stefano Rotondo (CIL vi. 221, 222, 1057, 1058; *ib.* (not in situ) 2977-83). Besides the inscriptions, some traces of the building were found in the sixteenth century (LS ii. 132) and in 1820 (LR 340).

The location of the other three barracks is uncertain:

III in Region VI (Not.). The epigraphic evidence is indeterminate (CIL vi. 2969-71, 3761=31320, 32753-6), but the statio was probably just inside the porta Viminalis, near the east corner of the baths of Diocletian (HJ 374; BC 1872-3, 250; 1876, 107, 174; Jord. i. i. 309; ii. 122; CIL xv. 7245—this pipe *may* have been found near this site, but in any case appears to refer to the first cohort).

VI in Region VIII (Not.), but the inscriptions (CIL vi. 2984-92; 32757) are without topographical value. For a supposed excubitorium in the forum, see NS 1902, 96; BC 1902, 31; Atti 570; CIL vi. 3909.

VII in Region XIV (Not.). No traces of the statio of this cohort have been found, but considerable remains of one of the excubitoria were discovered in 1866 at the monte de' Fiori, near the church of S. Crisogono. The building, which appears to have been originally a large private house, belongs to the second century with later additions, and on its walls are many graffiti (CIL vi. 2998-3091), dating from 215 to 245 A.D. and containing much information in regard to the organisation of the corps. The portion excavated consists of a central atrium with mosaic pavement and a hexagonal fountain, and adjacent apartments, among them a lararium and a balneum (Bull. d. Inst. 1867, 8-30; Ann. d. Inst. 1874, 111-163; cf. BC 1886, 266-269; LR 549; CIL vi. 2993-2997, 32751; Mau, Gesch. d. Wandmalerei, 461). Some authorities place the other excubitorium in the ninth region, because in one of the graffiti (CIL vi.



3052) the seventh cohort is referred to as Cohor(s) vigul(um) Neron(ianis (?)), i.e. at the Thermae Neronianae (Ann. d. Inst. 1874, 117; CIL in loc.; LR 547; SJ 269, 270). But Baillie Reynolds (op. cit. 55-58) brings strong arguments in favour of the view that the eleventh and fourteenth regions were in the charge of the seventh cohort.

COLLIS HORTULORUM: see PINCIUS MONS.

COLOSSEUM: see AMPHITHEATRUM FLAVIUM.

COLOSSUS NERONIS: a colossal bronze statue of Nero, 120 feet high, the work of Zenodorus, a Greek, erected by Nero himself in the vestibule of the DOMUS AUREA (q.v.) on the summit of the Velia (Suet. Nero 31; Plin. NH xxxiv. 45), but after the death of that emperor changed by Vespasian into a statue of the Sun (Plin. loc. cit.; Suet. Vesp. 18; Mart. de spect. 2. 1 (see DOMUS AUREA); i. 70. 7; Cass. Dio lxxv. 15: ὁ . . . κολοσσὸς ὀνομασμένος ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ ἰδρύθῃ). Hülsen (HJ 321) considers ἰδρύθῃ to be a loose translation of *refectus est*, so that we need not suppose that the statue was actually moved. Dio states that some said it was like Nero and others like Titus.<sup>1</sup> Hadrian, perhaps early in 128 A.D. (Mél. 1918-1919, 285-294), moved it nearer the Colosseum in order to make room for the temple of Venus and Roma, it is said, without taking it down (Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19). Commodus (Hist. Aug. Com. 17; Cass. Dio lxxii. 22) converted it into a statue of himself as Hercules; but at his death it was restored as the Sun and so remained (Cohen, Comm. 186, 206, 209; Herodian i. 15. 9; Reg. IV). Part of the pedestal which was built by Hadrian still exists, between the Colosseum and the temple of Venus and Roma. It is 7 metres square, of brick-faced concrete, and was originally covered with marble (see also Hieron. ad a. Abr. 2090; Hemerol. Philoc. ad viii Id. Iun. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 266, 319; CIL viii. 212. 82; Longin. de Subl. 57. 2<sup>2</sup> (WS 1898, 177); Jahrb. d. Inst. 1913, 133).

For a block of travertine which may have formed part of the flight of steps inside one leg of this huge figure see Mem. Am. Acad. v. 118. Remains of what may be the base on which it stood originally exist under the monastery of S. Francesca Romana. The mention of it in Hemerol. cit., colossus coronatur, is the last in antiquity, and is an interesting record of the persistence in Christian times of a picturesque spring festival celebrated by the sellers of garlands on the Sacra via. The famous saying quoted by Bede (Collect. l. iii.), 'quamdiu stabit coliseus, stabit et Roma; quando cadet coliseus, cadet et Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus,' should be referred, not to the amphitheatre but to the statue, which had no doubt fallen long before (Nissen, Ital. Landeskunde, ii. 538). And the early mediaeval mentions of insula,

<sup>1</sup> This would seem to indicate that Vespasian merely added rays to the head, which otherwise remained unchanged. It is probably referred to as Palatinus colossus by Mart. viii. 60.

<sup>2</sup> xxxvi. 3 (p. 68, l. 13) of Vahlen's edition (1895).



regio, rota colisei should be similarly explained (Jord. ii. 119, 319, 510). The name was not transferred to the building until about 1000 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

**COLUMNA ANTONINI PII**: a column, erected in memory of Antoninus Pius by his two adopted sons, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (CIL vi. 1004). It stood in the campus Martius, on the edge of the elevation now known as Monte Citorio, and belonged architecturally to the USTRINUM (q.v.), being 25 metres north of it with the same orientation. The column was a monolith of red granite, 14.75 metres in height and 1.90 in diameter, and was quarried in 106 A.D., as is shown by the masons' inscription on its lower end (IG xiv. 2421. 1). It stood on a pedestal of white marble, surrounded with a grating, and was surmounted by a statue of Antoninus, as is represented on coins issued after his death (Cohen, Ant. Pius 353-6). Previous to the eighteenth century the base of the column was entirely buried, but the lower part of the shaft projected about 6 metres above the ground. In 1703 the base was excavated, but the shaft lay in the Piazza Colonna until 1764 when unsuccessful attempts were made to repair it. Some pieces were used to restore the obelisk of Augustus that is now in the Piazza di Monte Citorio, and the lower part was taken to the Vatican. Three of the sides of the pedestal, which is now in the Giardino della Pigna in the Vatican, are covered with reliefs. The principal one, representing the apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina, was turned towards the Ustrinum. The opposite side bears the dedicatory inscription, and the reliefs on the other two represent scenes from the decursus equitum at the deification (Mitt. 1889, 41-48; S.Sculpt. 270-3; SScR 249-253; LS iii. 145; Amelung, Kat. Vat. i. pp. 883-893).

**COLUMNA BELLICA**: a small column standing in an open area beside the temple of Bellona in the campus Martius. A soldier of Pyrrhus had been forced to buy this spot of ground in order that it might represent foreign soil, and the column represented a boundary stone over which the fetial cast his spear when war was to be declared in due form against a foreign foe (Ov. Fast. vi. 205-9; Serv. Aen. ix. 52; Fest. 33; Placidus 14 (Deuerl.)). This act is said to have been performed as late as the time of Marcus Aurelius (Cass. Dio lxxi. 33).

**COLUMNA LACTARIA**: a column in the forum holitorium, mentioned only by Festus (118), who says that it was so called quod ibi infantes lacte alendos deferebant (cf. also AEDES PIETATIS IN FORO HOLITORIO). Its base may have been adorned with reliefs which suggested or bore out its name (Eranos, 1923, 38-40; cf. HJ 510).

**COLUMNA MAENIA**: a column erected in 338 B.C. in honour of C. Maenius, the victor in the naval battle at Antium (Plin. NH xxxiv. 20), which stood near the basilica Porcia and the Carcer (Plin. NH vii. 212; Cic. div. in Caec. 50; pro Sest. 18 and schol. Bob. ad loc.; Plut. Cato min. 5). Another tradition, probably false, attributed the column to a later

<sup>1</sup> This is now Professor Hülsen's view (p. 6, n. 1); see BC 1926, 53-64.

Macnius who, when he sold his house to Cato the Censor to make room for the basilica Porcia, reserved one column that he might use it as a support for the platform from which to view the games in the forum (Asc. in Cic. div. in Caec. 50, p. 120, Or. ; Porphy. ad Hor. Sat. i. 3. 21 ; BC 1914, 106). This column was standing in the fourth century (Sym. Ep. v. 54. 3 ; Jord. i. 2. 345 ; Mitt. 1893, 84, 92 ; O'Connor, Bull. Univ. Wisconsin iii. 188-192 ; Gilb. iii. 212-213 ; DR 469, 470).

COLUMNA M. AURELII ANTONINI: the column erected between 176 and 193 A.D. to commemorate the victories of Marcus Aurelius over the Marcomanni and Sarmatians in 172-175 (Aur. Vict. Caes. 16 : patres ac vulgus soli omnia decrevere templa columnas sacerdotes ; Ep. 16 : ob cuius honorem templa columnae multaque alia decreta sunt) on the west side of the via Lata, opposite the campus Agrippae ; it is still standing. An inscription (CIL vi. 1585) found near its west side records the building of a separate lodge for the procurator of the column in August-September, 193. In this inscription the column is called *columna centenaria divorum Marci et Faustinae*, *columna divi Marci*, *columna Centenaria*, and *columna centenaria divi Marci* ; and in Reg. (Reg. IX) *columna Cochlis*, either because of the spiral band of relief surrounding it (cf. Cels. 8. 10. 1 : fascia circa fracturam ter voluta sursum versum feratur et quasi in cochleam serpat), or because of the spiral staircase in the interior (cf. Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v. for the use of cochlea in this sense, both literally and metaphorically), as Isid. Orig. 15. 2. 38 suggests. It was called *centenaria* because it was one hundred feet high.

This monument was more carefully preserved than most of those in Rome, having been given in the tenth century by Popes Agapetus II and John XII to the Benedictines of S. Silvestro in capite, with the little church of S. Andrea de Columna<sup>1</sup> (HCh 182, 183), but it suffered somewhat from fire and earthquake. In the sixteenth century repairs were made by the municipal authorities, and also by Sixtus V in 1589 and the following year, when Fontana, his architect, placed on top of the column the present statue of St. Paul. He also chiselled off from the pedestal what remained of the reliefs on its four sides—sacrificial scenes with Victories and garlands—and encased its upper part, above ground, with marble, some of which came from the Septizonium (LS iii. 146-149). The dedicatory inscription had long ago disappeared, and is not recorded by any author.

The column is a direct imitation of that of Trajan, the height of shaft, torus, and capital being the same, 100 Roman feet (29.77 metres), but tapers less and therefore seems more massive. The shaft itself, 26.50 metres in height and 3.90 in diameter, is composed of 26 rings of Luna marble. It is hollow, and contains a spiral stairway with 200 steps. The interior is lighted by 56 rectangular loop-holes. Therefore the statement of Reg. (Reg. IX : *columnam cochlidem altam pedes CLXXV. s, gradus intus habet CCIII, fenestras LVI*) is incorrect in its first two items.

<sup>1</sup> There was also a church of S. Lucia de Columna (HCh 302).

The shaft stands on a plinth and torus decorated with oak leaves, 1.385 metres high, and its capital is 1.5 metres in height and of the Doric order. The exterior of the shaft is adorned with reliefs arranged in a spiral band which returns upon itself twenty-one times. These reliefs represent scenes in the campaigns of Aurelius and correspond to those on the column of Trajan, but are inferior in execution (for the explanation of these columns as book-rolls, see Birt, quoted under *FORUM TRAIANI*). It is probable that the temple of Aurelius (see *DIVUS MARCUS, TEMPLUM*) stood just west of the column, and that both were surrounded by a porticus (for column and reliefs, see the definitive work of Petersen, Domaszewski und Calderini, *Die Marcussäule auf piazza Colonna*, Munich 1896; and S.Sculpt. 273-291; AA 1896, 2-18; PBS v. 181; HJ 606-607; Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie, 1915, 75-91; AJA 1918, 213; DuP 119-121; SScR 263-279; ASA 122.

**COLUMNA MINUCIA:** erected in honour of L. Minucius Augurinus, praefectus annonae in 439 B.C., by order of the people and paid for by popular subscription—the first occurrence of the kind in Rome (Plin. NH xxxiv. 21). This column stood outside the porta Trigemina, and is represented on denarii of 129 and 114 B.C. (Babelon, *Minucia*, 3, 9, 10)<sup>1</sup> as surmounted with a statue holding stalks of wheat, and with two other statues standing at its base, one of which seems to represent Minucius. It is probable, therefore, that this is the same monument referred to elsewhere in Pliny (NH xviii. 15), where the same story is told, but a statue, not a column, is mentioned. The *bos aurata*, which Livy (iv. 16) says was erected in honour of Minucius outside the porta Trigemina, was probably part of the same monument (cf. *PORTA MINUCIA*).

**COLUMNA PHOCAE:** a monument in front of the rostra in the forum which, according to the inscription (CIL vi. 1200)<sup>2</sup> on the marble base of the column, was erected in 608 A.D. by Smaragdus, exarch of Italy, in honour of Phocas, emperor of the East. The monument consists of a fluted Corinthian column of white marble, 1.39 metres in diameter and 13.60 high, on which was placed the statue of Phocas in gilt bronze. This column stood on a marble base, which in turn rests on a square brick pedestal which was entirely surrounded by flights of nine steps made of tufa blocks taken from other structures. The steps on the north and east sides were removed in 1903. The whole monument cannot have been erected by Smaragdus, for the brick pedestal belongs probably to the fourth century, while the column, from its style and execution, must be earlier still. The pedestal was probably built at the same time as those in front of the basilica Iulia, and the column set upon it. Smaragdus simply set the statue of Phocas on the column and constructed the pyramid of tufa steps around the pedestal (as Nichols in *Archaeologia*

<sup>1</sup> BM. Rep. i. 135. 952-4; 148. 1005-6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ib. 31259 a; viii. 10529, 12479, for a modern forgery of part of the inscription.



lii. i. (1889) 183-194 had already supposed). Cf. Jord. i. 2. 246; Mitt. 1891, 88-90; 1902, 58-59; 1905, 68; Atti 577-580; HC 96-97; RE Suppl. iv. 501, 502.

**COLUMNA ROSTRATA** (M. Aemilii Paulli): a column, adorned with the beaks of ships, erected on the Capitoline in honour of M. Aemilius Paullus, consul in 255 B.C., and destroyed by lightning in 172 B.C. (Liv. xlii. 20. 1).

**COLUMNA ROSTRATA AUGUSTI**: a gilded column, decorated with rostra, erected in the forum after Octavian's return to Rome in 36 B.C., to commemorate his victory over Sextus Pompeius (App. BC v. 130). The column was surmounted with a statue of Octavian and is represented on a coin issued between 35 and 28 B.C. (Cohen, Aug. 124; BM. Aug. 633-6). Servius (ad Georg. iii. 29: *navali surgentes aere columnas*) says that after his conquest of Egypt Augustus melted down many of the beaks of the captured ships and constructed four columns, which Domitian removed to the Capitoline where they stood in Servius' day. Where they were erected by Augustus, and whether they were *rostratae* in the ordinary sense, is uncertain.

**COLUMNA ROSTRATA C. DUILII**: that one of the two *columnae rostratae*, erected by C. Duilius in honour of his naval victory over the Carthaginians in 260 B.C., which stood '*ante circum a parte ianuarum*' (Servius ad Georg. iii. 29).

**COLUMNA ROSTRATA C. DUILII**: the second and more famous of these two columns mentioned above (Serv. loc. cit.; Plin. NH xxxiv. 20; Quint. i. 7. 12). It stood either on or near the rostra, and with its archaic inscription seems to have been restored about 150 B.C. (CP 1919, 74-82; 1920, 176-183), and again later by Augustus (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 25) or Tiberius (or perhaps Claudius). Part of this restored inscription (CIL vi. 1300 = 31591; Münchener Sitz.-Ber. 1890, 293-321) was discovered in 1565 (LS ii. 188) and is still preserved in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (HF 890).<sup>1</sup>

**COLUMNA TRAIANI**: see **FORUM TRAIANI**.

**COMITIUM** :\* the place of assembly of ancient Rome (Varro, LL v. 155: *comitium ab eo quod coibant eo comitiis curiatis et litium causa*). Until Mommsen's article (Ann. d. Inst. 1845, 288-318) the comitium was believed to have been a building situated at the east end of the forum. In reality it was an open space, upon which troops could march (Liv. v. 55), and prodigies such as the raining of blood could be observed (ib. xxxiv. 45); and when it is spoken of as *tectum* (ib. xxvii. 36), this only means that awnings were spread over it (cf. Plin. NH xix. 23). Its site was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mitt. 1890, 306; 1891, 90; DR 471, 472; CIL vi. 31611 (= i<sup>2</sup>. p. 193, xi.). The inscription of the column has since been transferred to the Museo Mussolini (Bocconi, Musei Capitolini, 278). There are records of payments for placing it in its niche in 1572 (Arch. Boccapaduli Arm. ii. Mazzo iv. No. 52), while Marchionne was not paid till 1574 '*per hauer fatto la colonna rostrata di suo marmo et li sei rostri et il capitello et la basa di marmo del po(polo Romano) et ristaurato il piedistallo et messolo insieme co(n) le inscrittioni antique*' (ib. Arm. ii. No. iv. f. 79).



conjecturally fixed as early as 1870 (Jord. i. 2. 318, n. 3), but certainty was only reached when the CURIA IULIA (q.v.) was correctly identified. For comitium and curia were connected through all time (Liv. xlv. 24. 12 : comitium vestibulum curiae).

The comitium was the political centre of ancient Rome until the second century B.C. Macrobi. (Sat. iii. 16. 15) refers to the administration of justice as still going on there in 161 B.C., though the tribes usually voted in the forum. In 145 B.C. the tribune C. Licinius Crassus was the first, we are told, to lead the legislative assembly of the people from the comitium to the forum (Cic. Lael. 25, 96 ; Varro, RR i. 2. 9 ; cf. Plaut. Curc. 400 ff.), and Plutarch must be wrong in attributing the step to Gaius Gracchus (5).

The republican comitium was a *templum* or inaugurated plot of ground (Cic. Rep. ii. 11 : fecit et saepsit . . . comitium et curiam) orientated according to the cardinal points of the compass. In the centre of the north side was the curia ; on the west were the carcer and the basilica Porcia ; on the south were the rostra and the Graecostasis ; while the SENACULUM (q.v.) was further off.

For the various archaic monuments which stood in the comitium, see FICUS NAVIA, PUTEAL IN COMITIO, STATUA ATTI NAVI, STATUA HERMODORI, STATUA HORATII COCHLITIS.

Until recent excavations, the comitium was buried to a depth of over 30 feet ; but it has now been completely cleared from the front of the curia Julia, except on the north-west. The twenty-seven different strata recognised by Boni in his stratigraphic explorations may be reduced to fourteen main divisions, which represent five successive elevations (Van Deman in JRS 1922, 6-11, whose account is here followed).

The whole question is closely connected with the problems concerning the ROSTRA VETERA (q.v.). It seems that the latter changed its orientation more than once, but whether we should suppose that the comitium and the curia did the same is doubtful, though one would naturally suppose a certain amount of symmetry.

The five successive elevations are as follows :

(1) At about 10.40 to 10.60 metres above sea-level, traces were found of a layer of beaten earth not unlike a primitive pavement ; and a little above this a compact stratum of a large number of broken roof tiles of an early type was brought to light at the same time. They are clearly the debris of some building or buildings close at hand destroyed by fire, and belonging to the level below them. They cannot, it is held, be earlier than the 6th century B.C., and it may be the fire that followed the Gallic invasion of 390 B.C. that is in question.

(2) At 10.85 to 10.90 above sea-level, i.e. at the same level as the cappellaccio pavements of the forum, a hard stratum of tufa and earth beaten together was found. It was about 8 cm. thick, and was either the bed of a pavement or the pavement itself ; for from it a low flight

of steps led up to the platform of the rostra Vetera (the straight flight of steps in HC pl. v., where it is shown in black and lettered rostra Vetera?) and a similar flight of steps descended to the same level in front of the curia Iulia (also shown in black on the plan cited). The rostra Vetera separated the comitium from the forum on the south, and themselves faced due south, while the carcer, which faced almost due east, formed its western boundary; but its northern and eastern limits have not yet been ascertained at this period (later on, the former is marked by the *tabernae* of the forum Iulium; while on the east it cannot have extended, one would think, beyond the cloaca Maxima).

(3) Half a metre higher, at 11.35 to 11.50 metres above sea-level, are portions of structures which point to a rise in level; no traces of a pavement have so far been found, though a thin layer of earth and tufa may have represented it.

(4) A foot higher again, at 11.80 metres above sea-level, is another floor, from which the curved steps of the rostra Vetera ascend. No actual pavement is preserved, but the level is clear from a line of tufa slabs on which the rostra rests.

(5) Higher again, at 12.63 metres above sea-level, is a pavement of finely cut and laid travertine slabs immediately in front of the curia, generally attributed to the restoration of Faustus Sulla (see CURIA); their orientation does not agree with that of the curia nor of the rostra.

Above it, and directly in front of the later steps of the curia is a pavement of blocks of Luna marble, 13.50 metres above sea-level, which represents the level of the Comitium as established by Caesar. It was now quite a small area, divided off from the forum by a screen supported by pilasters, the holes for which are visible (or this line may have divided the comitium into two parts; but if so, it is difficult to assign any other boundary to it). Beyond this the pavement was of slabs of travertine, which still exists round the black marble pavement, or *niger lapis* (?), and towards the Arch of Severus. The reason for the reduction in size of the Comitium was the construction of the Saepta, in consequence of which it ceased to have any *raison d'être*.

The latest pavement of the comitium begins at about 11 metres from the front of the curia and extends in a fragmentary condition as far as the black marble pavement. It consists of roughly laid slabs of travertine, and is about 20 centimetres higher than the marble pavement just described. Resting partly on each of the two pavements is the circular marble basin of a fountain, with an octagonal space for the foot of a large bowl—perhaps that which now stands on the Quirinal (BC 1900, 13-25). Good though the workmanship is, it is generally assigned to the fourth or fifth century A.D.

In the fourth century A.D. several pedestals with dedicatory inscriptions were set up in the comitium—a dedication by Maxentius to Mars Invictus and the founders of the city (see SEPULCRUM ROMULI), a

dedication to Constantius by Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus and a third with scanty traces of a dedication to Iulianus.

At various points in the comitium are twenty-one small, shallow pits made of slabs of tufa set vertically, of various shapes; they are generally covered with stone slabs, and are similar to those found in the forum, which, however, are rectangular. Most of those in the comitium were filled with debris of the end of the republic. Their purpose is quite uncertain—they may have served to contain the remains of sacrifices, and are therefore called 'pozzi rituali'; or they may have served (though this seems unlikely) to carry away rain water; or they may have been intended to hold wooden posts (like flagstuffs) for festivals (ZA 77).

See Mitt. 1893, 79-94; 1902, 32-39; 1905, 29-39; NS 1899, 151-169; 1900, 317-340; BC 1900, 274-280; 1903, 125-134; CR 1899, 232-234; 1900, 236-237; 1901, 85-87; 1905, 77-78; 1906, 133-135; Petersen, Comitium, Rostra, Grab des Romulus (Rome 1904); Pinza, *Il Comizio Romano nell' Età Repubblicana* (Rome 1905); RL 1900, 289-303; HC 113-116; DR 295-317; RE Suppl. iv. 487-489.

COMPITUM ACILII: probably the intersection of the VICUS CUPRIUS (q.v.)<sup>1</sup> and another street that ran north-east, up and across the Carinae. This compitum is mentioned twice. Near it was the Tigillum Sororium (Hemerol. Arv. ad Kal. Oct. = CIL vi. 32482), and a shop that was bought by the state for Archagathus, the first Greek physician who came to Rome, in 229 B.C. (Plin. NH xxix. 12; cf. Mommsen, Münzwesen 632).

COMPITUM ALIARIUM:<sup>2</sup> the intersection of two or more streets of unknown location, which is mentioned only in four inscriptions (CIL vi. 4476, 9971, 33157; BC 1913, 81).

COMPITUM FABRICIUM: evidently the intersection of the vicus Fabricius (CIL vi. 975) and some other street, where there was also a lacus. It was near the CURIAE NOVAE (q.v.: Fest. 174), and very probably on the western slope of the Caelian hill. It is said to have received its name (Placidus 45, Deuerl.) from the fact that a house was given to Fabricius at this point ob reciperos de hostibus captivos. The Fabricius referred to is probably the ambassador to Pyrrhus in 278 B.C. (cf. Cic. Brut. 55). The vicus Fabricii is known only from the Capitoline Base, where it is the last street in Regio I (RE vi. 1930; HJ 201).

CONCORDIA, AEDES: a temple to Concord on the arx, vowed probably by the praetor L. Manlius in 218 B.C. after he had quelled a mutiny among his troops in Cisalpine Gaul (Liv. xxii. 33. 7; cf. xxvi. 23. 4). It was begun in 217 and dedicated on 5th February, 216 (Liv. xxiii. 21. 7; Hemerol. Praen. ad Non. Feb., Concordiae in Arce;<sup>3</sup> CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 233, 309;

<sup>1</sup> Two churches, S. Maria and S. Nicholas, which lay between these streets, were called 'inter duo' or 'inter duas' (HCh 340, 394).

<sup>2</sup> There seems to be no warrant for the form Alliarium (Thes. Ling. Lat.). The derivation is from *alium* (garlic).

<sup>3</sup> For the discovery of this fragment of the Fasti Praenestini, see DAP 2. xv. 330.



Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 86, Concordiae in Capitolio ; Hermes 1875, 288 ; Jord. i. 2. 112). It was probably on the east side of the arx, and overlooked the great temple of Concord below.

CONCORDIA, AEDICULA : \* a bronze shrine of Concord erected by the aedile, Cn. Flavius, in 304 B.C. in Graecostasi and in area Volcani. It stood therefore on the GRAECOSTASIS (q.v.), close to the great temple of Concord, and must have been destroyed when this temple was enlarged by Opimius in 121 B.C. Flavius vowed this shrine in the hope of reconciling the nobility who had been outraged by his publication of the calendar, but as no money was voted by the senate, he was forced to construct the building out of the fines of condemned usurers 'summa nobilium invidia' (Liv. ix. 46 ; Plin. NH xxxiii. 19 ; Jord. i. 2. 339).

CONCORDIA, AEDES : a temple said by Ovid to have been built by Livia (Fast. vi. 637-638 : te quoque magnifica, Concordia, dedicat aede Livia quam caro praestitit ipsa viro). The description of the PORTICUS LIVIAE (q.v.) follows immediately, and it is probable therefore that the temple was close to or within the porticus, but the small rectangular structure marked on the Marble Plan (frg. 10) can hardly have been a temple deserving of the epithet *magnifica* (HJ 316). There is no other reference to the temple.

CONCORDIA NOVA : a temple voted by the senate in 44 B.C. in honour of Caesar (Cass. Dio xlv. 4 : νεών τε Ὁμονοίας Καυνῆς ὡς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ εἰρηνοῦντες οἰκοδομῆσαι ἔγνωσαν. It is not certain that it was ever built.

CONCORDIA, AEDES, TEMPLUM (Act. Arv. lvi, Plin. NH xxxiv. 73, 80, 89, 90 ; xxxvi. 196, Serv. Aen. ii. 116, Notitia), delubrum (Plin. xxxv. 66 ; xxxvii. 4) : a temple at the north-west corner of the forum, said to have been vowed by L. Furius Camillus in 367 B.C. during the disturbances that took place over the passage of the Licinian laws. Its erection was voted by the people immediately after their enactment (Ov. Fast. i. 641-644 ; Plut. Cam. 42). It stood between the Volcanal and the foot of the Capitoline (Ov. cit. 637-638 ; Act. Arv. passim ; Serv. Aen. ii. 116 ; Stat. Silv. i. 1. 31 ; Plut. Cam. 42 ; Varro, LL v. 148, 156), and the space around it was called area Concordiae, which is mentioned only in connection with prodigia of 183 and 181 B.C. (Liv. xxxix. 56. 6 ; xl. 19. 2 ; Obseq. 4). The date of the actual erection of the temple is not known ; the day of its dedication was probably 22nd July (Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 103), while that of the later structure was 16th January (Ov. Fast. i. 637 ; Fast. Praen. ad xvii Kal. Feb., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 231, 308 ; Fast. Verol. ap. NS 1923, 196). In 211 B.C. a statue of Victory on its roof was struck down by lightning (Liv. xxvi. 23. 4).

In 121 B.C., after the death of C. Gracchus, the senate ordered this temple to be restored by L. Opimius, to the great disgust of the democracy (App. BC i. 26 ; Plut. C. Gracch. 17 ; Cic. pro Sest. 140 ; August. de civ. d. iii. 25). Opimius probably built his BASILICA (q.v.) at the same



time, close to the temple on the north. In 7 B.C. Tiberius undertook to restore the temple with his spoils from Germany (Cass. Dio lv. 8. 2), and the structure was completed and dedicated as aedes Concordiae Augustae, in the name of Tiberius and his dead brother Drusus, on 16th January, 10 A.D. (Ov. Fast. i. 640, 643-648; Cass. Dio lvi. 25; Suet. Tib. 20, where the year is given as 12 A.D.). It is represented on coins (Cohen, Tib. 68-70; BM. Tib. 116, 132-4). A later restoration, perhaps after the fire of 284, is recorded in an inscription (CIL vi. 89), which was seen on the pronaos of the temple by the copyist of the inscriptions in the Einsiedeln Itinerary.

After the restoration by Opimius, this temple was frequently used for assemblies of the senate (Cic. Cat. iii. 21: pro Sest. 26; de domo 111; Phil. ii. 19, 112; iii. 31; v. 18; Sall. Cat. 46, 49; Cass. Dio lviii. 11. 4; Hist. Aug. Pert. 4; Alex. Sev. 6; Max. et Balb. 1, cf. Herod. ii. 10; Prob. 11; Hermes, 1875, 290-291; Willems, Le Sénat romain ii. 159), and as a meeting-place for the Arval Brethren (see Henzen, p. 5, for list from 63 A.D.; DE i. 176).

Tiberius compelled the Rhodians to sell him a statue of Vesta for this temple (Cass. Dio lv. 9. 6), and it evidently became a sort of museum, for Pliny mentions many works of art that were placed in it—statues of Apollo and Juno by Baton (xxxiv. 73), Latona with the infant Apollo and Diana by Euphranor (77), Aesculapius and Hygeia by Niceratus (80), Mars and Mercury by Piston (89), Ceres Jupiter and Minerva by Sthennis (90), paintings of Marsyas by Zeuxis (xxxv. 66), Liber by Nicias (131), Cassandra by Theodorus (144); four elephants of obsidian dedicated by Augustus (196); and a famous sardonyx that had belonged to Polycrates of Samos (xxxvii. 4; see also Jacobi, Grundzüge einer Museographie d. Stadt Rom zur Zeit d. Kaisers Augustus, 1884).

A few other incidental references to the temple occur (Val. Max. ix. 7. 4; Cass. Dio xlvii. 2; xlix. 18; l. 8), and gifts were deposited here by order of the senate in 16 A.D. after the alleged conspiracy of Libo (Tac. Ann. ii. 32). Several dedicatory inscriptions have been found among its ruins (CIL vi. 90-94, 30856, 30857), and three others mention an aedituus of the temple (2204, 2205, 8703). It is represented on a coin of Orbiana, the wife of Alexander Severus (Froehner, Med. 177-178<sup>1</sup>), and on a fragment (22) of the Marble Plan; and is mentioned in the Regionary Catalogue (Reg. VIII). The structure was threatening to collapse in the time of Hadrian I, 772-795 A.D. (LPD i. 512, 522).

Its situation with respect to other buildings and the contour of the ground led to the adoption of a plan which made this structure unique among Roman temples (FUR fr. 22). Instead of having the usual proportions, the cella of the Augustan temple was 45 metres wide and only 24 deep, while the pronaos was only 34 metres wide and 14 deep, and therefore did not extend across the whole front of the cella. The

<sup>1</sup> Cohen, Alex. Sev. et Orbiana, 3.

back wall of the cella abutted against the front of the Tabularium, and a very wide flight of steps led down from the pronaos to the area. So far as investigations have been carried, they seem to show that the ground plan of the temple of Opimius was similar to that of Tiberius (see Van Buren, CR 1906, 82-84, 184 f. for such an investigation, and the traces of successive structures—II being doubtful—and compare TF 47-49). The interior of the Augustan cella was surrounded by a row of white marble columns, standing on a low shelf which projected from the main wall. This wall contained eleven niches, in the central one of which, opposite the entrance, a statue of Concord must have stood. The exterior of the temple was entirely covered with marble, and the building must have been one of the most beautiful in Rome.

The existing remains consist of the concrete core of the podium, much of which belongs to the construction of 121 B.C., and is probably the oldest known concrete in the city (AJA 1912, 244, 245); the threshold of the main entrance, composed of two blocks of Porta Santa marble, together 7 metres long; a very few fragments of the marble pavement of the cella and the pronaos; and a part of the magnificent cornice, now in the Tabularium, together with numerous small architectural fragments. The bases were also very fine—the only perfect example is in the Berlin museum (No. 1013; cf. PBS ii. No. 126b—not 105d). For the cornice, see Toeb. i. pl. vi., vii. pp. 42-51). In the podium are two chambers which may have been store-rooms for treasure.

See also DE ii. 572; RE iv. 831-833; Rosch. i. 914-916; Jord. i. 2. 332-339; HC 93-96; LR 288-289; Théd. 122-125, 362-364; Middleton i. 332-338; D'Esp. Fr. i. 83-86; DR 170-178; Mem. Am. Acad. v. 53-77; RE Suppl. iv. 492-494; ASA 72; HFP 21.

CONSENTES DEI (PORTICUS): see PORTICUS DEORUM CONSENTIUM.

CONSUS, ARA: an altar of Consus, an Italic deity of agriculture and the underworld, whose cult was one of the most ancient in the city and localised in the valley between the Aventine and Palatine. It was perhaps dedicated on 1st January, under which date it appears to be mentioned in Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 83. When the circus Maximus finally occupied the entire valley, the altar was near the *primae metae*, that is, at the south-east end of the permanent *spina* (Varro, LL vi. 20; Dionys. ii. 31: *βαμὸς Κώνσου*; Tert. de spect. 5. 8). It is named by Tacitus (Ann. xii. 24) as one of the corners of the Palatine POMERIUM (q.v.). This altar was underground, and covered except at festivals (7th July, 21st August, 15th December), when it was exposed and sacrifices offered on it (Varro, loc. cit.; Serv. Aen. viii. 636; Plut. Rom. 14; Tert. loc. cit.; HJ 114, 141; Rosch. i. 924-927; WR 166-167; cf. B. Soc. Ant. Fr. 1917, 165-168; AJA 1919, 430, for the position of the altars of Consus at Arles and Dougga). For a theory that the *primae metae* and the shrine of MURCIA (q.v.) were at the north-west end of the *carceres*, and that a brick receptacle,

discovered in 1825, may have enclosed the ara Consi, see BC 1908, 250-252; Mél. 1908, 279).

**CONSUS, AEDES**: a temple of Consus on the Aventine (Fast. Vall. ad XII Kal. Sept.; Amit. ad prid. Id. Dec.), probably vowed or built by L. Papirius Cursor in 272 B.C. on the occasion of his triumph. This may fairly be inferred from the fact that Papirius was painted on the walls in the robes of a triumphator<sup>1</sup> (Fest. 209: eius rei argumentum est . . . pictum in AEDE VERTUMNI (q.v.) et Consi quarum in altera M. Fulvius Flaccus, in altera T. Papirius Cursor triumphantes ita picti sunt). In the Fasti Vallenses (cf. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 240) the day of dedication is given as 21st August; in the Fasti Amiternini (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 245) as 12th December; a discrepancy that may perhaps be explained by supposing that the temple had been restored by Augustus after 7 B.C. (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 326; WR 167; Aust. de aed. sac. 14, 43). It is probable that this temple was near that of Vortumnus in the VICUS LORETI MAIORIS (q.v.) on the north-west part of the Aventine (HJ 163; Merlin 104, 228; RE iv. 1148 and literature cited).

**CORARIA SEPTIMIANA**: mentioned in the Regionary Catalogue in Region XIV, and probably the headquarters of the organised tanners of Rome (cf. Iuv. xiv. 203). Three inscriptions (CIL vi. 1117, 1118, 1682) relating to the corpus corariorum have been found in the neighbourhood of the Ponte Rotto, and in 1899-90 the remains of a large tannery were found beneath S. Cecilia (NS 1900, 12-14), with six vats like those at Pompeii (Mau, Pompeii, 416; HJ 638; RE iv. 1227; cf. DOMUS CAECILIORUM).

**CORNETA**: a place between the Sacra via and the Macellum, north of the forum, where there had been a grove of cornel trees (Varro, LL v. 146, 152). According to the probable emendation of a passage in Placidus (25, Deuerl.) this site was afterwards occupied by the temple of Peace (HJ 1; RE iv. 1602; contrast JP 1872, 567).

**CORNISCAE**: a grove or shrine on the right bank of the Tiber, dedicated to the Corniscae, the sacred crows in the service of Juno. Fest. 64: Corniscarum divarum locus (lucus, Dac.) erat trans Tiberim cornicibus dicatus quod in Iunonis tutela esse putabantur; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 975=vi. 96 (=30691): devas Corniscas sacrum on a terminal cippus found in Trastevere. (Cf. i<sup>2</sup>. 976=vi. 30858: Coronicei T. Terentius donom mereto dedet—Mitt. 1895, 63.) Nothing more is known of this cult centre (HJ 626; RE iv. 1633; WR 189; Rosch. i. 930).

In Catull. 25. 5, it has been proposed to read cum Diva Mulier alites (Ellis, *aries*, noting that the passage is corrupt) ostendit oscitantes, and to refer it to this cult (Mnemos. 1909, 322).<sup>2</sup>

**CRYPTA BALBI**: mentioned only in the Notitia (Reg. 1), but probably built by Balbus in 15 B.C. at the same time as his theatre (q.v.). The

<sup>1</sup> Ulrichs, Malerei vor Caesar, 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> CGL v. 14. 23 has *uaeios*, without any attempt at emendation.



name is best explained as a term used for a vaulted passage lighted from above (RE iv. 1732), and this building may have been a sort of ambulatory round the cavea of the theatre. No traces of it have been found, and the remains in the Via dei Calderari, formerly identified as the Crypta Balbi, belong to another structure (cf. PORTICUS MINUCIA; HJ 521, 545; Jord. ii. 534; Gilb. iii. 329).

**CURIA ACCULEIA**: mentioned once by Varro (LL. vi. 23) as the place where the Angronalia were celebrated. As this festival is also said to have been celebrated at the sacellum Volupiae (Macrob. Sat. i. 10. 7; Hemerol. Praenest. ad XII Kal. Ian.), curia Acculeia was probably either another name for the sacellum, or an adjacent structure, standing near the point where the Nova via entered the Velabrum (HJ 45; RE iv. 1821; Gilb. i. 56-58; ii. 104-107).

**CURIA ATHLETARUM**: the headquarters, under the empire, of the organised athletes of Rome. The name, curia athletarum (*acletarum*) appears in one Latin inscription (CIL vi. 10154; 10153 refers to it); on numerous Greek inscriptions it appears as *ξυστική σύνοδος τῶν . . . ἀθλητῶν* (IG xiv. 1054, 1055, 1102-1110). These inscriptions were found between S. Pietro in Vincoli and S. Martino, indicating that the building was in the immediate vicinity of the thermae Traianae, and an attempt has been made to identify it with a basilica-shaped hall just north of the thermae (BC 1891, 185-209). This curia was given to the association in 143 A.D. by the Emperor Antoninus Pius (HJ 314).

**CURIA CALABRA**: a hall of assembly on the Capitoline hill, where, before the publication of the calendar, on the Kalends of each month the pontifex minor made a public announcement of the day on which the Nones would fall (Varro, LL vi. 27; Serv. Aen. viii. 654; Macrob. Sat. i. 15. 10; Hemerol. Praen. ad kal. Ian.; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 231). The name was derived from *calare* (locc. citt.; Varro, LL v. 13), both because the pontifex called the people together (*comitia calata*), and because he called out the day of the Nones. As curia was regularly used in early times for halls where the representatives of the curiae, or the senate, assembled, it seems probable that originally this curia bore the same relation to the senate and comitia Calata that the curia Hostilia did to the senate and comitia Curiata (Mommson, Staatsrecht iii. 868, 914, 927; cf. Liv. xli. 27. 7). Festus (49) says that in the curia Calabra tantum ratio sacrorum gerebatur, and Macrobius (Sat. i. 15. 19) that the pontifex minor sacrificed here to Juno on the Kalends of each month. It was near the casa Romuli (Macrob. Sat. i. 15. 10), and appears in Lydus (Mens. iii. 10) as *Καλαβρὰ βασιλική* (Jord. i. 2. 51; RE iv. 1821; Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v. Calabra).

**CURIA HOSTILIA**: the original senate house of Rome, situated on the north side of the COMITIUM (q.v.); cf. Liv. xlv. 24. 12: comitium vestibulum curiae. Its construction was ascribed to Tullus Hostilius (Varro, LL



v. 155), and it was regularly called the curia Hostilia. It was approached by a flight of steps (Liv. i. 48; Dion. Hal. iv. 38; cf. Liv. i. 36. 5).

On its side wall, or at one side of it (*in latere curiae*), was a painting of the victory of M. Valerius Messala over Hiero and the Carthaginians in 263 B.C. (Plin. NH xxxv. 22; see TABULA VALERIA (2)). It was restored by Sulla in 80 B.C. and somewhat enlarged, the statues of Pythagoras and Alcibiades, which had stood at the corners of the Comitium, being removed (Plin. xxxiv. 26; cf. Dio xl. 49). In 52 B.C. it was burnt down by the partisans of Clodius and rebuilt by Sulla's son Faustus (Cic. pro Mil. 90, and Ascon. in loc.;<sup>1</sup> Dio, loc. cit.; Cic. de fin. v. 2 (written in 45 B.C.): Curiam nostram, Hostiliam dico, non hanc novam, quae minor mihi videtur postquam est maior, must also refer to this curia, and not to that of the elder Sulla, as Richter, 94, thinks).

In 44 B.C. it was decided to build a new curia (Dio xlv. 5: ἐπειδὴ τὸ Ὀσπίλιον καίπερ ἀνοικοδομηθὲν καθηρέθη). Part of its site was occupied by the temple of FELICITAS (q.v.). The curia was, like the comitium, inaugurated as a templum (Varro ap. Gell. xiv. 7. 7).

According to what we know of the republican buildings which surrounded the comitium, the curia Hostilia should have faced due south (HC pl. iii.), and its position in regard to other monuments is given by Plin. NH vii. 212 (midday was proclaimed by the accensus consulis, cum a curia inter rostra et Graecostasim prospexisset solem: a column Maenia ad carcerem inclinato sidere supremam (horam) pronuntiavit), which shows either that it was necessarily orientated in the same way as the curia Julia (Jord. i. 2. 327), or, more probably, that it lay further north.

As to its orientation, however, we must note that (a) that of the ROSTRA VETERA (q.v.) varied considerably at different times (see COMITIUM, p. 135), (b) that a flight of tufa steps 1.24 metre high, on practically the same orientation as that of the curia Julia, leads down to the second level of the comitium (10.85 to 10.90 metres above sea-level), which may belong to an earlier curia (Pl. 235, fig. 49); (c) that the fine travertine pavement generally attributed to Faustus Sulla has quite a different orientation from either. See Jord. i. 2. 328-332; Mitt. 1893, 86-91; CR 1906, 134-135; Pl. 229-230; DR 327-330.<sup>2</sup>

CURIA IULIA: \* the new senate house begun by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. just before his assassination and continued by the triumvirs (Cass. Dio xlv. 5; xlv. 17; xlvii. 19). It was completed and dedicated in 29 B.C. by Augustus (Mon. Anc. iv. 1: curiam et continens ei chalcidicum feci; vi. 13; Suet. Calig. 60; Cass. Dio li. 22). Like its predecessor, the curia Hostilia, and the curia Pompeia, it was inaugurated as a templum (Varro ap. Gell. xiv. 7. 7). See also CIL vi. 877a (= 32324), 1718, 32326 (Act. Lud. Saec. Sever. i. 5); s.c. de Mytilenacis in Berl. Sitzber. 1889, 966.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 29, 40, ed. Kiessling and Schoell.

<sup>2</sup> For fragments of its terra-cotta decoration (?) see Van Buren, Terra-cotta Revetments, 6, 21 (cf. JRS 1914, 185, 186).

Augustus set up in it a statue of Victory (Dio li. 22 ; v. VICTORIA, ARA) and built an annex called the CHALCIDICUM (q.v.). The Secretarium Senatus, another annex of the senate house, probably also formed part of the structure of Augustus, though we have no direct evidence of its existence before the time of Diocletian.

The curia Iulia, like the older curia, was built in comitio (Plin. NH xxxv. 27, 131) ; in fact several senatus consulta which have come down to us in their Greek form state that they were voted ἐν κομετίῳ ; one under Hadrian, however, is more explicit (in comitio in curia, EE ii. 273, 282).

The curia as restored by Augustus is believed by Hülsen (Neueste Ausgr. 12, fig. 7\*), who had previously (HC 51) connected them with the basilica Iulia, to be represented in coins of 29-27 B.C. (Cohen, Aug. 122 ; BM. Rep. ii. 16. 4358, 4359=Aug. 631, 632 ; cf. p. cxxiii, n. 4, where it is referred to the temple of Julius ; while Richmond (JRS 1914, 218) wrongly refers it to a little shrine just outside the Atrium of Augustus on the Palatine). The statue of Victory standing on a globe which came from Tarentum is shown in the apex of the pediment, and is represented on other coins of the same date (BM Aug. 622-3 ; Cohen, Aug. 113 ; BM. Rep. ii. 14, 15. 4356-7, where it is wrongly stated to have been placed in the basilica Iulia).

Domitian restored the curia in 94 A.D. (Hieron. 161<sup>1</sup>), and it was no doubt he who took the opportunity of dedicating the Chalcidicum to his patron goddess Minerva, whence it acquired the name of Atrium Minervae (Notit. Reg. VIII). This curia is represented in the famous Anaglypha Traiani (see ROSTRA). It is perhaps also represented in one of the reliefs of the arch of Benevento (Mitt. 1892, 257 ; SScR 194). The curia was burnt down in the fire of Carinus, and rebuilt by Diocletian (Chron. 148), and the existing building dates from his time.

We learn from sixteenth century drawings (Lanciani, Mem. L. 3. xi. 5-21 ; Mitt. 1895, 47-52) that it formed part of a group with the Atrium Minervae and the Secretarium Senatus.

The curia proper is a hall 25.20 metres by 17.61 metres, of brick-faced concrete, with a huge buttress at each angle ; the lower part of the front wall was decorated with slabs of marble, while the upper part (like the exterior of the thermae of Caracalla and Diocletian) was covered with stucco in imitation of white marble blocks with heavily draughted joints. The travertine consoles and the brick cornice which they support (which are continued round the triangular pediment) were also coated with stucco. A flight of steps led up to the entrance door, to which belonged an epistyle bearing the inscription : [i]mperant[e . . . | [n]eratus in . . . | [c]uriam sen[atus] . . . The second line no doubt contained the name of an unknown praefectus urbi (fifth century). When the building became

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Schoene ; so also Tiro, Epit. Chron. in Chron. Min. i. 417 ; according to Fotheringham (p. 273) the date would be 89-90.

a church, a metrical (?) inscription was painted over it, of which only the first word, *aspice*, is preserved. Over the door were three large windows. A small portion of the pavement of the interior, of various coloured marbles, was recently exposed to view, but covered up again.

The marble facing of the internal walls was destroyed in 1562 (LR 266 ; LS iii. 221 (for details, see Archivio Boccapaduli Arm. ii. Mazzo iv. 46. 10).<sup>1</sup> The brick facing of the exterior and the cornice were coated with stucco to represent marble (ib.), just as was the case in the *Thermae* of Diocletian.

In 303 A.D. there were erected in front of the curia, outside the comitium, two colossal columns, in celebration of the vicennalia and decennalia of Diocletian and his colleagues in the empire. The first base, found in 1490, is lost ; but the second, decorated with inferior reliefs (one of which represents the *suovetaurilia*, in imitation of the Trajanic slabs) which was found in 1547, still lies not far from the *niger lapis* (Mitt. 1893, 281 ; HC 95-96 ; CIL vi. 1203-1205, 31261, 31262). For a glass cup commemorating the same vicennalia see BC 1882, 180-190.

Near here are also fragments of a large base for a quadriga erected in honour of Arcadius and Honorius after Stilicho's victory over Gildo in Africa in 398 A.D. (CIL vi. 1187, 31256 ; Mitt. 1895, 52-58 ; LR 261) and another inscription celebrating Stilicho's victory over Radagaisus at Pollentia in 403 A.D. (CIL vi. 31987).

The church of S. Adriano was founded in the curia by Honorius I (625-638 ; LP lxxii. 6), who added the apse. It is called *in tribus fatis* from a group of the three fates which stood near the temple of Janus (Jord. i. 2. 259, 349 ; BCr 1912, 146 ; HC 24, 26 ; HCh 260-261). After this several bodies were buried in niches cut in the front wall, in the concrete core of the steps, and in front of them, on the pavement of the comitium. The doorway, 5.90 metres in height, probably remained in use until after the fire of Robert Guiscard the Norman in 1087, when its level was raised by 3.25 metres : and so it remained (with steps descending into the church from the higher ground outside) until the restoration of the church in 1654, when it was raised again by about the same amount. When the ancient bronze doors were removed to the Lateran by Borromini a few years later, various coins were found inside them, among which was one of Domitian. Between 1654 and the end of the nineteenth century there has been another rise in level of about 1 metre.

To the left of the curia was the *CHALCIDICUM* or Atrium Minervae (q.v.) (the last remains of which disappeared when the Via Bonella was made in 1585-90), a courtyard with a colonnade running down each side ; while to the north-west again was the *Secretarium Senatus*, a hall measuring 18.17 by 8.92 metres, with an apse at the north-east end. An inscription shows that it had been restored by Junius Flavianus in

<sup>1</sup> There is a full list, with sizes, signed by Pirro Ligorio, of 29 slabs of porphyry and 150 of marble removed by the Pope's orders.



311 A.D. and that it was repaired in 412 A.D., after its destruction by fire, by the then Praefectus Urbi, Epifanius (CIL vi. 1718). The passage of Cassiodorus, Var. iv. 30, *curvae porticus, quae iuxta domum palmatam* (q.v.) *posita, forum in modum areae decenter includit*, etc., referred by Jord. i. 2. 257, 258 to the apse of this building, should more probably be taken to signify the south-western hemicycle of the forum of Trajan (BC 1887, 64-66; 1889, 363; 1899, 188).

The ancient basilica of S. Martina, built in the ruins of the Secretarium Senatus, is first mentioned under Hadrian I (772-795; LP xcvi. 51, 96). It is called *S. Martinæ sita in tribus fatis* under Leo III (LP xcvi. 90; HCh 381). It was restored by Pietro da Cortona in 1640 and its level raised, so that the older structure (in which no traces of antiquity are actually visible) serves as the crypt.

See Jord. i. 2. 250-262; LR 263-267; Mitt. 1893, 86-91; 1902, 39-41; 1905, 47-52; BC 1903, 143-149; BCr 1912, 146; HC 112-119; JRS 1919, 174, 182; RA 202; ZA 69-71; DR 331-346; HFP 30, 31.

**CURIAE NOVAE**: the new sanctuary of the curies mentioned only by Festus (174), who says that it was built *proxime COMPITUM FABRICIUM* (q.v.) because the curiae veteres had become too small, but that seven curies refused to move. The new building probably stood east of the veteres, on the Caelian, near the vicus Fabricii (Jord. i. 1. 191; HJ 201; Gilb. i. 196-9; 208-11; ii. 126-7).

**CURIA OCTAVIAE**: mentioned only once (Plin. NH xxxvi. 28) in connection with a statue of Cupid. It was probably a hall in the PORTICUS OCTAVIAE (q.v.), and perhaps identical with the SCHOLA OCTAVIAE (q.v.).

**CURIA IN PALATIO**: apparently a hall on the Palatine, presumably in the domus Augustiana, where the senate sometimes met (Tac. Ann. ii. 37; cf. ib. xiii. 5. 2; JRS 1914, 216). See DOMUS AUGUSTI.

**CURIA POMPEI**: a hall in the PORTICUS POMPEI (q.v.), probably one of its exedrae (Plut. Brut. 14; Plin. NH xxxv. 59), where the senate sometimes met (Gell. xiv. 7. 7; Asc. in Mil. 67; Cass. Dio xlv. 16), and where Caesar was murdered (Cic. de div. ii. 23; Nic. Damasc. Caes. 23; Liv. Ep. 116; Suet. Caes. 80, 81 (c. Pompeiana); Plut. Caes. 66; App. BC ii. 111, 116; Eutrop. vi. 25). The statue of Pompeius that stood in the exedra was removed by Augustus, who walled up the curia as a *locus sceleratus* (Suet. Caes. 88; Aug. 31; Cass. Dio xlvii. 19; for a theory that this curia projected from the south-east corner of the porticus and is represented on frg. 140 of the Marble Plan, see Mél. 1908, 225-228; and for arguments against this, BC 1918, 144-151).

**CURIA POMPILIANA**: another name for the curia Iulia, used only in Hist. Aug. (Aurel. 41; Tac. 3). It may denote the growth of a late tradition that attributed the building of the first curia to Numa rather than Tullus. A hint that this was an intentional substitution may possibly be found



in Ammianus' phrase (xiv. 6. 6. [353 A.D.] : *Pompiliani redierit securitas temporis* (Jord. i. 1. 158 ; ii. 252). But it is more probably a mere invention (SHA 1916. 7 A, 13).

**CURIA SALIORUM** : the headquarters of the *salii Palatini*, in which the *lituus* of Romulus was kept (WR 555 ; HJ 44, 410). Its exact position on the Palatine is unknown (Cic. *de div.* i. 30 ; Dionys. ii. 70 ; xiv. 5 ; Fest. 252 ; Val. Max. i. 8. 11 ; Plut. *Cam.* 32). The *salii Collini* had a similar building, probably on the Quirinal (cf. Dionys. *loc. cit.* ; RE i. A. 1879-1881).

**CURIA TIFATA** : see TIFATA CURIA.

**CURIAE VETERES** : the earliest sanctuary of the *curies* (Varro, LL v. 155 ; Fest. 174), and mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 24) as one point in the Palatine pomerium. It became too small, and the **CURIAE NOVAE** (q.v.) was built, but seven *curies* refused to leave the old place of assembly. It was probably at the north-east corner of the Palatine (Not. Reg. X), where the *vicus Curiarum* (CIL vi. 975) is to be located, opposite the northern end of the Caelian. Since Augustus is said to have been born in *curiis veteribus* (Serv. *Aen.* viii. 361), and also *ad capita bubula* (Suet. *Aug.* 5), these two must have been close together (Jord. i. 1. 165, 191 ; HJ 374 ; Gilb. i. 196-199, 208-213 ; ii. 126-127).

**CYBELE, THOLUS** : see MAGNA MATER.

## D

DEA CARNA, SACRUM (templum, Macro.): a temple of Dea Carna (quae vitalibus, i.e. humanis, praest) said to have been vowed by L. Junius Brutus on 1st June in the first year of the republic, and dedicated by him some time afterwards (Macro. Sat. i. 12. 31-32). It was on the Caelian, and seems to have been standing in the third century (Tert. ad nat. ii. 9; RE iii. 1598; Rosch. i. 854; WR 236; Gilb. ii. 19-22).

DEA NAENIA, SACELLUM: a shrine of Naenia, the goddess of lamentation for the dead, which stood outside the porta Viminalis but is otherwise unknown (Fest. 161, 163: Neniae deae sacellum extra portam Viminalem fuerat dedicatum; HJ 373; WR 245; Rosch. iii. 2).

DEA SATRIANA, LUCUS: the grove of a deity of the gens Satria, known only from an inscription now lost which was said to have been found near S. Peter's (CIL vi. 114=30695; Rosch. iv. 425).

DEA SURIA, TEMPLUM: a temple of the 'Syrian goddess' (Atargatis, the *paredros* of Hadad) situated on the right bank of the Tiber. Suet. Nero 56 calls Nero 'religionum usque quaque contemptor praeter unius Deae Syriae'; but this is not sufficient to prove the existence of the temple at that time; and we must pass on to the mention of it, under the corrupt form *templum Iasurae*,<sup>1</sup> in the time of Alexander Severus (Chron. 147). The provenance of the inscriptions relating to the cult—CIL vi. 115 (=30696; Cap. 92), 116, 117, 32462—is uncertain.

The goddess is also represented on a base which bears a dedication to Jupiter Heliopolitanus (CIL vi. 423; Amelung, Kat. Vat. i. p. 280, n. 152), found in the temple of the latter divinity (q.v.), which was superimposed on the lucus Furrinae, where a dedication in his honour under the Syrian name Hadad was also found (Mitt. 1907, 230; for the identification, see Cumont, Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain 165; RE vii. 2163; viii. 57); so that she was actually worshipped there. But we know that Syrian deities were also worshipped on the Via Portuensis, where the rest of the inscriptions may have been found (HJ 645-646). See RE iv. 2236-2243; Mitt. 1907, 248-249; DE ii. 1466-1473; WR 359-361; Rosch. iv. 1641-1642; PT 123.

DEA VIRIPLACA, SACELLUM: a shrine on the Palatine, known only from one reference (Val. Max. ii. 1. 6: quotiens vero inter virum et uxorem aliquid

<sup>1</sup> Jordan, Hermes, 1872, 314-322.

iurgii intercesserat in sacellum deae Viriplacae quod est in Palatio veniebant).

**DECEM TABERNAE** : a locality, perhaps a street, in Region VI, mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue. The name is also said to have occurred on an inscription that was to be seen in the sixteenth century (Albertini, *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, f. D iii. ed. 1510 ; f. 8, ed. 1523).<sup>1</sup> It is marked on Bufalini's plan of the city, and was probably on the Viminal, near the churches of S. Lorenzo in Panisperna and S. Agata dei Goti (IIJ 374 ; Mitt. 1892, 307 ; RhM 1894, 417 ; BC 1914, 367 ; Eranos, 1924, 88-90).

**DECENNENSES** : a name found on an inscription (CIL vi. 31893) of c. 370 A.D., applied to those who dwelt in the Decennium or Decenniae. This was the swampy depression south-west of the Lateran, outside the Aurelian wall, through which the Marrana<sup>2</sup> flows. Decennium is a conjectural form ; Decenniae appears in mediaeval documents (cf. Jord. ii. 318 ; HJ 220 ; BC 1891, 343, 355-6 ; RE iv. 2267).

**DEI CONSENTES** : see **PORTICUS DEORUM CONSENTIUM**.

**DIAETAE MAMMAEAE** : apartments constructed by the Emperor Alexander Severus on the Palatine for his mother, Mammæa, and popularly known as ad Mammam(s) (vit. Alex. 26 ; RE v. 306). V. Domaszewski, however, regards them as a mere invention (SHA 1916. 7 A, 13).

**DIANA** : a shrine in the vicus Patricius, the only one of the many temples of Diana into which men were not allowed to enter (Plut. q. Rom. 3 : *ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος* ; RE v. 332).

**DIANA, AEDES** : the temple of Diana on the Aventine (in Aventino, CIL vi. 32323, 10, 32 : Censorin. de die nat. 23. 6) ascribed by tradition to Servius Tullius, who assembled here the representatives of the surrounding Latin towns and persuaded them to build this temple as the common sanctuary of the league, in imitation of the temple of Diana at Ephesus and its relation to the Ionian cities (Varro, LL v. 43 : *commune Latinorum Dianae templum* ; Liv. i. 45. 2-6 ; Dionys. iv. 26 ; de vir. ill. 7. 9). It was the oldest and most important temple on the Aventine, ordinarily known as Diana Aventina (Prop. iv. 8. 29), or Aventinensis (Fest. 165 ; Mart. vi. 64. 13 ; Val. Max. vii. 3. 1), and the Aventine itself was called *collis Dianae* (Mart. xii. 18. 3 ; vii. 73. 1). It was near the *thermae Suranae* (q.v. ; Mart. vi. 64. 13) and therefore probably just west of the church of S. Prisca on the *clivus Publicius* (BC 1914, 346). Besides *aedes*, it is referred to as *templum* (Varro, LL v. 43 ; Liv. i. 45), *fanum*

<sup>1</sup> The 1515 edition follows the paging of that of 1510. In all three the phrase used is 'ut in tiburtinis lapidibus noviter effossis apparet.' Marliani gives the same information (*Topographia*, ed. 1534, lib. v. c. 18, p. 116) ; but he improved on it in his second edition, and wrote 'decem tabernae fuere in valle D. Agathae aedi subiectae, ut ex inscriptione marmoris ibidem effossi didicimus' (id. ed. 1544, lib. iv. c. 20, p. 86). Whether this is a mistake or a correction is uncertain (Hülssen, etc., S. Agata dei Goti (Rome, 1923), 10).

<sup>2</sup> This stream, which is fed by the springs of the *AGUA IULIA* (q.v.), was brought to Rome by Calixtus II in 1122 (LA 325-327) ; see also **CIRCUS MAXIMUS**.

(Liv. loc. cit.), *νεώς* (Dionys. iv. 26), *ἱερόν* (Dionys. iii. 43 ; x. 32 ; Plut. C. Gracch. 16), *Ἀρτεμίσιον* (App. BC. i. 26 ; Plut. q. Rom. 4),<sup>1</sup> Dianium (Oros. v. 12 ; CIL vi. 33922 : *vestiarius de Dianio*). The day of its dedication was 13th August (Mart. xii. 67. 2 ; Hemeroll. Allif. Vall. Amit. Ant. Philoc. Rust. ad Id. Aug., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. pp. 217, 240, 244, 248, 270, 281 ; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 106), celebrated throughout Italy (Stat. Silv. iii. 1. 59-60), especially by slaves (Fest. 343 : *servorum dies festus vulgo existimatur Idus Aug. quod eo die Servius Tullius natus servus aedem Dianae dedicaverit in Aventino cuius tutelae sint cervi*).

This temple was rebuilt by L. Cornificius during the reign of Augustus (Suet. Aug. 29). In this form it may be shown on coins (BM Rep. ii. 15. 4355=Aug. 643) ; and it is probably represented under the name *aedes Dianae Cornificianae* on a fragment (2) of the Marble Plan (BC 1891, 210-216 ; CIL vi. 4305 : *aedituus Dianae Cornif.*), where it is drawn as octostyle and dipteral, surrounded by a double colonnade. It was standing in the fourth century (Not. Reg. XIII), but no trace of it has been found. According to Censorinus (loc. cit.) one of the oldest sun-dials in Rome was on this temple, and it contained a wooden statue resembling that of Diana at Ephesus (Strabo iv. 1. 5) brought to Rome from Marseilles, and another of marble (Plin. NH xxxvi. 32 : *in magna admiratione est. . . . Hecate Ephesi in templo Dianae post aedem*).

In the Augustan period it contained a bronze stele on which was engraved the compact between Rome and the Latin cities, probably a copy of the original (Dionys. iv. 26), and another with the *lex Icilia de Aventino publicando* of 456 B.C. (Dionys. x. 32). It must also have contained a *lex arae Dianae*, which served as a model for other communities (CIL iii. 1933 ; xi. 361 ; xii. 4333), and probably other ancient documents. The date of the founding of this temple, and its real significance, have been the subject of much discussion (HJ 157-159 ; Gilb. ii. 236-241 ; RE v. 332-333 ; DE i. 177 ; ii. 1734-1737 ; and esp. Merlin 203-226, 282-283, 303-305 and literature there cited). Cf. also Beloch, *Römische Geschichte*, 192.

DIANA, AEDES : a temple vowed by M. Aemilius Lepidus in 187 B.C. (Liv. xxxix. 2) and dedicated by him in 179 (ib. xl. 52, *templum*) in *circo Flaminio* on 23rd December (Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 121). It probably stood just west of the circus (AR 1909, 76, pl. i. ; for an identification with one of the two temples of S. Nicola a' Cesarini, see BC 1918, 135-136).

DIANA, SACELLUM : a shrine of Diana on the *Caeliolus*, called by Cicero (*de har. resp.* 32) *maximum et sanctissimum*. It was destroyed by L. Calpurnius Piso when consul in 58 B.C. It was probably dedicated originally by some private person or family (cf. Cic. loc. cit.). Its exact site is not known (RE v. 332 ; Gilb. ii. 25).

<sup>1</sup> He refers to it (ib. 3) as *ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος*.



**DIANIUM** : a shrine of Diana on the Esquiline at the crossing of the *clivus Orbis* and *clivus Cuprius*. It is mentioned only once (Liv. i. 48), but had then already disappeared (Gilb. ii. 62). Cf. CIL vi. 33922 (the funeral inscription of a *vestiarius de Diano*), which cannot refer to the same building, as it belongs to the imperial period; and ib. vi. 10006 : *unguentaria ab D[iano] ?* (Eranos, 1924, 151, 152).

**DIANA**, shrine of (supposed), on Palatine, see JRS 1914, 219; BM. Imp. i. p. cxxiii, and No. 643 (Cohen, Aug. 121).

**DIRIBITORIUM** : a building in the *campus Martius* in which the votes cast by the people, presumably in the *Saepta*, were counted by the *diribitores*, or election officials. It was begun by Agrippa, but opened and finished by Augustus in 7 B.C. (Cass. Dio lv. 8). Its roof had the widest span of any building erected in Rome before 230 A.D., and was supported by beams of larch one hundred feet long and one and a half feet thick, of which one that had not been needed was kept in the *Saepta* as a curiosity (Cass. Dio, loc. cit.; Plin. NH xvi. 201; xxxvi. 102). Caligula placed benches in the *Diribitorium* and used it instead of the theatre when the sun was particularly hot (Cass. Dio lix. 7), and from its roof Claudius watched a great fire in the *Aemiliana* (Suet. Claud. 18).

Cassius Dio (lxvi. 24) states that this building was burned in the great fire of 80 A.D., but also (lv. 8) that in his day (early third century) it was standing unroofed (*ἀχαρας*), because, after its wonderful roof of great beams had been destroyed, it could not be rebuilt. As it is impossible that such a building in this locality should not have been repaired after the fire of 80, we must suppose that it was a hall without a roof for one hundred and fifty years. We must also suppose that it was very near the *Saepta* to facilitate the counting of votes, but it is very difficult to find a location large enough for such a structure near the *Saepta* except on the south-west, under the church of the Gesu, where, however, no traces whatever of any ancient building have been found. For this reason, in spite of the fact that *Saepta* and *Diribitorium* are mentioned together as if they were separate buildings (Cass. Dio lvi. 24), Hülsen has developed the theory that it was really the upper story of the *Saepta*. The masonry of the latter seems to be too massive for a one-storied structure, and the enormous beams would be admirably adapted for a hall like that which the *Diribitorium* is represented as being (BC 1893, 136-142; HJ 562-564). The mediaeval name *Diburo* belongs, however, to the **DIVORUM TEMPLUM**. See also **SAEPTA IULIA**.

**DIS PATER, AEDES** : a temple in Region XI which is mentioned only in Not. (not in Cur.). It is probably the **AEDES SUMMANI** (q.v.), as *Summanus* was explained in the third and fourth century as *Summus Manium*, and so identified with *Dis Pater* (WR 135; HJ 119; Gilb. iii. 436; Rosch. iv. 1601). Cf. also **ELAGABALUS, TEMPLUM**.

DIS PATER ET PROSERPINA, ARA: an altar in the extreme north-western part of the campus Martius, the TARENTUM (q.v.), said to have been found by a Sabine from Eretum, Valesius, who, at the command of an oracle, was seeking water to heal his children of a plague (Val. Max. ii. 4. 5; Fest. 329, 350). It was also said to be twenty feet below the surface of the ground. On this altar were offered the sacrifices at the ludi Tarentini, which were afterwards merged with the ludi saeculares (Liv. Ep. 49; Phlegon, Macrob. 4; cf. Censorin. de die nat. 17. 8; Zos. ii. 4). The altar of the time of the empire was discovered in 1886-1887, behind the Palazzo Cesarini, 5 metres below the level of the Corso Vittorio Emanuele. Two blocks of the altar itself, which was 3.40 metres square, were found resting upon a pedestal which was approached by three steps, and a large pulvinus belonging to it was also found (Cons. 13). Behind it was a massive wall of tufa and round it a triple wall of peperino. Not far away, in a mediaeval wall, were found large portions of the marble slabs containing the inscriptions that record the celebration of the ludi saeculares by Augustus in 17 B.C., and by Severus in 204 A.D. The altar itself is no longer visible (HJ 477-478; Mitt. 1891, 127-129; Mon. L. i. 540-548; NS 1890, 285; BC 1887, 276-277; 1894, 325; 1896, 191-230; EE viii. 225-309; CIL vi. 32323-32337; PT 135-137; Cohen, Aug. 188=BM Aug. 431; Wissowa, Ges. Abh. 189-209).

DIUS FIDIUS: see SEMO SANCUS.

DIVORUM TEMPLUM: the name of a notable structure in the campus Martius erected by Domitian (Chronog. a. 354, p. 146), consisting of an enclosing porticus, the porticus Divorum (Eutrop. vii. 23), and two aedes, the aedes divi Titi (CIL vi. 10234, lines 8, 10, 23; cf. HJ 565, n. 18) and, presumably, an aedes divi Vespasiani. Eleven fragments of the Marble Plan (59, 167, 224; and eight recently discovered, Mitt. 1903, 17-57, pl. I, II) represent the porticus (q.v.) between the Saepta and the baths of Agrippa, and within its entrance, formed by a triple arch on the north side, two small tetrastyle temples. These were probably the two aedes of Titus and Vespasian, and the whole complex was the templum Divorum, which seems ordinarily to have been known as Divorum (cf. FUR; Chron.; Not. Reg. IX). The porticus was rectangular, about 200 metres long and 55 wide, with something over thirty columns on the long sides and sixteen on one short side. It extended from the present Piazza Grazioli nearly to the Via di San Marco,<sup>1</sup> and contained a grove and altar besides the temples. Stuart Jones (Quarterly Review, Oct. 1925, 393) believes that the relief of the Suovetaurilia in the Louvre (Companion

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LS ii. 129-131. In NS 1925, 240-242, some remains found immediately to the north of Palazzo Venezia are attributed to the south end of the porticus; but, as Hülsen points out, this does not agree with the orientation of the porticus as shown on the Forma Urbis, and also makes it too small. It is therefore probable that these remains belong to some of the private buildings between the porticus and the Saepta which were orientated with the latter (Mitt. 1903, 23).

pl. 50) belongs to the 'high altar' of this temple. After the fourth century there is no mention of the structure, but its name is preserved in the Diburi or Diburo of several mediæval documents in connection with the monastery of S. Ciriaco in Camiliano (HJ 564-567; HCh 243, 589). Many architectural remains have been found on the site of the building, but not such as to permit of a reconstruction.

It should be noted that Bufalini in his plan marks 'Colonato antiqui' (sic) on the south side of the church of S. Stefano del Cacco.

**DIVORUM, AEDES:** a temple of the Divi, that is, the deified emperors, on the Palatine, mentioned three times in inscriptions of the Arvales as a place of assembling (CIL vi. 32379, 145 A.D.; 2087; 2104, 218 A.D.; DE i. 177), and probably referred to by Cassius Dio (lxxvi. 3: *θεωρίας τοῖς ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ἡρώσι πεποιμέναις* 203 A.D.). This seems to have been a new temple, which served for the collective worship of the divi Augusti, after the observance of their separate cults began to fall into disuse (HJ 81-82; WR 347; cf. Gilb. iii. 131-133).

**DOLIOLA:** a place, probably within the limits of the forum Boarium, ad cloacam maximam (Varro, LL v. 157), where earthen pots, *doliola*, were buried. It was unlawful to pollute this spot (Varro, loc. cit.; Fest. 69), and the jars were said to contain either the bones of corpses or *quaedam religiosa* of Numa (Varro, l.c.), or the sacred utensils of the Vestals (Liv. v. 40. 8) or other priests (Fest. l.c.; Placid. 32, Deuerl.), which they buried when the Gauls sacked the city. In 1901 there were found, at the south-west corner of the arch of Ianus Quadrifrons and also at a distance of 22 metres from it, remains of small chambers arranged on both sides of narrow corridors, which formed subterranean galleries with vaulted roofs. These chambers were of small size, 1.95 by 1.80 metres in width and depth, with doors 1.80 high. Each chamber contained a seat across one side.<sup>1</sup> The floor of the chambers farthest from the arch is 3.25 metres below the ancient pavement of the forum Boarium, and 4.50 metres below the present level of the Via del Velabro. The construction of the galleries is that of the last century of the republic, and they seem to be adapted for an underground prison suggesting the locus saxo consaeptus (Liv. xxii. 57), in which two Gauls and two Greeks were buried alive in 215 B.C. We have several other records of similar human sacrifices in foro Boario, though Gatti, in spite of Pliny's etiam nostra aetas vidit (NH xxviii. 12), doubts if they actually occurred except in effigy. This may also have been the Doliola itself, for the *ossa cadaverum* said to be preserved here suggest human sacrifices.

Von Duhn (Italische Gräberkunde i. 416) considers that the probabilities are in favour of a site nearer the temple of Vesta (inasmuch as Livy tells us that the Vestals hid what they could not carry with them

<sup>1</sup> They may be, like the building near the Regia, miscalled Carcer by Boni, a series of bedrooms for slaves. Similar rooms may be seen in the Republican house cut by the foundations of the Neronian arcades on the Sacra via (see DOMUS AUREA, p. 168).



in doliolis, sacello proximo aedibus flaminis Quirinalis, and fled with the rest across the Pons Sublicius to the Janiculum), and that the discoveries of 1901 are of too late a period to have anything to do with the matter. There is little doubt that the whole legend arose from actual discoveries of prehistoric tombs along the line of the cloaca Maxima (cf. BUSTA GALICA, EQUUS DOMITIANI; NS 1911, 190).

See Jord. i. 2. 486; Bull. d. Inst. 1879, 76, 77; NS 1901, 354, 422, 481; BC 1901, 141-144, 283; Gatti in DAP 2. viii. 253-270 (cf. Reid in JRS 1912, 34-35, who proposes to read *civitas* for *aetas* in Plin. loc. cit.); RE v. 1283; i. A. 577 (where it is suggested that, as in the case of the lacus Curtius, we really have to do with a *mundus*).

DOLOCENUM: see IUPPITER DOLICHENUS.

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative):

AEBUTHI: on the Aventine, mentioned in connection with the Bacchanalian prosecutions (Livy xxxix. 11).

AELIA ATHENAIS: on the Esquiline, just south of and within the porta Esquilina (?); only known from a lead pipe of the middle of the third century A.D. found in the Via dello Statuto (LF 23), on which she is called h(onesta) f(emina) (CIL xv. 7377).

AELII: a small house (*domuncula*: Val. Max. iv. 4. 8; Plut. Aem. 5; Jord. i. 2. 45; ii. 520-523), perhaps on the Esquiline, near the MARIANA MONUMENTA (q.v.), which was occupied by sixteen Aelii at once about the middle of the second century B.C. (cf. BC 1914, 360-361).

AELIUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTORUM LIBERTUS, near the thermae of Caracalla (?) (CIL xv. 7374; LF 46 seems to fix the site too closely).

T. AELIUS NAEVIUS ANTONIUS SEVERUS: on the Quirinal, where its foundations were discovered at the corner of the Via Milano and the Via Nazionale. The owner was a man of consular rank of the time of Decius (?) (IG xiv. 1071; CIL vi. 1332=31632; BC 1881, 15; LF 16; cf. CIL vi. 1469 (=31663), 1470, 9147).

P. AELIUS ROMULUS AUGG. LIB.: see Q. BLAESIUS IUSTUS.

AEMILIA PAULINA ASIATICA: on the Quirinal (CIL xv. 7380; LF 16). Its foundations were discovered in 1887 in the Via Genova under the Palazzo dell' Esposizione, oriented according to the vicus Longus (Mitt. 1889, 276).

M. AEMILIUS AEMILIANUS: situated on ground later occupied by the thermae of Diocletian on the site of the Ministero delle Finanze (?). One piece of lead water-pipe, with his name and that of Marcia Caenis, the maker, was found in the Campo Verano, the modern cemetery on the via Tiburtina; another, with that of Marcia Caenis only, on the site named above (CIL xv. 7378). The inscription is of too early a date to allow us to accept Lanciani's identification (BC 1881, 10) with the Aemilianus who subsequently became emperor (Pros. i. 25. 213).



L. AEMILIUS IUNCUS : on the Esquiline (?), only known from a lead pipe (CIL xv. 7379). He is perhaps the consul suffectus of 127 A.D. (Pros. i. 28. 235), to whom the Figlinae Iuncianae (CIL xv. 257—123 A.D.) are thought to have belonged, and is also referred to in IG iii. 622 ; v. 485.

M. AGRIPPA : see M. ANTONIUS (IN PALATIO).

ALBINOVANUS PEDO : see C. PLINIUS SECUNDUS.

ALFENIUS CEIONIUS IULIANUS KAMENIUS : on the Quirinal, south-east of the Palazzo Barberini, where its ruins were found (CIL vi. 1675 = 31902 ; 31940 ; LF 16 ; BC 1884, 43 ; RhM 1894, 387). Alfenius was a prominent member of the anti-Christian party in the fourth century, and was accused of practising magic in 368 (Amm. Marc. xxviii. 1. 27). It must have been his grandfather who was praefectus urbi in 333 A.D., ten years before his birth (Chron. Min. i. 68). He died in 385, and was buried near Fogliano, on the coast between Astura and Monte Circeo (Bull. d. Inst. 1884, 56-79 ; EE viii. 648, 650 ; cf. 899 ; Mél. 1905, 203-205).

AMETHYSTI DRUSI CAESAR(IS) : below the Pincian Hill, on the north-east of the Via del Babuino (?) ; only known from a lead pipe (CIL xv. 7383 ; LF 1).

AMPELIUS : the house on the Quirinal, belonging to P. Ampelius of Antioch, praefectus urbi in 370 A.D., which was described as parvae aedes sub clivo Salutis (Sym. v. 54. 2).

ANCUS MARTIUS : on the summa Sacra via, near the temple of the Lares (Solin. i. 23), or, according to Varro (ap. Non. 531 M), in Palatio ad portam Mugionis secundum viam sub sinistra.

ANICII (1) : see GREGORIUS MAGNUS.

ANICII (2) : supposed to have stood near the circus Flaminius (HJ 549 ; LR 456), from an inscription (CIL vi. 1676) that records the restoration of some structure by Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus in 408-423 A.D. See also XENODOCHIUM ANICIORUM (for an erroneous theory that the Anicii dwelt in the insula Tiberina, see Besnier, L'Ile Tibérine 64-65).

L. ANNAEUS SENECA : a house occupied by Seneca, only mentioned in one passage (Ep. 83. 5 : primum ad Tiberim transtuli castra, deinde ad hoc solium, quod, cum fortissimus sum et omnia bona fide fiunt, sol temperat : non multum mihi ad balneum superest), which only shows that it was in a sunny situation.

ANNIANA : see MILO.

A. ANNIUS PLOCAMUS, on the Esquiline, to the north-east of the thermae of Diocletian (?) ; only known from a lead pipe (CIL xv. 7391 ; ib. 798 is a brick bearing his name). The pipe is said to have been found at the angle of the Via Volturmo and the Via Goito ; but as they are parallel, Via Gaeta is a probable conjecture. He may be the freedman who under Claudius took over the Red Sea dues from the treasury (Plin. NH vi. 84 = Solin. i. 53. 8) ; see Pros. i. 68. 517.

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued*:

ANNIUS VERUS: on the Caelian, near the Lateran, in which Marcus Aurelius was brought up (Hist. Aug. M. Ant. 1). Annius Verus was consul for the second time in 121 and for the third in 126 A.D. (Pros. i. p. 70, n. 535). See CP 1909, 195; LR 346; LF 36.

M. ANTONIUS: see POMPEIUS (in Carinis).

M. ANTONIUS: the house of the triumvir on the Palatine, which afterwards belonged to Messala (Pros. iii. p. 365) and to M. Agrippa, and was burned in 29 B.C. (Cass. Dio liii. 27).

ANTONIUS GNIPHO: mentioned only once (Suet. Gramm. 7), and of unknown location. See DOMUS CAESARIS.

L. APPULEIUS SATURNINUS: destroyed, like that of M. Fulvius Flaccus, after the murder of its owner, who was tribune in 103 and 100 B.C. (Val. Max. vi. 3. 1 c). Its site is unknown.

C. AQUILIUS GALLUS: on the Viminal, and said to have been the most beautiful house in Rome in the middle of the first century B.C. (Plin. NH xvii. 2).

ARRUNTIUS STELLA: the house of the consul of 101 A.D., the friend of Statius and Martial, at the beginning of the Subura (Mart. xii. 3. 9; cf. Pros. i. p. 147, n. 947).

L. ASINIUS RUFUS: on the Aventine (?), known only from a lead pipe (CIL xv. 7396). He may be identical with the friend of Pliny and Tacitus (Plin. Ep. iv. 15).

ATTICUS: see DOMUS POMPONIORUM.

AUFIDIA CORNELIA VALENTILLA, who had a house or gardens south of the Porta Maggiore (?), where the remains of a building of the latter half of the second century A.D. were found (NS 1887, 70, 108; 1888, 225; cf. also BC 1887, 100; 1925, 276-278; CIL xv. 755, 7398; LF 32).

AUGUSTUS (1): the house on the Palatine, ad capita bubula (Suet. Aug. 5), in which Augustus was born and where he lived for some time.

AUGUSTUS (2):\* the house of Augustus on the Palatine, which served as his residence subsequently; habitavit . . . postea in Palatio, sed nihilo minus acedibus modicis Hortensianis, et neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuis, ut in quibus porticus breves essent Albanarum columnarum, et sine marmore ullo aut insigni pavimento conclavia (Suet. Aug. 72; cf. 29: templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictum desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiarant). The house was thus originally that of Hortensius, and close to the temple of APOLLO (q.v.); and if we identify the latter with the podium on the south-west side of the hill, the house of Hortensius will be that which is generally known as the house of Livia. Augustus also acquired the house of Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS (q.v.), the site of which is not exactly known.

We thus learn from Suet. that a part of the house of Augustus was struck by lightning and the temple of Apollo was erected on its site—in compensation for which the senate decreed that a house should be given to him out of the public funds (Cass. Dio xlix. 15. 5). The enlarged house must have been ready at more or less the same time as the temple of Apollo; for on 13th January, 27 B.C., the senate decreed that an oak crown should be placed over the door (Fast. Praen. 13 Jan.; Mon. Anc. vi. 13; Cass. Dio liii. 16. 4; Ov. Fasti, i. 509; iv. 951; for a representation cf. the Sorrento base (Mitt. 1889, pl. x.; 1894, 238 sqq.; SScR 76), and Cohen, Aug. 385=BM. Aug. 126).

The authors speak of its great simplicity, and of a lofty tower chamber, into which the emperor was glad to retire (Suet. Aug. 72, 73) and of an AEDICULA ET ARA VESTAE (q.v.). The house was destroyed by fire in 3 A.D. (Cass. Dio lv. 12; Suet. Aug. 57), and Augustus only accepted *pro forma* the contributions made for its repair.

HülSEN suggests that the older remains under the basilica, peristyle and triclinium of the DOMUS AUGUSTIANA (v. p. 161) may belong to the palace of Augustus (HJ 90). But even if we accept his theory as to the temple of Apollo, on which this depends, this is only possible for the former group, to which, however, the rooms under the large hall to the S.E. and the so-called *lararium* must be added—if they do not belong to an independent house. And, as the temple was founded in a part of the original house (see above), this would make it far too large (Richmond in JRS 1914, 193-194). On the other hand, if we identify the podium on the S.W. with the temple of Apollo (cf. Reber, 382), the house of Hortensius purchased by Augustus may well be identified (as Parker, Photo 2250, had already suggested) with what is generally known as the house of Livia. That it actually passed into her possession is very probable, from the discovery of lead water-pipes with the name *Iuliae Aug(ustae)* (CIL xv. 7264), which most authorities refer to her. It has also been identified with the house of Germanicus, the father of Caligula, where the murderers of the latter hid themselves (Joseph. Ant. Jud. xix. 1. 15 (117)), e.g. by LR 149-151; cf. HJ 63 (but contrast the rejection of this theory, *ib.* 85, n. 109). But only the identification with the house of Augustus suffices to explain the fact that it was preserved unaltered down to the end of the classical period, as though it had been an object of veneration (see DOMUS TIBERIANA). Water-pipes show that it remained imperial property at least until the time of Domitian (CIL xv. 7285—*ib.* 7265. L. Pescennius Eros Caesarum may be almost contemporary with 7264, the Caesares being either Gaius and Lucius or Tiberius, Drusus, and Germanicus).

The house is approached by a small passage, accessible from the *cryptoporticus* of the *domus Tiberiana*, which leads into a court,

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued*:

most of which is paved with mosaic. On the right is a small triclinium, and next to it a wine cellar; and opposite the entrance are three vaulted rooms, facing N.W. and originally lighted by large lunette windows over the roof of the court. The paintings are similar to those which in Pompeii are assigned to the second style, and (especially in the central room of the three, wrongly called *tablinum*) their perspective owes much to scene painting (Mau in *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880, 136 sqq.; *Gesch. d. Wandmalerei* 167-174, 196-205; cf. *HJ* 62 n. 62).<sup>1</sup>

The other section of the house (perhaps the front) was only reached from the portion described by a narrow wooden staircase. At first it consisted of a courtyard surrounded by a portico with rectangular pillars, and rooms on two sides of it (N.W. and S.W.); the centre of it was then filled up by a large room; then the portico was split up into small rooms; and finally the east angle was cut by a narrow cryptoporticus (YW 1911, 10), which has destroyed this front of the house—if there was one. There is a lower story, as to which no information is available at present.

On the S.W. are the scanty remains of a peristyle, at present cut off from the rest of the house by a road which is not ancient, but the result of restoration by Rosa (who excavated the house in 1869), which is identified as the atrium in which the senate met (*JRS* 1914, 207, 213 sqq.; *Tac. Ann.* ii. 37; xiii. 5. 2; *Serv. ad Aen.* vii. 170-175; xi. 235). Its area is at least 14.20 by 15 metres, or even 22.70 by 20 (BC 1913, 199-224)—certainly not as little as 6 by 15 (*DAP* 2. xi. 113). It was built on the remains of an earlier house, a white mosaic pavement of which still remains under the vault of the cryptoporticus. This vault must have been set on the remains of the pre-existing building, and, though provided with windows, was never cleared out so as to be accessible. Further remains of both periods have also been found to the N.W. and S.W., but no description is available. See *HJ* 60-63, 74-76; *BA* 1914, Cr 73; *YW* 1920, 83-84; *ZA* 178-186.

AUGUSTIANA\* (*CIL* vi. 8640, 8647-9; xv. 1860) or Augustana (*ib.* vi. 2271, 8651; xv. 7246): 'denoted the whole imperial residence (except DOMUS TIBERIANA, q.v.) at any given period. Domus Flavia (not DOMUS COMMODIANA, q.v.), domus Severiana are modern terms for the parts erected by these several Emperors' (*Pl.* 143). This seems to state the case as clearly as possible. DOMUS PALATINA (q.v.) is also used for the whole group.

For the original house of Augustus, see DOMUS AUGUSTI, and for the remains of the DOMUS TRANSITORIA and DOMUS AUREA, see those articles.

It is clear, from examination of the construction, that what is now existing above ground is due in main to a great restoration by Domitian's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Mitt.* 1911, 6-22.



architect Rabirius, which was only completed in 92 A.D. (Mart. vii. 56. 2: (Rabiri) Parrhasiam mira qui struis arte domum; cf. x. 71, a poem on his parents' death). The cornices have two rings between the dentils, a characteristic of Domitian's work (BC 1918, 35).

Two fragments of a marble epistyle, bearing an inscription in letters once filled with bronze, which now lie at the main entrance of the palace and were doubtless found there, are attributed to the reign of Vespasian (CIL vi. 31496a) but might better be assigned to the beginning of that of Domitian (81-83 A.D.). The inscription may have related to the construction of a porticus. The building is described by Martial, writing in 93 A.D., as a lofty pile (viii. 36); in ib. 39 he alludes to the completion of the triclinium, of which Statius (Silv. iv. 2) also speaks, in a poem of extravagant praise; cf. also Mart. i. 70; viii. 60; ix. 13, 79; xii. 15.

Suetonius (Dom. 14) tells us that Domitian had the walls of the porticoes in which he usually walked lined with selenite (*phengites lapis*), so that he would see what was going on behind him; but otherwise we have little definite information, and practically nothing about the fate of the building after his time.

All the accounts we have are too vague to be referred to this particular palace (see PALATINUS MONS), and many of them (in Hist. Aug.) have been doubted by v. Domaszewski; see LAVACRUM PLAUTIANI, TEMPLUM ELAGABALI, DIAETAE MAMMAEAE, SICILIA, STABULUM, etc.

In Christian times the edges of the hill were occupied by churches, but the central portion (perhaps owing to the destruction caused by the earthquake of Leo IV) seems to have been almost entirely left alone. Both the Anonymus Einsiedlensis and the writers of the *Mirabilia* barely mention it, and we know very little about its mediaeval history, though the *pallacium divi Augusti* described by Magister Gregorius in the twelfth century (JRS 1919, 31, 52) is probably this palace<sup>1</sup> (it is to be noted that he connects the aqueduct with it) and that the main aqueduct is spoken of as still running, though the distributing pipes are not; and the inscription that he says he saw among the ruins, *domus divi Augusti clementissimi*, may belong either to Domitian's restoration or to a later one.

The palace of Domitian may be said to occupy the whole of the south-eastern half of the hill—the Palatium. It falls into several sections:

(a) The first consists of a group of state apartments entered from the north-west.

<sup>1</sup> This is Rushforth's view. Hülsen, however, points out that the '*Palatium LX imperatorum*' (JRS cit. 36, 53) must be the Palatine; cf. the reference to S. Cesario in *Palatio* in the list of twenty abbeys given by Petrus Mallius and Johannes Diaconus as '*in palatio LXX regum*' (HCh 232). The '*Pallacium divi Augusti*' is more likely to be near the Lateran, as the connection of the aqueduct with the *Porta Asinaria* shows; while the inscription is a mere fabrication.

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

The lofty façade was originally decorated with a colonnade in front ; but Rabirius's neglect to fill up properly the earlier buildings below made it necessary for Hadrian to support it with walls projecting at right angles (Ill. 15 ; cf. AJA 1912, 238, fig. 4), in which many of the columns were enclosed (the same procedure was necessary in the case of the so-called templum Divi Augusti). Underground chambers were also constructed against the façade wall.

The state apartments are arranged round a huge peristyle with columns of Numidian marble and an elaborate entablature ; in the centre was a large shallow open water basin.<sup>1</sup> The north-east part of this court occupied the summit of the hill, as is shown by the fact that the MUNDUS (if such it be) is excavated in the natural rock ; while the ground sloped away towards the forum and the circus Maximus, which accounts for the presence of earlier buildings (see above) under the halls to the north-east and south-west of the peristyle. Domitian abandoned the use of this lower level, and all the state apartments are on the level of the peristyle, which was entered between lobbies (a latrine is distinguishable) from the north-west, where the main door of the palace was.

Of these halls, that at the north angle has the form of a basilica, though there was certainly no clerestory. It was too lofty to sustain the weight of its roof, and the apse has been thickened and piers inserted in the two angles at the other end. Outside the basilica the branch from the cryptoporticus of the DOMUS TIBERIANA (q.v.) reaches the peristyle.

The next hall, almost square in plan, had a span of about 100 feet, and niches for statues in the walls. For the frieze, see Mél. 1921-2, 303-318 (trophies with allusions to Domitian's triumphs over the Chatti and the Dacians). The third hall, the so-called lararium, is a good deal smaller. Adjacent to it is the only staircase ascending to the upper floor of which we have any trace. On the south of the peristyle is the triclinium, which, as Statius tells us, was a room of great size, decorated with a variety of coloured marbles. It is not certain whether it was vaulted or roofed with a flat roof. Fragments of the huge columns of grey granite which stood in the opening towards the peristyle (as well as round the interior) and of the entablature which rested on them may still be seen, as also portions of its marble pavement. It was flanked by a nymphaeum on each side, which originally opened on to it by means of large windows ; but these were filled up before the interior of the triclinium was faced with marble for the last time, as it has come down to us.

Under the basilica are remains of a house of the very early empire,

<sup>1</sup> An octagonal maze has been reconstructed in the centre from rather insufficient indications.



15 DOMUS AUGUSTIANA  
Strengthening walls of façade (p. 160)



16 DOMUS AUREA, DETAIL (p. 170)





17 DOMUS AUGUSTIANA  
Severan substructions (p. 164)



18 DOMUS AUGUSTIANA, FRONT TOWARDS CIRCUS MAXIMUS (p. 162)



which cuts through still earlier buildings. It was first excavated in 1724, and drawings of the paintings on its walls were made (Mitt. 1895, 257-260; HJ 90, n. 117, who thinks it may have formed part of the older domus Augustiana; PBS vii. p. 58, Nos. 3, 4; Egger, Krit. Verzeichniss der Handzeichnungen in Wien, Nos. 110-113). It was in turn destroyed by the construction of a water-cistern with five chambers, to which Boni (JRS 1913, 246-247, cf. YW 1912, 11) wrongly referred the statement of Suetonius, Nero 31: 'we are told by Suetonius that Nero caused sea-water to be brought from the sea to the Palatine,' which really concerns the domus Aurea. Finally Domitian sunk his foundations through the whole group of buildings when he raised the general level of this part of the imperial palace (ZA 202, 203, 205).

Under the 'lararium' Boni discovered the remains of a house of the first century B.C., which he wrongly attributed to Catiline, below which were terra-cottas of two still earlier houses (third and fifth century B.C.). The lower floor, accessible by a staircase, and originally lighted mainly from the north-east (where, under the foundations of the platform of the palace, other remains may still be seen), consists of a number of small rooms, with paintings of a transitional period between the first and second Pompeian styles, in which columns have begun to make their appearance, and there is an attempt at perspective. The pavements are of simple mosaic. One room also has a fine lunette with two griffins in high stucco relief. Scanty remains of the pavements of the upper story may be seen some 6 feet below the level of the floor of the 'lararium'; in some cases marble pavements have been laid over them (JRS 1913, 248; ZA 204).

The portion of the site to the south-west of the triclinium lies outside the main group. On the upper level are two apsidal halls lying side by side, also belonging to the time of Domitian, and by some supposed to be restorations of his day of the Greek and Latin libraries of the temple of Apollo, the orientation of which they follow (JRS 1914, 204).

Halfway down the hill, and built against it, is a group of chambers of the same period with a semicircular exedra in the centre, in front of which is a row of columns. Below the line of columns the excavations have not been completed, and the plan is therefore uncertain—for a room belonging to the lower floor, see PBS viii. 91-103. The only information we have is from the numerous inscriptions scratched on the walls. The fact that in one of the larger rooms a list of valuable garments occurs, makes it likely that the building served for the keepers of the imperial robes. In two of the smaller and darker rooms, however, the phrase *exit de paedagogio* occurs several times. *Paedagogium* might well be interpreted as a euphemism for prison (cf. Garrucci; Graffites de Pompei (Paris 1856), pls. 12, 25, 30, 31; Storia dell' Arte Cristiana vi. 135-140; Ann. d. Inst. 1857, 276; 1882, 217 ff.;

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

Giorn. Arc. 1867, 147-171 ; BC 1893, 249-260 ; 1894, 89-94 ; Mél. Boissier, 1903, 303-306 ; HJ 92, n. 118a ; and for the famous graffito of the Crucifixion, cf. IIF 1669 ; PT 169). Still lower down the hill is a private house at a different orientation, belonging to the Severan period or a little later, containing some interesting paintings (described and illustrated PBS cit.). It cannot be identified with the DOMUS GELOTIANA (q.v.).

(b) The second section of the palace lies to the south-east of the first, and appears to have contained the residential apartments. From a curved terrace on the south-west a large arched opening (now closed, but visible in drawings of the sixteenth century (Ill. 18) ; cf. esp. Heemskerck ii. 92<sup>v</sup>, 93 ; Wyngaerde's panorama repr. in Mél. 1906, 179, pls. iv.-vii.) led into a courtyard, surrounded by a colonnade, behind which were rooms of elaborate plan.

They were excavated and plundered at the end of the eighteenth century (Guattani, Mon. Ined. 1785 *passim* ; the plans are not altogether correct), and were then filled up again. Three rooms on the north-east side of the peristyle are accessible : the central one has an interesting barrel vault (not a dome with spherical pendentives, as Rivoira, RA 108-109, thinks), while those on each side are octagonal and domed. The construction, again, belongs to the period of Domitian, though the brick-stamps betoken later restoration (NS 1893, 358, 419). From the north-western side of the peristyle passages lead through a great staircase with a large light well in the centre (from which light was transmitted to the surrounding rooms by means of arched openings), indicated in Guattani's plan, which leads on to the level of the triclinium. There is no trace of the corresponding staircase on the south-east ; and his plan is apparently incorrect on this side, at any rate on the lower level. For from it a staircase of quite a different form led up to the second order of the ' Hippodromus ' or ' Stadium,' which blocked completely the passage which the modern visitor uses, but which did not exist in ancient times. The Villa Mills, once more, lies on a mass of solid rock, and there is no lower floor under it. It is built into the walls of this section of the palace, the plan of which is somewhat difficult to determine. The excavations made in the garden, both in 1869 (Gaz. Arch. 1888, 143, and pl. xxi. ; Coll. Lampué No. 258) and recently, and the evidence of the Marble Plan are sufficient to prove that it extended over the whole garden, and that the temple of Apollo cannot have stood there.

(c) The third section of the palace is the hippodromus Palatii, as it is called in Acta S. Sebastiani (Acta SS. 20 Jan. ii. 278) : Diocletianus iussit eum in hippodromo Palatii duci et tamdiu fustigari quamdiu spiritum exhalaret. The name hippodromus was already in vogue in the time of Pliny the younger (cf. Ep. v. 6. 19, 40) for a garden in the

shape of a (circus or) stadium, as this building is generally called (Jahrb. d. Inst. 1895, 129-143; Ausonia 1909, 72), and traces of the edgings of the paths, in white marble, are to be seen, and of a gutter in the same material outside the arcades.

It is a long, narrow area, 160 metres long and 50 wide, the north-east end of which is straight (above it is a fountain, not a library as was previously thought) and the south-west curved. The rooms at the former end supported a balcony. They have coffered ceilings, but were almost entirely closed at a later date. The rooms outside the latter end may be connected with the imperial tribune for viewing the performances in the circus Maximus.

The open space in the centre had a semicircular fountain at each end. It was enclosed by arcades with projecting half columns of brick, faced with *porta santa* marble (the bases and capitals being as usual of white marble), which date from the original construction of Domitian. Above the arcades was perhaps a colonnade (but see the restoration in Haugwitz, *Der Palatin*, fig. 10; some others, e.g. Pascal, also omit the colonnade; and it may be that the granite columns<sup>1</sup> which are still to be seen lying in the Stadium belong to the church mentioned below). The arcades collapsed, and were restored by Septimius Severus, who built counterpilasters all along the outer wall to strengthen the vaults. After his restoration at any rate there was no approach to the garden from the north-west, but only to the top of the arcades.

On the south-east side is a huge semicircular exedra with a semi-dome; this is generally attributed to Hadrian, on the evidence of brick-stamps (HJ 95); but while the distinction between the work of Domitian and that of Septimius Severus can easily be discerned (though there are some points of difficulty, e.g. where a wall originally constructed by the former has been refaced by the latter; cf. AJA 1912, 233, fig. 1), there seems to be no trace of an intermediate period.<sup>2</sup> The lower part of the exedra was a good deal altered by Severus, but it was not, as a whole, his work (contrast RA 165, 166, and cf. JRS 1925, 125. For the paintings, see Mau, *Geschichte der Wandmalerei*, 459; Mitt. 1911, 147; and for the graffiti, BC 1895, 195).

An elegant round frieze found in the stadium, with olive branches between lyres and masks, belongs to some small circular building not certainly identified (HJ 76, n. 90; PT 129; for a fragment at Milan,<sup>3</sup> cf. BC 1883, 202). Two statues of nymphs or muses were found here; one is still on the spot; for the other, cf. PT 111. Repairs by Theodoric

<sup>1</sup> Hülsen points out that there are only eight of them, all entire.

<sup>2</sup> Deglane (*Mél.* 1889, 213) is of the same opinion.

<sup>3</sup> HF 1263; SSaR 63. It is identical in design (if not actually) with one of the fragments drawn in the sixteenth century by Dosio, *Uffizi* 2039<sup>v</sup>; see Mitt. 1895, 28-37, where they are attributed to a (perhaps) two-storied tholos in or near the peristyle of the state apartments. The building is believed by others to have been a temple of Vesta.

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

and Athalaric are vouched for by brick-stamps (CIL xv. 1665 *a*, I, 1672), and, perhaps in this period, considerable changes were made. Another porticus was built across the hippodromus from the north end of the exedra, and a wall parallel to this porticus, from the south end of the exedra, thus dividing the whole area into three parts. Within the southern division an elliptical enclosure was erected, the walls of which were tangent to the cross-wall and the colonnade. The masonry of this enclosure is of the latest period, and the walls, although the remains are a metre high, have no solid foundations, but rest on the debris of the area. This elliptical wall was strengthened at certain points by spur walls extending to the colonnade. The only entrance to the enclosure was at the south end, where two pedestals from the house of the Vestals were built into the doorway. Openings, somewhat over a metre in width, were made in the wall itself at regular intervals, and within one of these openings is a basin or trough with two compartments. It is probable that this enclosure was a vivarium, built to contain wild animals, a sort of private menagerie of the emperors.

The site of the church of S. Cesario in Palatio, between the middle of the twelfth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, has recently been fixed by Hülsen about the middle of the 'stadium,' while from the seventh to the middle of the ninth century the name belonged to an oratory in the Lateran palace. This does not mean that the church on the Palatine was not of older origin ; but the frescoes of the Byzantine period in one of the chambers under the Villa Mills described by Bartoli (BCr 1907, 200-204) must then be attributed to the monastery connected with the church (Hülsen in Misc. Ehrle ii. (Studi e Testi vol. 36) 377-403 ; HCh 232-233 ; RAP iii. 45-48).

Excavations have been made and recorded at various times since 1552 (LS ii. 44, 45, 83 ; iii. 112 ; Mitt. 1894, 16 ; 1895, 276-283 ; Rosa, Relazione, 1873, 78 ff. ; Gori, Arch. Stor. ii. 374 ff. ; NS 1877, 79-80, 109-110, 201-204 ; 1878, 66, 93, 346 ; 1893, 31-32, 70, 162-3, 358-360, 419), and permit a fairly accurate description of the building to be given (GA 1888, 216-224 ; Mél. 1889, 184-229 ; Jahrb. 1895, 129-136 ; Mon. L. v. 16-83 ; Sturm, Das kaiserl. Stadium, Würzburger Programm, 1888 ; HJ 94-97 ; Pascal in D'Esp. Mon. ii. 119-122).

(*d*) To the south-east of the stadium is a fourth division of the palace ; the substructions, for a certain distance, belong to the period of Domitian (for a painting in a lararium in them and for still earlier remains of the time of Nero, see Mél. 1889, 228 ; PBS vii. 120-123), while the superstructure (*thermae*) was in the main the work of Septimius Severus, who also erected at a slightly later period the huge arched substructions (Ill. 17, 19) which still tower over the valley of the circus Maximus, and which must have once extended a considerable distance further, right to the edge of the circus itself. Their constructive





19 DOMUS AUGUSTIANA  
Severan substructions (p. 164)



20 DOMUS AUGUSTIANA AND ARCUS TITI (p. 165)



peculiarities are worth noting (RA 163-167). The SEPTIZONIUM (q.v.) was built to screen them.

Of the superstructure, which must have had a somewhat fantastic plan, with rooms of irregular shape and form, but little is left. The so-called tower of Theodoric is a circular latrine. Where the imperial tribune for watching the races in the circus Maximus (supposing always that Severus erected a new one), is to be sought, is quite uncertain; while the story that Severus wished to make the entrance to the Palatine from the via Appia, and that Alexander Severus had the same intention but was hindered by ritual reasons (Hist. Aug. Sev. 24. 4), is doubtful.

(e) The fifth section of the imperial palace is the huge rectangular platform supported by terrace walls, which occupies the east angle of the Palatine (Ill. 20). The identification with the ADONAEA (q.v.) is doubtful, but the shape of the whole area (the Vigna Barberini, in the centre of which rises the church of S. Sebastiano in Pallara) seems to be that of a garden; and its construction is probably due to Domitian, though brick-stamps of Hadrian have been found (Nibby, *Roma Antica* ii. 447, 473; cf. RL 1909, 527-539; *Rassegna contemporanea*, 1911, No. 9; JRS 1919, 186; ZA 219-221). Others place here the temple of JUPITER ULTOR (q.v.) or the temple of APOLLO (q.v.). For mediaeval fortifications here, cf. RL cit.

That the Palladium was still preserved on the Palatine in the middle of the fourth century A.D. is clear from the inscription of a Consularis Campaniae of that period, found at Privernum (Piperno), in which he is spoken of Praepositus Palladii Palatini (CIL x. 6441; Bull. d'Inst. 1863, 212). The regio Palladii<sup>1</sup> or Pallaria is distinguished from the Palatium maius in the sources of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries; and the church of S. Maria (or S. Sebastiano, as it is now called) de Palladio or in Pallaria, with paintings of 970, still exists in the middle of the Vigna Barberini, where Hülsen places the temple of Apollo, in which he thinks the Palladium was kept (Wilpert, *Mos. u. Mal. Taf.* 224, 225; HCh 353-355).

On the south-west of the Vigna Barberini lies the church of S. Bonaventura built over a large reservoir, which was supplied by a branch of the AQUA CLAUDIA (q.v.; see also ARCUS NERONIANI), and between it and the 'Stadium' was a nymphaeum. Below the summit of the hill on the south-east slope are remains of private houses, attributable to the same general period.

Inscriptions of slaves and freedmen, including a priest of Mithras, connected with the domus Augustiana, from the second century onwards, are published in CIL vi. 2271, 8640-52; cf. xv. 1860, 7246.

For the representation of the domus Augustiana (Flavia) in the Marble Plan, see Hülsen in DAP 2. xi. 111-120; and pls. ii., iii. Which,

<sup>1</sup> The form *Palladium* is found in Deusdedit (eleventh century); see RL 1912, 768-772.

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

if any, of the paintings drawn by Bartoli and others (PBS vii. 1-62 and especially 33 sqq.; viii. 35 sqq.) in the course of the Farnese excavations belong to the buildings of the period of Domitian is a difficult question, as no remains of paintings are now visible and the records of locality are entirely insufficient.

Cf. LR 157-189; HJ 87-111; BA 1914, Cr 73; ZA 198-221; Toeb. 85, 96-97; RA 100-110. No official record of the recent excavations has as yet been published. For restorations, see D'Esp. Mon. ii. 119, 120, 122 (Hippodromus), 121, 123, 124 (general). For the first section see Bühlmann in Zeitsch. f. Gesch. d. Architekt. 1907-8, 113-134; a good plan is given by Hough in Mem. Am. Acad. ii. 3.

AVIANUS VINDICIANUS: on the Quirinal (?) (see NS 1891, 250; CIL vi. 31005). He also had property, near the Tiber, to the south-west of the Mausoleum of Augustus (?), known only from several inscriptions on a large lead pipe found near the Ripetta (CIL xv. 7399). He was consularis Campaniae, and vicarius urbis Romae in 378 A.D. (BC 1894, 49).

T. AVIDIUS QUIETUS: (a) on the Esquiline, just outside the porta Esquilina, where some remains<sup>1</sup> were found in 1876 (BC 1877, 66 ff., 74 ff.). Avidius was governor of Thrace in 82 A.D. (CIL vi. 3828, 31692-3). (b) Probably of the same man (Pros. i. p. 189, No. 1172; RE ii. 2385-6), on the Quirinal, where a tastefully decorated nymphaeum was found (BC 1877, 59 ff.; NS 1901, 295, 352, 418; CIL xv. 7400. Two other pipes of unknown provenance (one perhaps from the Caffarella valley on the left of the via Appia) bearing the same inscription are recorded ib.).

AUREA: \* a huge palace built by Nero after the fire of 64 A.D. It took the place of the DOMUS TRANSITORIA (q.v.), and its grounds extended from the Palatine to the Esquiline, the central point being an artificial lake (*stagnum*) in the valley later occupied by the Colosseum (Suet. Nero, 31, whose description of it is worth quoting in full: Vestibulum eius fuit, in quo colossus cxx pedum staret ipsius effigie; tanta laxitas, ut porticus triplices miliarias haberet; item stagnum maris instar, circumsaepum aedificiis ad urbium speciem; rura insuper, arvis atque vinetis et pascuis silvisque varia, cum multitudine omnis generis pecudum ac ferarum. In ceteris partibus cuncta auro lita, distincta gemmis unionumque [large pearl oysters, cf. Plin. NH ix. 112, 113] conchis erant; cenationes laqueatae tabulis eburneis versatilibus, ut flores, fistulatis, ut unguenta desuper spargerentur; praecipua cenationum rotunda, quae perpetuo diebus ac noctibus vice mundi circumageretur; balineae marinis et albulis fluentes aquis. eius modi domum cum absolutam dedicaret, hactenus comprobavit, ut se diceret quasi

<sup>1</sup> For terra-cotta friezes from this house, see Cons. 347, 348.



hominem tandem habitare coepisse. The landscape gardening of the great park in which the buildings were set is also emphasised by Tacitus (Ann. xv. 42 : in qua haud perinde gemmae et aurum miraculo essent . . . quam arva et stagna et in modum solitudinum hinc silvae, inde aperta spatia et prospectus, magistris et machinatoribus Severo et Celere). Cf. Seneca, Ep. xiv. 2. 15.

The area occupied is further defined by Martial (de spect. 2), who is writing in praise of Vespasian

Hic ubi sidereus propius videt astra colossus

(See COLOSSUS NERONIS : sidereus simply means 'glittering.')

et crescunt media pegmata celsa via,

(perhaps the scaffolding for the erection of the arch of Titus:<sup>1</sup> the usual explanation of the line—HJ 17—to mean that the machinery of the amphitheatre was stored in the ruins of the vestibule of the Golden House is unsatisfactory—why *media via*?)

invidiosa feri radiabant atria regis

(the atrium stood on the summit of the Velia)

unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus.

[This is an echo of the epigram quoted by Suetonius, Nero, 39 :

Roma domus fiet : Veios migrate, Quirites,  
si non et Veios occupat ista domus ;

cf. also Plin. NH xxxiii. 54 ; xxxvi. 111 ; Tac. Ann. xv. 43.]

Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri  
erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.

Hic ubi miramur velocia munera thermas,

[Titianas, q.v.]

abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager.  
Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicit umbras,  
ultima pars aulae deficientis erat

(i.e. the domus Aurea extended no further over the Caelian than the site of the temple of CLAUDIUS (q.v.), which was begun by Agrippina, destroyed by Nero, and built anew by Vespasian ; v. Suct. Vespas. 9). That it did not extend beyond the Subura on the north is clear from the fact that the temple of Tellus and the portico of Livia continued to exist ; while on the east the horti Maecenatis, already the property of the imperial house, formed its natural boundary.

According to Hülsen's estimate the area thus included amounted to about 125 acres, while that of the Vatican, including the garden and S. Peter's with its piazza, is about 75 acres. Rivoira, however, puts

<sup>1</sup> If 'pegmata' can bear this sense. If not, 'constructed' would perhaps be a better equivalent of 'crescunt'—in the sense that there was now room for workshops for making 'pegmata'—than 'stored' or 'piled.'

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

the area at 370 acres, that of Hyde Park being 390. It would be still further increased if we add to it the area of the long lines of lofty arcades on either side of the *Sacra via*, which Nero transformed into a monumental avenue of approach to the vestibule of his palace. See Van Deman, *AJA*, 1923, 383-424; *Mem. Am. Acad.* v. 115-126; the northern arcade began just east of the basilica *Aemilia*. It was interrupted by the road leading east of the temple of the *Penates*, which passed by an archway (the so-called *arcus Latronis*) under the north-west corner of the basilica of Constantine. The northern end of the portico behind it has been obliterated by the construction of the basilica. On the south the arcade began at the *Regia*, and ran eastward up to the beginning of the *CLIVUS PALATINUS* (q.v.), which thenceforward diverged from the *Sacra via* at right angles opposite the centre of the vestibule of the *domus Aurea*. It followed the *clivus* some way beyond the end of the *Nova via*, as far as the *ARCUS DOMITIANI* (2) (q.v.). On the south the portico behind the arcade extended as far as the *Nova via*, on each side of which an arcade also ran. The remains of these very extensive arcades and porticoes are comparatively scanty, except for their massive foundation walls<sup>1</sup> (see *PORTICUS MARGARITARIA*). Most of the travertine blocks of the pillars have been pilfered by searchers for building material (especially in the time of Alexander VII, according to *LR* 211), and very often nothing is left but their impressions in the concrete of the later brickfaced walls, which were built between them when the porticoes were used as *horrea*. The blocks hitherto attributed to the arch of the *Fabii* (*NS* 1882, 222-225) have turned out to belong to the arcades.

The entrance to the vestibule of the *domus Aurea* was, no doubt, opposite to the *Sacra via*—approximately in the position of the façade of the church of *S. Francesca Romana*. It must have had a great portico or peristyle (for it is also called *atrium*), in the centre of which stood the *Colossus* (q.v.), a statue of Nero 120 feet high. It is unnecessary to suppose, however, as Weege does, that the *PORTICUS TRIPLICES MILIARIAE* (q.v.) are to be sought here. Porticoes, a walk several times along which (or we may even say, round the whole of which) provided a promenade of a measured mile, were in great vogue among the Romans (see *PORTICUS MILIARENSIS* and *PORTICUS TRIUMPHI*).

The construction of the vestibule forced the *SACRA VIA* (q.v.) to cross the *Velia* somewhat further south than it had done hitherto (though the pavement of the Augustan *Sacra via* has been found under the steps of the temple of *Venus and Rome*, we have no knowledge of the buildings which occupied the site of the vestibule), and this road must

<sup>1</sup> These have hitherto been generally attributed to the period of *Maxentius* or even later (*AJA* cit. 386 and *ref.*, to which *Atti* 516 may be added).

have been closed for ordinary traffic after 64 A.D. We may notice that the route of Nero's triumph in 68 A.D. did not include it; and the arch of Titus was erected at the only possible point on the Velia. That the vestibule lay in ruins until the construction of the temple of Venus and Rome by Hadrian (HJ 17) seems unlikely, for we know that the Colossus stood in its original position until he moved it.

Beyond the vestibule a view opened out over the great park described above, and down on the lake, on the site of which the Colosseum was built, which formed the centre of the whole: and in the park around it, besides the main palace on the north-east, were various smaller detached buildings, as at Hadrian's Villa.

On the Velia itself, to the north of the temple of Venus and Rome and to the east of the basilica of Constantine, are remains of buildings now covered by a garden, in which architects of the sixteenth century (Fra Giocondo? and Ligorio) saw two oblong courts surrounded by porticoes (Mél. 1891, 161-167; *Archaeologia* li. 2 (1888) 498; Mitt. 1892, 289, 291; JRS 1919, 180). To the east a small nymphaeum, adorned with niches for statues and decorated with sea-shells, was found in 1895 (NS 1895, 79; BC 1895, 127; LR 361, 362, who says that it was in the same Vigna dei Nobili that the excavations of 1668 were made, in which an interesting painting, perhaps representing the harbour of Puteoli, was found; cf. HJ 322; PBS vii. 57, No. 2. That this painting cannot be earlier than the middle of the second century A.D. is clear from the occurrence in it of the name *Balineum Faustines*). On the Palatine we must attribute to it the irregular curving concrete foundations which cut through the remains of the *DOMUS TRANSITORIA* (q.v.) under the triclinium of the Flavian palace. Remains of the buildings round the stagnum were found on the north of the Colosseum (NS 1897, 59; BC 1897, 165), and foundations of others were recognised in cutting the drain from S. Clemente to the Colosseum<sup>1</sup> (see *CASTRÀ MISENATIUM*).

But the main palace was situated further to the east, on the mons Oppius, above the via Labicana, to the south of the porticus Liviae. It faced almost due south, and occupied a rectangular area of about 400 by 200 yards. The plan (text fig. 17, p. 535) is not one which is familiar in Rome. The central portion is built in the shape of a  $\Pi$ , the two sides being inclined to one another so as to enclose a trapezoidal court. The façades were decorated with colonnades; and in the centre a large rectangular room (No. 60 in the plans) rose higher, special emphasis being laid upon it—as in some of the Roman villas represented in the landscapes painted in Pompeian houses (cf. esp. Mitt. 1911, 73 sqq., pl. viii. 1). Villas with a similar plan have been found at Val Catena, on the island of Brioni, near Pola (OJ 1907, Beibl.

<sup>1</sup> A fragment of one of the fountains, found near the arch of Constantine, is now in the Museo Mussolini (Bocconi, *Musei Capitolini*, 293, No. 11).

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

46 ; 1915, Beibl. 133 ; Swoboda, *Römische und Romanische Paläste*, 51 sqq.).

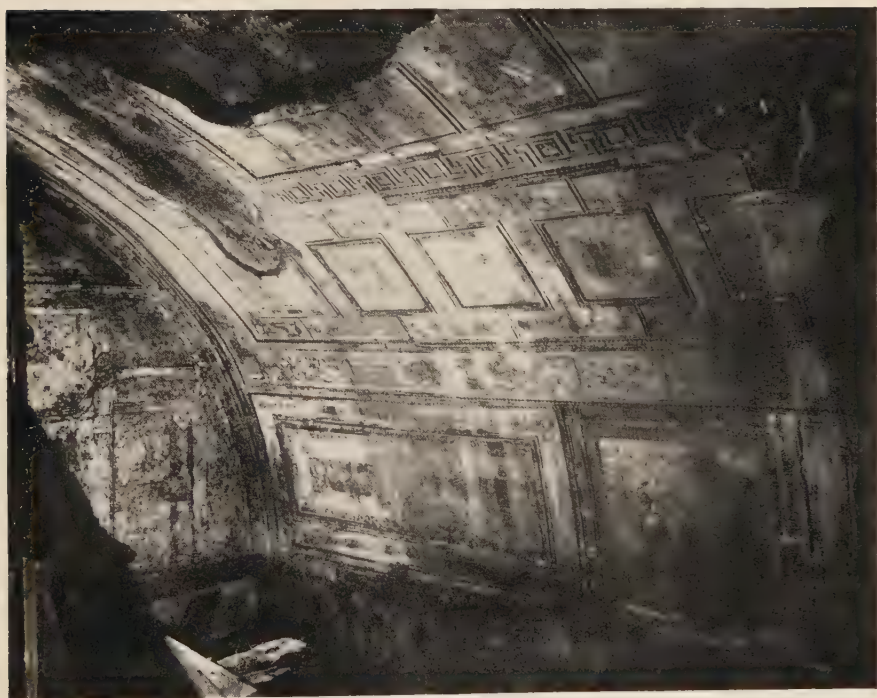
The wings are disproportionately large. Behind the façade of the west wing is a row of long and comparatively narrow rooms, each divided into two parts by niches, so as to serve as triclinia either in summer or in winter. At the back they opened on a garden with a fountain in the centre ; and behind it again is a long, lofty cryptoporticus, at the beginning of which traces of mosaic pavements, belonging to earlier houses on the site, may be seen. The east wing is quite different in arrangement, and not all the rooms have yet been cleared (an up-to-date plan of the whole will be found in ZA 136, 137). In one of them (76) we see the earliest existing example of a groined cross vault ; while another (84) is interesting as being octagonal in plan, with a circular dome having an opening in the centre. This room appears never to have been completed.

The remains of this palace, which were damaged by fire in 104 A.D., were covered over and filled up by Trajan ((Ill. 16, in which the brickwork in the middle belongs to Nero, the finer brickwork with opus reticulatum, on the right, having been added by Trajan). The rough brickwork on the left is pre-Trajanic, but of uncertain age), who erected his huge *thermae* over them ; and they have therefore come down to us in a very fair state of preservation, especially as regards the paintings, though those of the west wing, which has been more completely opened up, have perished since their discovery in 1811 ; whereas those of the east wing, though known far earlier, have been far less exposed to the air. The ruins indeed have been known since the early Renaissance, and were visited by many of the artists of the time, and by their successors right onwards till the early nineteenth century. Many of their signatures are actually preserved, including that of Giovanni da Udine, the assistant of Raphael in the Loggia of the Vatican and elsewhere (Jahrb. d. Inst. 1913, 140-158). The paintings are all of them on a small scale (Ill. 21), with little figures painted or in stucco relief, often with stucco framing, and they must always have been difficult to see in the lofty rooms of the Golden House, to which, though well enough suited for 'columbaria,' this style of decoration seems to us singularly ill adapted ; while the execution, except in a few rooms (that in the centre of the whole building with the ceiling known as the 'Volta Dorata' (Ill. 22), and that in which the Laocoon was found—Nos. 60, 80 on the plans), is decidedly inferior to what we should expect from what Pliny tells us of the artist who was responsible for them, though no doubt, like Raphael, he had numerous assistants (NH xxxv. 120 : *fuit et nuper gravis ac severus idemque floridissimus pictor Famulus* (so the MSS. ; the editors prefer Amulius or Fabullus) . . . *paucis diei horis pingebat, id quoque cum gravitate, quod semper*





21 DOMUS AUREA, WALL DECORATION (p. 170)



22 DOMUS AUREA, CEILING DECORATION (p. 170)



togatus, quamquam in machinis. carcer eius artis domus aurea fuit, et ideo non extant exempla alia magnopere).

For reproductions and a careful study of the numerous drawings and engravings of these paintings, see Weege in *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1913, 127-244, and *Ant. Denk.* iii. 14-18; cf. also *BC* 1895, 174-181; cf. *PBS* vii. 14 sqq. (where the legend *Palazzo di Tito* is very often incorrect); viii. 35-51; *Mitt.* 1911, 145-147; 1927, 66; *Mem. Am. Acad.* iv. 39, 40.

The great reservoir known as the Sette Sale, which really consists of nine great chambers side by side, also belonged originally to the Golden House, as its construction and orientation show, though it was later made to serve Trajan's *thermae*. Apparently rooms were built on top of it ('these vaults had buildings over them, for we found at the top of them mosaick pavement,' Pococke, *BM Add. MSS.* 22980, f. 15<sup>v</sup>, 16<sup>v</sup> writing about 1730).

As to the internal decoration, we are told that Nero collected hundreds of works of art from all over the world (cf. *Pausan.* v. 25. 9; 26. 3; ix. 27. 3; x. 7. 1; 19. 2) for the adornment of the palace (*Plin. HN* xxxiv. 84, who, after describing about 365 Greek statues, says that the best of them had been used for this purpose). For the rest, the coloured marbles were in great part removed by Trajan; and the gems and pearls mentioned by Suetonius seem to have shared their fate. Nor have the dining-rooms as yet come to light, which he describes, with their ceilings of ivory plaques, through which flowers could be scattered, or pierced with pipes for spraying perfumes—still less the circular one which continually revolved day and night. Nor have traces of either salt or sulphurous water been recognised in the channels and pipes. Either there is much more yet to be found, or his account is somewhat exaggerated. But the palace is sufficiently interesting as it is.

At the time of Nero's death the Golden House was not completed (e.g. the *cryptoporticus* in the west wing had only its ceiling painted, the walls having been only roughly plastered, and the pavement not yet laid), and Otho at once assigned a large sum (50,000,000 sesterces, or £500,000 for its completion (*Suet. Otho* 7). *Vitellius* and his wife are said to have ridiculed it as mean and lacking in comfort (*Cass. Dio* lxiv. 4), but this may have been only gossip.

Vespasian and his successors, who knew how unpopular its construction had been, vied with one another in restoring its site to public uses. Cf. *Tac. Ann.* xv. 52: *in illa invisā et spoliis civium exstructa domo*, and the last two lines of *Martial's* epigram after its destruction, the rest of which we have already quoted:

Reddita Roma sibi est et sunt te praeside, Caesar,  
deliciae populi, quae fuerant domini.

He himself began by draining the lake in the centre of the park and erecting the Colosseum on its site, thereby restoring the streets of the

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

whole quarter to public uses once more. The works of art which Nero had collected in the Golden House were dedicated by Vespasian in the temple of Peace and other buildings erected by him (Plin. NH xxxiv. 84: *ex omnibus quae rettuli clarissima quaeque iam sunt dicata a Vespasiano principe in templo Pacis aliisque eius operibus, violentia Neronis in urbem convecta et in sellariis domus aureae disposita*).

His son Titus erected *thermae* (q.v.) opposite the Colosseum; but the main palace must have still remained in use during his reign; for Pliny saw there in 79 A.D. (the year in which Titus came to the throne and in which he himself died) the Laocoon, *qui est in Titi imperatoris domo* (NH xxxvi. 37). As in almost the next sentence he speaks of the works of art in the *Palatinae domus Caesarum*, the Golden House must be meant; though there is some doubt whether the Laocoon was actually found in Room 80 in 1506 (Jahrb. d. Inst. 1913, 231-239). There are also traces of alterations in some of the rooms at this period (ib. 161). On the Palatine the fire of 80 (Suet. Tit. 8; Hier. a. Abr. 2096; Stat. Silv. i. 1. 33) appears to have destroyed what the fire of Nero had spared, and Domitian was entirely occupied in rebuilding the imperial palaces. As we have seen it is unlikely that the vestibule had been destroyed as yet. Trajan had hardly completed Domitian's work when a fire in 104 A.D. destroyed the Golden House (Hier. a. Abr. 2120: *Romae aurea domus incendio conflagravit*; cf. Orosius 7. 12) and hastened his intention of constructing his huge *thermae* (q.v.) on the site. A number of the openings of the *domus Aurea* were walled up with concrete faced with brickwork and *opus reticulatum* (see Ill. 20) in order to give greater stability, and the rooms were filled with rubbish except for the construction of the oratory of S. Felicitas there in the sixth century A.D. Here was found a very interesting calendar (RE ii. A. 1583).

The vestibule was finally destroyed by Hadrian in 121 A.D., and the temple of Rome erected on its site; and after that the Golden House has no history. The *regio aurea* of the Middle Ages has wrongly been fixed here (RL 1909, 224-230); see AURA. Owing to the erroneous identification of the Baths of Trajan with the Baths of Titus, the ruins were called *Palazzo di Tito* during the Renaissance and in the seventeenth century, though De Romanis, Piale and Fea knew the truth as early as the 'twenties of last century. The history of the excavations is given by Weege (op. cit. 137-140), who also provides a full bibliography of drawings, plans, engravings, etc. (ib. 151-159). See also LR 361-365; LS i. 232; ii. 222-228; iii. 169; iv. 10; HJ 273-279; CRA 1914, 231; NA 16th June, 1914, 655-661; Hermes, 1914, 158-160; YW 1920, 84; ZA 128-144; RA 73-78. For the graffiti found in the west wing see BC 1895, 195-197.



- M. AURELIUS SOLANUS: on the Esquiline, east of the horti Maecenatis, west of the via Merulana (?), known only from a lead pipe (CIL xv. 7409; LF 23).
- AURELIA SEVERA: only known from a lead pipe found either on the site of the baths of Diocletian or to the east of it, towards the Praetorian camp (CIL xv. 7415).
- BALBINUS: somewhere on the Carinae (Hist. Aug. Balb. 16), but otherwise unknown, unless it be a mere invention from Suet. Tib. 15.
- BARONIA IUSTA: on the Esquiline (?), known only from a lead pipe (CIL xv. 7416).
- L. BELLIENUS: the house of an unknown person (RE iii. 253) that was burned at the time of the funeral of Caesar (Cic. Phil. ii. 91), and therefore near the forum.
- BETITIUS PERPETUUS ARZYGIVS: close to the ara incendii Neroniani on the Quirinal, under the present Palazzo dell' Esposizione, where various remains have been found (NS 1888, 493-6; RhM 1894, 387; LF 16). Arzygius was corrector Siciliae between 315 and 330 A.D. (IG xiv. 1078a=CIL vi. 31961; x. 7204). CIL vi. 1702=31904 is a dedication to another man of the same name, perhaps his son.
- BIBULUS (M. Calpurnius Bibulus, Caesar's colleague in the consulate in 59 B.C.): mentioned only by Appian (BC ii. 11). Its site is unknown.
- Q. BLAESIUS IUSTUS: on the Esquiline (?), known only from a lead pipe (CIL xv. 7418) of the end of the second century which bears his name and that of P. Aelius Romulus Augg. lib.
- BRUTTIUS PRAESENS: mentioned in the Notitia in Region III, apparently for some special reason. It probably was situated near the baths of Trajan. This Bruttius may have been the consul of 180 A.D. or a descendant of his (Pros. i. p. 241, n. 136-143; ii. p. 91, n. 355).
- CAECILIUS CAPITO. A lead pipe bearing his name was found west of the via Lata, north of the Saepta, and must have been supplied by the aqua Virgo (CIL xv. 7419; LF 15).
- L. CAECILIUS METELLUS: on the Palatine. It is mentioned only once (Cic. de Or. ii. 263), where it is called *cors* in jest.
- CAECILII. According to the legend S. Caecilia was exposed for three days to the heat of the calidarium in the baths of the house of her family, during the persecution of M. Aurelius. Excavations under the church dedicated to her in Trastevere brought to light (in 1899-1900) considerable remains of Roman brick walls of the first half of the second century A.D., intermingled with still earlier (though not republican) structures in opus quadratum. There are also later walls (third and fourth century) with rough mosaic pavements. In one room are circular basins, for the fulling of cloth or for tanning (see CORARIA SEPTIMIANA and cf. Mau, Pompeii, 416). To the upper floor

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

of the ancient building belongs the room heated with a hypocaust, now in the chapel on the right of the present church. The older basilica was perhaps to the left of this. See BCr 1899, 261 ; 1900, 143, 265 ; NS 1900, 12-14, 230 ; Cosmos Catholicus iv. (1902), 648 ; Leclercq in Cabrol, Dict. ii. 2765 ; HJ 638-639 ; ICh 229 ; Kirsch, Röm. Titelkirchen, 113-116 ; 149 n. 1, 155, 156.

CAECINA DECIUS : situated, according to the testimony of fourth century inscriptions (CIL vi. 1192 ; xv. 7420), on the south-west side of the Aventine, above the porta Lavernalis, near S. Alessio (LF 34 ; HJ 165).

CAECINA LARGUS : see DOMUS CRASSI, DOMUS SCAURI.

CAELIA GALLA : see MAECIUS BLANDUS.

M. CAELIUS : a house on the Palatine hired by Caelius in order to be near Cicero (Cic. pro Cael. 18).

CAELIUS SATURNINUS : a house belonging to the Caelii of the fourth century, situated between the via Lata and the western slope of the Quirinal, just north of the present Piazza della Pilotta, where inscriptions (CIL vi. 1704, 1705)<sup>1</sup> and remains have been found (Ann. d. Inst. 1858, 11 ; Nuove Mem. d. Ist. 298-333).

CAESAR : in the Subura, where Julius Caesar lived (Suet. Caes. 46), and where the grammarian Antonius Gniphio taught for a time before he had a house of his own (Suet. de Gramm. 7).

CAESETIUS RUFUS : of unknown location but near that of Fulvia, the wife of Antonius, who coveted the house and therefore caused the proscription of its owner (App. BC iv. 29 ; Val. Max. ix. 5. 4).

Q. CANUSIUS PRAENESTINUS : a lead pipe bearing his name was found on the Esquiline, near S. Maria Maggiore (CIL xv. 7423). He appears to have owned brickfields (ib. 913), and is mentioned in several other inscriptions. He was consul suffectus about A.D. 157 (Pros. i. 301, 341).

CARMINIA LIVIANA DIOTIMA c(larissima) femina. Her name occurs several times on a large lead pipe of the end of the second or beginning of the third century A.D., belonging to other owners also, P. Attius Pudens (Prosop. i. 181, 1132), T. Flavius Valerianus, C. Annius Laevonicus Maturinus (?), which was found between the porta Tiburtina and the porta Labicana in making the railway (CIL xv. 7424a ; LF 24). For her genealogy, see Pros. i. 305, 365.

SPURIUS CASSIUS : on the west slope of the Carinae. Sp. Cassius was put to death in 485 B.C. for alleged treason, and the temple of TELLUS (q.v.) was afterwards erected on the site of his house (Cic. de domo 101 ; Liv. ii. 41. 11 ; Dionys. viii. 79 ; Val. Max. vi. 3. 1).

CASSIUS ARGILLUS : the house of a certain senator, Argillus, which was said to have been pulled down by order of the senate, after its owner

<sup>1</sup> Ib. 1389 is the first line of this inscription (see 31905).

had counselled peace with Hannibal after the battle of Cannae (Serv. Aen. viii. 345). This was one of the stories invented to account for the name Argiletum.

C. CASSIUS LONGINUS: the famous jurist (Pros. i. 314. 428), who was banished by Nero. It is mentioned only by Juvenal (x. 16) and its site is unknown.

CATILINE: the only authority for the existence of a house of Catiline on the Palatine is a passage in Suet. de Gramm. 17; M. Verrius Flaccus transiit in Palatium cum tota schola docuitque in atrio Catulinæ domus, quæ pars Palatii tunc (before B.C. 4) erat. This passage is often (e.g. in Thes. Ling. Lat. Onomasticon, ii. 277. 35) referred to the house of Catulus (see the next article); but it may be argued that the adjective of Catulus is Catulianus (Plin. NH xxxiv. 77) just as Catullianus is the adjective of Catullus; whereas Catulina is admissible as a form of Catilina. We know nothing of its site; LR 119 places it 'on the edge of the hill facing the Circus Maximus'; Boni preferred to identify it with the house which he discovered under the so-called *lararium* of the Flavian palace (JRS 1913, 248; cf. DOMUS AUGUSTIANA, p. 161).

Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS: an unusually magnificent house (Plin. NH xvii. 2) built by Catulus after his victory over the Cimbri, on the Palatine hill, near his porticus (q.v.). It was on the site of the earlier house of Fulvius Flaccus, and was incorporated by Augustus in his house about 29 B.C. (Suet. de Gramm. 17; Varro, RR iii. 5. 12; Cic. de domo 102, 114; Val. Max. vi. 3. 1; JRS 1914, 211-213; HJ 57; but cf. DOMUS TRANSITORIA).

CEIONIUS RUFUS VOLUSIANUS: see DOMUS LAMPADII.

CENSORINUS: see DOMUS CICERONIS.

CENSORINUS TYRANNUS: see DOMUS TITI.

M. TULLIUS CICERO: on the north-east side of the Palatine hill, overlooking the forum, in conspectu totius urbis (de domo 100; cf. 103, 114; pro Plancio 66; ad Att. ii. 24. 3; Plut. Cic. 8). Cicero bought this house in 62 B.C. for HS. 3,500,000 (ad Fam. v. 6. 2; Gell. xii. 12) from Marcus Crassus (not P. Crassus as stated in Ps. Sall. in Cic. 2; Ps. Cic. in Sall. 14, 20). It adjoined the PORTICUS CATULI (q.v.), and was built on the site previously occupied by the house of the tribune M. Livius Drusus (Vell. ii. 14). When Cicero was banished, Clodius burned his house, enlarged the porticus of Catulus, and erected a shrine of Libertas (de domo 62, 116; App. BC ii. 15; Vell. ii. 45; Plut. Cic. 33; Cass. Dio xxxviii. 17. 6). After Cicero's recall legal proceedings were instituted, and he recovered the site, and damages sufficient to partially rebuild the house (Cass. Dio xxxix. 11 and 20; ad Att. iv. 1. 7, 2. 5, 3. 2). The house afterwards belonged to L. Marcus Censorinus, consul in 39 B.C., and to Statilius Sisenna, consul in 16 A.D. (Vell. ii. 14; HJ 58; Gilb. iii. 418-9).

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

Q. CICERO : (1) on the Carinae adjoining the temple of Tellus (Cic. ad Q. Fr. ii. 3. 7 ; iii. 1. 14 ; de har. resp. 31 ; Gilb. iii. 356 ; HJ 324). (2) on the Palatine hill, near his brother's house, but mentioned only once (ad Att. iv. 3. 2).

L. FABIVS CILO : presented by Septimius Severus to Cilo, his intimate friend and praefectus urbi in 203 A.D. (Vict. Ep. 20. 6 ; Pros. ii. 45. 20). It is mentioned in the Regionary Catalogue in Region XII, and on an inscribed lead pipe (CIL xv. 7447) found near S. Balbina, on the Aventine (Bull. d. Inst. 1859, 164 ; NS 1884, 223 ; BC 1916, 198). Considerable remains of substructions, of an earlier date, however, still exist on the way up to and under the monastery, while the church itself was formed out of a rectangular hall of the house (Mon. L. i. 490). A fragment (43, cf. 58) of the Marble Plan may also indicate this house (LR 543 ; IJ 188 ; RE vi. 1767 ; ZA 279-280) ; Kirsch, Röm. Titelkirchen, 94-96).

APPIVS CLAVDIVS : mentioned only once (Liv. ii. 49. 5) as being near the forum.

APPIVS CLAVDIVS MARTIALIS : on the western part of the ridge of the Quirinal, known only from a lead pipe found in the vigna of the Cardinal d'Este in the sixteenth century, corresponding with the west part of the Palazzo del Quirinale (CIL xv. 7427). Appius Claudius Martialis was leg. Aug. pro praet. Prov. Thraciae (161-169 A.D. ; Pros. i. 387. 743). Cf. Hülsen, Röm. Antikengärten 87 ; HJ 423, 424.

APPIVS CLAVDIVS PVLCHER : only mentioned once as in Campo Martio extremo (Varro, RR iii. 25). See Constans, Un correspondant de Ciceron, Appius Claudius Pulcher, p. 14, n. 1.

CLAVDIVS CENTVMALVS : an apartment house (*insula*) on the Caelian, which the owner was ordered to demolish because its height interfered with the observations of the augurs. Notwithstanding this order, he sold it to P. Calpurnius Lanarius, and was sued by the latter for damages (Cic. de off. iii. 66 ; Val. Max. viii. 2. 1).

TI. CLAVDIVS NERO : See DOMVS LIVIAE.

CLAVDIVI : on the Quirinal, near the thermae Constantini and the modern Palazzo Sacripante, where lead pipes inscribed with the names of T. Flavius Claudius Claudianus<sup>1</sup> and Claudia Vera c.f. (CIL xv. 7450, 7434) seem to indicate a house of the patrician Claudii. Here was also found a mosaic of a ship entering a harbour (BC 1878, 276 ; Cons. 268 ; Pros. ii. 66. 168 ; RE vi. 2356 ; BA 1925, 163, n. 33). Cf. BALNEVM CLAVDIVANVM.

CLEMENS : the church of Clemens, near the Moneta, is mentioned in the inscription on a slave's collar of the Constantinian period, tene me

<sup>1</sup> See ib. 7785 : T. Flavi Claudiani c.v., found at Campo Iemini, near Ardea.



quia fug(i) et reboca me Victori acolito a(d) dominicu(m) Clementis (CIL xv. 7192). Cf. Hieron. de vir. ill. 15. Presbyters of the titulus Clementis were present at the synods of 499 and 595.

Interesting remains of the house, belonging to the second and third centuries A.D., with a fine stucco ceiling in one room, are still to be seen. They include a Mithraeum, the most perfectly preserved of all known in Rome. They had been discovered in 1861 ff. by Father Mullooly; and they have recently been rendered permanently accessible by the construction of a drain (see CASTRA MISENATIUM). See Nolan, The Basilica of S. Clemente, 1914 (esp. 233 sqq.); CIL vi. 748; BCr 1870, 125-168; CRA 1915, 205-211; BC 1915, 69-70; AJA 1916, 105; HCh 238; Kirsch, Röm. Titelkirchen, 36-41; Leclercq in Cabrol, Dict. iii. 1873-1902; Mem. Am. Acad. iv. 56, 57.

CLODIUS: the house that Clodius intended to build, and apparently began, on part of the site of Cicero's house and that of his neighbour, Q. Seius (Cic. de domo 115, 116).

M. COCCEIUS NERVA: a lead pipe bearing his name was found on the Esquiline (CIL xv. 7437), which may have belonged either to the supply of a house belonging to him, or to a pipe line laid by him as curator aquarum in 24-34 A.D. (Pros. i. 428. 972).

COMMODIANA: a designation of the imperial palace found once in extant literature (Hist. Aug. Comm. 12: domus Palatina Commodiana), probably referring to the Domus Augustiana. The term is now sometimes used to denote the additions supposed to have been built by Commodus, but no such additions can be satisfactorily indentified; and it is better to suppose that we have to do with a piece of flattery on a par with the change of the name of the month of August (ib. 11; HJ 98).

CORNELII FRONTO ET QUADRATUS. Several pipes bearing their name were found near the so-called auditorium of the horti Maecenatis (CIL xv. 7438; LF 23). Fronto may be the tutor of M. Aurelius and Lucius Verus (Pros. i. 446. 1106, 1166).

L. CORNELIUS PUSIO: probably on the Quirinal, near the present Banca d'Italia, where some traces of walls (NS 1878, 368), fragments of a bronze statue (the head is well preserved) and an inscribed tablet (CIL vi. 31706; NS 1893, 194; PT 196) were found. This Cornelius Pusio was commander of the sixteenth legion under Claudius (Mitt. 1892, 197-203).

SEX. CORNELIUS REPENTINUS: near S. Alessio on the Aventine (?), known only from a lead pipe (CIL xv. 7439; LF 34), which mentions him as praefectus praetorio clarissimus vir, an office which he held at the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius (Pros. i. 461. 1168).

CORNELIA TAURI F. T. AXI (uxor): situated on the Quirinal, just east of the Via dei Serpenti in the Via Nazionale. This Cornelia was the

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

wife or daughter of Sisenna Statilius Taurus (Pros. iii. 263. 613, 623).  
T. Axius is unknown (CIL xv. 7440).

CORNELIA L. F. VOLUSI SATURNINI : known only from a lead pipe found among some earlier buildings under the southern exedra of the *thermae* Diocletiani (CIL xv. 7441 ; Pros. iii. 483. 661 ; BC 1887, 182—the name was repeated fourteen times).

CORNIFICIA : mentioned in the Regionary Catalogues in Region XII, next to the *cohors iv vigilum*, and on a lead pipe (CIL xv. 7442). It was probably between these barracks and the *vicus portae Raudusculanae*. Cornificia was probably the younger sister of Marcus Aurelius, who married M. Ummidius Quadratus (BC 1891, 210-216 ; Mitt. 1892, 296 ; Pros. i. 75. 546 ; iii. 469. 601).

COSMUS AUG. LIB. A RATIONIBUS : near S. Sabina, on the Aventine, where a lead pipe bearing his name was found in remains of a building of the early second century (CIL xv. 7443 ; LF 34 ; Merlin 319 ; Descemet, *Santa Sabina* 3 sqq.). De Rossi (Bull. d. Inst. 1855, 48) believes that the house of Caecina Decius Maximus Basilius included a part of this house.

L. CRASSUS : on the Palatine, near that of Scaurus, with which it seems to have been united at a later period, for the whole property belonged to Caecina Largus in the first century A.D. This house was famous for its six columns of Hymettan marble—the first set up in any private house in Rome—and for six lotos trees that were burned in the fire of Nero when they were more than 180 years old (Plin. NH xvii. 3-6 ; xxxvi. 7). Because of this magnificence Crassus was called the Palatine Venus.

M. CRASSUS ; see M. TULLIUS CICERO.

M. CURIUS DENTATUS : given to Curius, together with fifty jugera of land, by the people of Rome, *apud Tifatam*, that is, near a grove of oaks that was afterwards known as TIFATA CURIA (q.v.) (Fest. 49 ; Auct. de vir. ill. 33. 10 ; Hermes, 1911, 305-308).

DAPHNIS : in the *via Tecta* in the *campus Martius*, near the *Tarentum*, previously the property of an unknown Daphnis, but belonging in 88 A.D. to Julius Martialis (Mart. iii. 5. 6).

DIADUMENUS AUG. L. A LIBELLIS : on the Caelian, near the present military hospital, known only from the inscription on a lead pipe (CIL xv. 7444) of about the middle of the first century A.D.

DION : mentioned only in Not. in Region X, and otherwise unknown (B reads *dionisiū*).

DOMITIANA : the house of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the father of Nero, on the *Sacra via*, in front of which the Arval Brethren offered sacrifices in his memory. Domitius died in 40 A.D., and the extant fragments

of the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* record three celebrations, in 55 (CIL vi. 32352), 58 (ib. 2041. 25), and 59 (ib. 2042 d). Cf. *Sen. Controv.* ix. 4. 18; Henzen, *Acta fr. Arv.* 61, 82; *Jord. i.* i. 509, 2. 286).

CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS : built during the principate of Augustus on the Velia, on the site of the shrine of Mutunus Tutunus (q.v.), which was said to have stood there from the foundation of the city (*Fest.* 154; *Gilb. i.* 156; ii. 369-370).

ELPIDIUS v.c. : on the Caelian, known only from the inscription on a slave's collar (CIL xv. 7190). This Elpidius may be the Helpidius who was proconsul of Africa in 402 A.D., and a correspondent of Symmachus (*Sym. Ep. v.* 78-98; *RE viii.* 208).

ENNIUS : on the Aventine (*Hier. a. Abr.* 1777; cf. *Suet. ed. Reiff. p.* 24), probably on its north-east slope near the southern end of the circus Maximus (*Varro, LL v.* 163; *HJ* 154).

EQUITIUS : on the Esquiline, adjacent to the church of S. Martino ai Monti, in which the Titulus Equitii was founded by Pope Silvester I (314-335 A.D.); see *Mon. L. i.* 484-489; *ASRSP* 1912, 1-117; *Kirsch, Röm. Titelkirchen*, 41-45; *HCh* 382, 383.

SEX. ERUCIUS CLARUS. A pipe bearing his name was found in the campus Viminalis sub aggere (CIL xv. 7445; *LF* 18). He may be identical with the man who was consul for the second time in 146 A.D., described by Gellius (xiii. 18. 2) as 'vir morum et litterarum veterum studiosissimus' (*Pros. ii.* 39. 69). CIL vi. 22471 mentions a slave 'de domo Eruci Clari.'

FABIUS FORTUNATUS : a house on the CLIVUS CAPSARIUS (q.v.) in Aventino Maiore. It is mentioned only in a fragment of the *Acta Arvalia* of 240 A.D. (*NS* 1914, 473-474).

L. FABIUS GALLUS : his name is mentioned on five pipes found in the Via dei Serpenti between the Via Cavour and the Colosseum, and on two found on the site of the Finance Ministry in the Via Venti Settembre (CIL xv. 7449). It is therefore uncertain what inference should be drawn as to the situation of his house.

FABIA PAULINA : see VETTIUS AGORIUS.

C. FABRICIUS : see COMPITUM FABRICII.

FAUSTA : \* mentioned once, in 313 A.D. (*Optat. Milev. de schism. Donat. i.* 23: *Convenerunt in domum Faustae in Laterano*). It may have been a part of the domus Lateranorum which continued to exist separately (*HJ* 243).

FLAMINIA : the house of the flamen Dialis (*Fest.* 89; *Gell. x.* 15. 7; *Serv. Aen. ii.* 57; viii. 363), probably near the atrium Vestae (*Cass. Dio liv.* 24).

FLAMEN QUIRINALIS : near the Doliola in the Velabrum, but mentioned only once (*Liv. v.* 40. 8).

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

FLAVIUS EUGENIUS ASELLUS : on the Capitoline hill. Asellus was comes largitionum in 469 A.D., and afterwards praefectus urbi (Sid. Ap. Ep. i. 7. 4; CIL vi. 1668).

T. FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS v.c. : see DOMUS CLAUDIORUM.

T. FLAVIUS SABINUS : the house of the brother of Vespasian (or of his son) on the Quirinal between the Alta Semita and the vicus Longus, just south of the present church of S. Andrea, as is shown by the discovery of a travertine cippus (Tac. Hist. iii. 69; CIL vi. 29788; xv. 7451; cf. Pros. ii. 73. 231; 74. 234—where these inscriptions are not cited; RhM 1894, 400, 401).

T. FLAVIUS SALINATOR. A lead pipe bearing his name was found to the east of the house of T. Flavius Sabinus (CIL xv. 7452).

T. FLAVIUS TIBERIANUS : on the Esquiline, known only from a lead pipe, of the second century (CIL xv. 7453), that was found at the corner of the Via Mazzini and Via Napoleone III. The house seems to have belonged afterwards to M. Tuticius Capito.

FLAVIUS VEDIUS ANTONINUS c.v. : on the Viminal, near the Ministero delle Finanze, known only from a lead pipe of the second or third century (CIL xv. 7456; but cf. Pros. ii. 77. 261).

FRONTO : see DOMUS HORATIANA, HORTI MAECENATIS.

M. FULVIUS FLACCUS : near the north corner of the Palatine, destroyed after the murder of its owner in 121 B.C. The house of Catulus was erected on its site (Cic. de domo 102, 114; Val. Max. vi. 3. 1 c).

C. FULVIUS PLAUTIANUS :\* on the slope of the Quirinal, north of the royal gardens, where some remains and two water-pipes bearing his name have been found (NS 1902, 132-133; 1903, 20). This Plautianus was the famous friend of Septimius Severus (HJ 424; Pros. ii. 96. 379).

FULVIA : wife of M. Antoninus, near that of Caesetius Rufus, but of unknown location (App. BC iv. 29).

GAIANA : see DOMUS TIBERIANA.

GALERIA FUNDANA, the wife of Vitellius : on the Aventine (Tac. Hist. iii. 70; cf. also Pros. ii. 107. 18).

GELOTIANA : a house on the slope of the Palatine, overlooking the circus Maximus, which Caligula seems to have incorporated in the imperial palace (Suet. Cal. 18; CIL vi. 8663). For a description of some existing remains, often identified with this house, see DOMUS AUGUSTIANA, p. 161, and for the frescoes, see PBS viii. 91-103.

GEMINIA BASSA c.f. : just inside the porta Viminalis, known only from a lead pipe of the beginning of the third century (CIL xv. 7463).

GENUCIUS MARINIANUS : just south-east of S. Maria Maggiore (?), known only from a lead pipe of the middle of the third century A.D. (CIL xv. 7464).



DOMUS: G. . . . AR. . . . T. . . . CERMANIANUS—HORTENSIUS 181

G. . . . AR. . . . T. . . . CERMANIANUS (*sic*) c.v. : known only from a lead pipe of the fourth or fifth century (CIL xv. 7462), found at the south-east corner of the *thermae Constantini*, near the Banca d'Italia.

GERMANICUS : the father of Caligula, on the Palatine and mentioned only by Josephus (*Ant. Iud.* xix. i. 15). Its location is unknown, and no identification as yet proposed is acceptable (HJ 85 ; v. *supra*, p. 157).

GREGORIUS MAGNUS : situated on the *clivus Scauri*, opposite the *Domus JOHANNIS ET PAULI* (q.v.). In it Gregory founded the church which still bears his name, in honour of S. Andrew, about 580 A.D. (LPD i. 312: *hic domum suam constituit monasterium*). Johannes Diaconus (*Vita S. Greg.* IV 83-84, in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* cxxv. 230) speaks of some paintings executed here during Gregory's lifetime by his order, representing himself and his parents, which are now no longer visible. The name *domus Aniciorum* is often applied to it, inasmuch as Gregory belonged to the family of the *Anicii Petronii*. Pope Agapetus I (535-536) had previously founded a library here, the dedicatory inscription of which is preserved, and some remains of which exist (*De Rossi, Insc. Crist.* ii. i. p. 16 ; LPD i. 288, n. 1 ; LF 35 ; LR 351-352 ; DAP 2. viii. 417-450 ; HCh 256 ; Leclercq in Cabrol, *Dict.* vi. 1753-1770).

(H)ATERIUS LATRONIANUS. A lead pipe bearing his name belonging to the middle or end of the second century A.D. was found at the north-west angle of the Finance Ministry (CIL xv. 7467 ; LF 10). The tomb of Q. Haterius (CIL vi. 1426 ; cf. *Pros.* ii. 126. 17) stood on the right of the *via Nomentana* not far off, and served as foundation to one of the towers of the *porta Nomentana* of the Aurelian wall (PBS iii. 38). See SEP. Q. HATERII.

L. HERMONIUS IUSTUS : see STABULA IIII FACTIONUM.

HOMULLUS : probably M. Valerius Homullus, consul in 152 A.D. (*Pros.* iii. 358. 61). The house is mentioned once (*Hist. Aug.* Pius 11), but is otherwise unknown.

HORATIANA : mentioned only in the Scholiast to Juvenal (i. 12) : *Frontonis. in Horatiana domo in qua poetae recitabant*. Cf. *HORTI MAECENATIS*. It is quite uncertain which Fronto is meant (Friedländer in loc.).

A. HORTENSIUS LICINIANUS : lead pipes bearing his name (end of second or beginning of third century) were found near the right bank of the Tiber, above the Mausoleum of Hadrian, in the so-called *Prati di Castello* (CIL xv. 7469).

HORTENSIUS (*aedes Hortensianae*) : on the southern half of the Palatine. This modest house was purchased by Octavian, and occupied by him before the building of the *domus Augustiana* (*Suet. Aug.* 72). It is probably to be identified with the *Domus Augusti* (q.v.) ; cf. JRS 1914, 192-211).

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

IOHANNES ET PAULUS : \* the house in which S. John and S. Paul (not the Apostles, but two officers who suffered martyrdom under Julian) were murdered, situated on the Caelian just south-west of the porticus Claudia, in the present Via di SS. Giovanni e Paolo (perhaps the CLIVUS SCAURI, q.v.), under the church of that name. The excavations show a private dwelling of the second century, enlarged and rebuilt in the third and fourth, in which, probably in the second half of the third century, a titulus was instituted (*titulus Byzantis*), while Pammachius founded the basilica at the end of the fourth century. The enlargement consisted for the most part in connecting two houses that had been separated by a narrow street. Upwards of thirty rooms have been opened up, among them a cavaedium, with five rows of three rooms each on the south side, bathrooms, storerooms and stairways. The discovery of an interesting Pagan painting with a marine scene in 1909 may be noticed. The house had three stories, traces of which are visible, and an arcade in front, with two rows of windows above. The façade resembles that of the houses of Ostia (NS 1887, 532 ; 1890, 79, 150-151 ; 1891, 161-162 ; BC 1887, 151-152, 321-322 ; 1892, 65 ; 1909, 122-123 ; Mitt. 1889, 261-262 ; 1891, 107-108 ; 1892, 297 ; AJA 1890, 261-285, pl. xvi., xvii. ; 1891, 25-37, pl. iv.-vi. ; Röm. Quartalschr. 1888, 137-147, 321-326, 404-405 ; Germano, La Casa Celimontana dei SS. martiri Giovanni e Paolo, Roma 1894 ; Grisar, Geschichte Roms i. 42-45 ; HJ 232 ; LR 350 ; DAP 2. x(i). 205-208 ; Wilpert, Mosaiken und Malereien, ii. 631-652 ; RAP ii. 29-31 ; HCh 277, 592 ; ZA 149-158 ; Kirsch, Röm. Titelkirchen 26-33).

C. IULIUS AVITUS : known only from the inscription on a lead pipe (CIL xv. 7471) found on the Viminal hill, under the Teatro Costanzi (BC 1880, 22). He may have been the husband of Iulia Maesa (Pros. ii. 169. 123). Here was found a fine statue of a hermaphrodite (PT 200).

IULII CEFALII cc. vv. : a little north of the aqua Antoniniana, about half-way between the porta Ardeatina and the porta Appia, where some ruins were found, and an inscribed waterpipe (CIL xv. 7472).

T. IULIUS FRUGI. A fragment of a marble slab bearing his name (CIL vi. 31717) was found on the site of the Banca d'Italia, but it does not give sufficient warrant for the existence of his house here (HJ 420), inasmuch as, though found in the ruins of a private house of the second century A.D., the place had been used by marble workers in the Middle Ages and the inscription itself was found in a modern drain (BC 1886, 185 ; 1922, 7 ; RhM 1894, 386, n. 1).

IULIUS MARTIALIS : in the via Tecta in the campus Martius, near the Tarentum (Mart. iii. 5. 5).

IULIUS POMPEIUS RUSONIANUS : on the south-west slope of the Quirinal, where three pipes, inscribed with his name, were found under the

Teatro Nazionale (CIL xv. 7475). Pompeius was (probably) *magister xvvirum sacris faciundis* in 204 A.D. (Pros. ii. 207. 320; CIL vi. p. 3261).

IULIUS PROCULUS: probably on the eastern side of the so-called *clivus Palatinus*, about at the north corner of the present *vigna Barberini*, although the exact location depends somewhat upon the extent of the *CLIVUS SACER* (q.v.). Iulius was the friend of Martial, to whom the poet sends his first book (Mart. i. 70).

IULIA VITALIS. A lead pipe bearing her name was found between the *agger* of Servius Tullius and the aqueduct of the *Anio Vetus*, at the corner of the *Viale Principessa Margherita* (now *Viale Principe di Piemonte*) and the *Via Mazzini*, now called *Via Cattaneo* (CIL xv. 7480).

IUNIUS BASSUS: see *BASILICA IUNII BASSI*.

IUNIUS (senator): only mentioned by Tac. Ann. iv. 64 as situated on the *Caelian*. Who he was, is unknown.

IUNIA PROCULA. A lead pipe bearing her name was found inside a fountain in the shape of a truncated pyramid, faced with marble, to the south-east of the fountain of the *aqua Iulia* in the *Piazzo Vittorio Emanuele* (CIL xv. 7482; LF 24; LA 431. 47).

M. LAELIUS FULVIUS MAXIMUS: known only from an inscribed waterpipe (CIL xv. 7483) found at the north-west corner of the *Ministero delle Finanze* on the *Quirinal*. Laelius was perhaps the consul of 227 A.D.

LAMIAE: see *HORTI LAMIARUM*.

CEIONIUS RUFUS VOLUSIANUS LAMPADIUS: on the *Viminal*, near the baths of Constantine (Amm. Marcell. xxvii. 3. 8). Lampadius was *praef. urbi* in 366 A.D.

LATERANI:\* under the church of S. John Lateran, to which it gave its name.<sup>1</sup> The house was presented to T. Sextius Lateranus, consul in 197 A.D., by his friend, the Emperor Septimius Severus (Vict. Epit. 20; CIL xv. 7536). It is probable, if not certain, that this was the *egregiae Lateranorum aedes* (Juv. x. 17) that belonged to Plautius Lateranus, who was executed by Nero for complicity in the conspiracy of Piso (see L. LUSIUS PETELLINUS, *Domus*), and that it was simply restored to the Laterani by Severus. The greater part of the remains that have been found belong to this period, including two rooms with mosaic pavement found under the pavement of the baptistery in 1924.

Although ordinarily called *domus Laterana* (Hist. Aug. M. Ant. 1), it must have fallen again into imperial hands, for Constantine presented it to Pope Miltiades in 313 A.D., after which time it continued to be the official residence of the popes until it was destroyed by the gradual enlargement of the Lateran basilica (LR 341-345; Ann. d. Inst. 1877, 332-384; HJ 243; LS iii. 80; Homo, Aurélien, 252-3; Lauer, Le

<sup>1</sup> HCh 272; cf. also S. Pancratius in Laterano, frequently mentioned in the eighth and ninth centuries (HCh 409).

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

LATRAN, 1-20 ; DAP 2. xv. 282-284 ; Wilpert, *Mosaiken und Malereien* i. 127-148 (for the painting of Roma from this house) ; YW 1924-5, 86).

LENAËUS : probably the house belonging to Lenaëus, a freedman of Pompeius, who is said to have taught on the Carinae, near the temple of Tellus (Suet. *de gramm.* 15).

C. LICINIUS CALVUS : the house of the orator that was occupied by Augustus for a time before he moved up to the Palatine (Suet. *Aug.* 72). It was near the forum, and above the SCALAE ANULARIAE (q.v.), but the location of these scalae is very uncertain.

LICINIUS SURA : see THERMAE SURANAE for the house on the Aventine. Sura probably had another house on the Caelian, near the Lateran, where the base of a statue with a dedicatory inscription (CIL vi. 1444) was found in the sixteenth century (LS iii. 75). See Pros. ii. 285. 174.

DOMUS LIVIAE : see DOMUS AUGUSTI.

M. LIVIUS DRUSUS : on the site afterwards occupied by the house of Cicero (Vell. ii. 14. 1 and 3).

LUCINA :\* on the via Lata, near the CATABULUM (q.v.), but probably separate from it. It belonged to a certain Lucina, who established in it the church of S. Marcello, called after Pope Marcellus (309 A.D.).

LUCINIANA : mentioned only once (Cic. *ad Q. Fr.* ii. 3. 7) *ad lucum* (the better reading for *lacum*) Pisonis, the location of which is entirely unknown (BC 1905, 229). Liciniana is the emendation generally adopted.

L. LUSIUS PETELLINUS. A lead pipe of the middle or end of the first century A.D. bearing his name was found on the site of the house of the Laterani (CIL xv. 7488). It may be conjectured that he became the owner of the house after the execution of Plautius Lateranus.

Q. MAECIUS BLANDUS : lead pipes bearing his name and that of Caelia Galla were found under the monastery of Aracoeli on the Capitol (CIL xv. 7489).

MAMURRA : somewhere on the Caelian (Plin. *NH* xxxvi. 48). This was the first house in Rome in which the walls were entirely faced with marble.

MANCINUS : see TIFATA MANCINI.

M. MANLIUS : an aedicula (Cic. *Paradox.* vi. 50) on the Carinae. This Manlius was consul in 149 B.C.

M. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS : on the arx, on the site of the later temple of Juno Moneta. The house was destroyed in 384 B.C. by order of the senate (Liv. vi. 20. 13 ; vii. 28. 5 ; Ov. *Fast.* vi. 185).

MARCELLA : somewhere on the Aventine, mentioned only by St. Jerome (Ep. 48. 96 ; cf. BC 1893, 11).



- T. MARCIUS FIGULUS : of unknown location, and mentioned only once (Liv. xliii. 13. 6) in 169 B.C.
- PUBLIA MARCIA SERGIA FUSCA c(larissima) f(emina). A lead pipe bearing her name was found close to that of Naevius Clemens in a group of *tabernae* (CIL xv. 7493 ; cf. BC 1881, 17 ; RhM 1894, 390 n.).
- C. MARIUS : built by Marius near the forum (Plut. Marius 32), but otherwise unknown.
- M. VALERIUS MARTIALIS : on the Quirinal, on a street leading from the temple of Flora to the Capitolium vetus (Mart. v. 22. 3 ; vi. 27. 1 ; x. 58. 9 ; xi. 1. 9). Previously Martial seems to have lived in lodgings in the street AD PIRUM (q.v.).
- L. MARIUS MAXIMUS PERPETUUS AURELIANUS : on the Caclian, in the present villa Fonseca, where inscriptions (CIL vi. 1450-1453) were found in 1553 (LS iii. 67-8). This Marius was consul in 197 or 198, and the historian of the emperors (Pros. ii. 346. 233).
- C. MARIUS PUDENS CORNELIANUS : known only from a bronze tablet (CIL vi. 1454) of the year 222 A.D., found near S. Prisca on the Aventine. Pudens was legatus of the seventh legion.
- P. MARTIUS PHILIPPUS. A lead pipe bearing his name was found on the right bank of the Tiber, opposite the island (CIL xv. 7492 ; cf. xiv. 169).
- MERULANA : known only from a letter of Gregory the Great (Ep. iii. 19) of 593 A.D., but probably dating from the early empire. It was near the church of S. Matteo in Merulana, that is, near the place where the Via Machiavelli crosses the old Via Merulana (HJ 351 ; HCh 386 ; Henze in Misc. Ehrle ii. (Studi e Testi 36) 405).
- M. VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS : (a) on the Palatine, see M. Antonius ; (b) on the Pincian ; known only from an inscription found in the Medici gardens (CIL vi. 29789 (cf. BC 1889, 208) ; it is not noted in Pros. iii. 368. 91 sq.).
- T. ANNIUS MILO PAPINIANUS : (a) on the clivus Capitolinus (Cic. pro Mil. 64) ; (b) on the Cermalus, called the domus Anniana (Cic. ad Att. iv. 3. 3 ; cf. NS 1898, 413 fragm. laud. Turiae and CIL vi. 69=30689, a dedication to the Bona Dea Annianensis ; see on ib. 30849).
- MUCIANUS : on the site of the *thermae* of Constantine (?) (CIL xv. 7496).
- Q. MUNATIUS CELSUS : just inside the porta Viminalis, and known only from an inscribed fistula (CIL xv. 7497). This Munatius was probably the procurator of Mauretania under Caracalla.
- L. NAEVIUS CLEMENS : known only from two inscribed lead pipes (CIL xv. 7499), one of which was found just inside the porta Viminalis, and the other on the slope of the Quirinal in the villa Aldobrandini. Either Clemens had two houses, or the water conduit was very long (RhM 1894, 385). The latter hypothesis is no doubt correct ; for the second pipe was found near the distributing reservoir.

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

NARCISSUS (CLAUDI LIB.) : probably on the west slope of the Quirinal, near the present Teatro Nazionale, and known only from inscribed fistulae (CIL xv. 7500 ; HJ 421).

NERATIUS CEREALIS : see BALNEA NERATII CEREALIS.

NUMA : said to have been on the Quirinal (Solin. i. 21).

CN. NUMICIUS PICUS CAESIANUS : on the Viminal (CIL vi. 31742-31743) at the corner of the Vic Viminale and Principe Amedeo (Ann. d. Inst. 1873, 131 ; BC 1874, 222-3 ; LF 17).

NUMMI : on the Quirinal, just east of the Ministero della Guerra. Inscriptions found here (CIL vi. 1748, 31378, 32024-32026) show that this house was occupied by several members of the gens Nummia in the third and fourth centuries (BC 1885, 5-10 ; 1886, 18-25 ; HJ 428 ; LF 10). For the Mithraeum, see Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, ii. 197. II.

OCTAVIUS : on the Sacra via (Sall. hist. fragm. ii. 45). The identity of this Octavius is not known (BC 1889, 351-355 ; Jord. i. 1. 286).

CN. OCTAVIUS : on the Palatine. It is described as *praeclara*, and was built by Cn. Octavius, consul in 165 B.C. It was afterwards bought and removed by Scaurus, in order to permit of the enlargement of his own house (Cic. de Off. i. 138).

L. OCTAVIUS FELIX : on the Viminal, known from the discovery of an inscribed fistula in its atrium at the south-west corner of the present railway station (CIL xv. 7503 ; BC 1872-3, 79-81 ; LF 17 ; Pros. ii. 426. 22).

OLLIANA : known only from an inscribed fistula (CIL xv. 7256) of unknown provenience, perhaps of the Christian period (BC 1890, 74).

M. OPELLIUS MACRINUS : on the Caelian, near the Lateran, under which an inscribed lead pipe bearing his name (CIL xv. 7505) was found. He caused Caracalla to be assassinated, and became emperor in 217, but was defeated by Elagabalus and slain in 218 (Pros. ii. 433. 71).

PACILIANA : perhaps on the Palatine. It is mentioned only once (Cic. ad Att. i. 14. 7), where Quintus Cicero is said to have wished to buy it.

PACTUMEIA LUCILIA, on the west side of the Aventine, under the church of S. Anselmo, where considerable remains of an ancient house, with an interesting mosaic pavement (Orpheus) (still preserved in the monastery) and a lead pipe bearing her name were found (NS 1892, 314, 408, 477 ; 1893, 32, 70, 119, 194, 239 ; 1894, 313, 362, 405 ; CIL xv. 7507 ; LF 40 ; HJ 169 ; KH ii.).

PALATINA or PALATINAE : the general name for the palace of the emperors on the Palatine, according to the testimony of some inscriptions (CIL vi. 8656-8661 ; see DOMUS AUGUSTIANA).

**PALMATA** :\* near the Porticus Curva (see **FORUM TRAIANI**), according to Cassiodorus (Var. iv. 30). This is probably the same as the domus ad Palmam of L. Acilius Glabrio Faustus, consul in 438 A.D., in which the Theodosian Code is said to have been promulgated (*Gesta promulgationis Cod. Theodos. I*). Cf. also **AD PALMAM**.

**PARTHORUM SEPTEM** (domus) : probably near the site where the thermae Caracallae were built. These houses were among those which Severus presented to his friends (Not. Reg. XII; Vict. Ep. 20). They have been identified with some ruins to the north-west of the thermae (BC 1916, 204; ZA 278-279; Eranos, 1924, 88-90).

**PESCENNIANA** :\* the house of Pescennius Niger (Hist. Aug. Pesc. 12) in the **CAMPUS IOVIS** (q.v.; Pr. Reg. 136).

**PETRONIUS MAXIMUS** : on the Oppius, just north of S. Clemente, where ruins and inscriptions have been found (CIL vi. 1197-1198; HJ 303). Maximus seems to have constructed an open square here, before becoming emperor, which was probably close to his house in the via Labicana (see **FORUM PETRONII MAXIMI**).

**PHILIPPUS** : mentioned only in the Notitia in Region II. It may have belonged to the Emperor Julius Philippus (244-249 A.D.; HJ 252; LR 348).

**PINCIANA** :\* the house of the Pincii on the Pincian hill, which became imperial property afterwards. Domus Pinciana occurs only in Cassiodorus (Var. iii. 10), but it appears elsewhere as palatium Pinciorum or Pincis (Lib. Pontif. lx. 6, 8). Some of the marble decorations of this house were carried to Ravenna by Theodoric. See **AQUA PINCIANA**, **HORTI ACILIORUM**; and for the church of S. Felix in Pincis, cf. Eins. 2. 7; LP xcvi. 50; cvi.; HCh 252; Mon. L. i. 456-459, and the panoramas of Wyngaerde reproduced in BC 1895, pls. vi.-xiii.; 1900, iv.-ix.

**L. PISO** : known only from an inscribed pipe (CIL xv. 7513) found in the Via della Ferratella, near the porta Caelimontana. It probably had no connection with the house rented by L. Calpurnius Piso in 53 B.C. (Cic. in Pis. 61). The man may be identified with the consul of 57 A.D. (Pros. i. 284. 238), as Dressel suggests in CIL cit.

**PLAUTIUS LATERANUS** : see **LATERANORUM DOMUS**.

**C. PLINIUS SECUNDUS** : on the Esquiline, near the lacus Orphei (Mart. x. 19. 10; Plin. Ep. iii. 21). It had previously belonged to Albinovanus Pedo.

**CN. POMPEIUS** : on the Carinae, near the temple of Tellus (Suet. de gramm. 15; App. BC ii. 126; Vell. ii. 77; Cic. de Har. resp. 49). It was ornamented with rostra taken from captured pirate ships (Cic. Phil. ii. 68), and therefore called *domus rostrata* (Hist. Aug. Gord. 3). V. Domaszewski (SHA 1920, 6. A, 16) maintains that the name *domus*

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued*:

*rostrata* is a mere invention—as also the story that it belonged to the Gordiani, inasmuch as it must have perished in the fire of Nero (HJ 326). After the death of Pompeius the house became the property of Antonius (Cass. Dio xlviii. 38; Flor. ii. 18. 4; de vir. ill. 84), and later of the imperial family. Tiberius lived in it before his accession (Suet. Tib. 15), and in the third century it is said to have belonged to the Gordiani (Hist. Aug. Gord. 2, 3, 6, 17).

(b) According to Plutarch (Pomp. 40) Pompeius built himself a finer house than he had previously occupied, after the erection of his theatre. This second house was probably near his HORTI (q.v.) in the campus Martius and on the slope of the Pincian (HJ 492).

POMPONII: on the Quirinal, near the temples of Salus and Quirinus. This house belonged to a certain Tampilus, and afterwards to T. Pomponius Atticus. It was old-fashioned in its appointments, but had a delightful garden (Cic. ad Att. iv. 1. 4; xii. 45. 3; de legg. i. 1. 3; Nepos Att. 13). It continued in the possession of the Pomponii, for an inscription (CIL vi. 1492) found at the south-east corner of the Alta Semita and the clivus Salutis in 1558 (LS iii. 192) indicates that T. Pomponius Bassus, curator alimentorum under Trajan, lived here in 101 A.D. (RhM 1894, 398, 399; Pros. iii. 75. 530).

POSTUMII: on the eastern slope of the Pincian, between the horti Luculliani and the horti Aeliorum, where inscriptions relating to M. Postumius Festus (CIL xv. 7517), L. Flavius Postumius, praef. urbi in 271 A.D. (CIL vi. 1417), and T. Flavius Postumius Tiberius, consul in 301 (vi. 1418), have been found. Cf. HJ 420, 446.

POTITUS: on the Aventine, near the thermae Decianae, known only from the inscription on a slave's collar (CIL xv. 7181). De Rossi (BC 1887, 266, 293) refers it to the Potitus who was vicarius urbis in 379-381.

SEX. PROPERTIUS: somewhere on the Esquiline, according to the poet's own statement (iii. 23. 24; iv. 8. 1).

PUBLICA: see REGIA and ATRIUM VESTAE.

PULVERATA: known only from the inscription on a slave's collar (CIL xv. 7179; BC 1892, 11 ff.; HJ 524).

REX SACRORUM: see REGIA.

L. ROSCIUS AELIANUS PACULUS: on the Caelian, known from an inscribed pipe found at the entrance to the Villa Wolkonsky (CIL xv. 7523). Roscius was consul in 187 A.D. (Pros. iii. 133. 64, 66).

ROIUS HILARIO. A lead pipe (of the time of Augustus or even earlier) bearing his name was found, with another bearing the name of Rubellia Bassa (of the beginning of the second century A.D.), under the crepido of the ancient road between the Circus and the Palatine



(CIL xv. 7522, 7524). It is stated that the first pipe ran off towards the Palatine at right angles from the second (or, more probably, from another uninscribed pipe which ran parallel to it), and it may have supplied a house situated there (LA 447, syll. 159, 160 is more correct than BC 1877, 180; NS 1877, 204). For Rubellia Bassa see CIL xiv. 2610; Pros. iii. 137. 86.

ROSTRATA: see POMPEIUS.

C. SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS: see HORTI SALLUSTIANI.

M. SALLUSTIUS RUFUS TITILIANUS. A lead pipe bearing his name was found in the campus Viminalis sub aggere (CIL xv. 7526; LF 18; Pros. iii. 160. 67).

M. AEMILIUS SCAURUS: on a cross street between the Sacra via and the Nova via, perhaps that at the east end of the Atrium Vestae. The house of Cn. Octavius was removed by Scaurus to provide room for the enlargement of his own (Cic. de off. i. 138). This was decorated with four columns of Hymettian marble, brought to Rome by Scaurus in his aedileship in 58 B.C. for the adornment of a temporary theatre (Plin. NH xvii. 5-6; xxxvi. 6). These were afterwards removed to the theatre of Marcellus, where they stood in 42 A.D. The house belonged then to Caecina Largus (as well as that of Crassus, so that they must have been close together).

P. SCIPIO AFRICANUS: behind the tabernae Veteres, that is, just south of the forum. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, censor in 169 B.C., bought this house, with the adjacent shops and stalls, out of public funds, and built on the site the basilica Sempronia (Liv. xlv. 16).

SCIPIO NASICA: on the Sacra via, presented to Scipio (probably the consul of 191 B.C.) by the state 'quo facilius consuli posset' (Dig. i. 2. 37).

Q. SEIUS POSTUMUS: on the Palatine, bought by Clodius after he had caused Seius to be poisoned (Cic. de domo 115).

L. SEMPRONIUS RUFUS. A lead pipe bearing his name was found on the right bank of the Tiber, opposite the pons Agrippae, just outside the Aurelian wall (CIL xv. 7530).

M. SERVILIUS FABIANUS: on the Esquiline, just south of the clivus Suburanus and east of the porticus Liviae, known only from an inscription (CIL vi. 1517). Servilius was cos. suff. in 158 A.D. (Pros. iii. 226. 415).

SERVIVS TULLIVS: on the Esquiline, above the CLIVVS URBIVS (q.v.), probably near S. Pietro in Vincoli (Solin. i. 25).

C. SESTIVS: in the Subura, where remains and an inscription (CIL vi. 29790) were found near S. Maria di Monti.

T. SEXTIVS AFRICANVS: thought to have been at the corner of the Via del Babuino and the Via di Gesù e Maria, where a private house

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued*:

was discovered in making the foundations of the English Church of All Saints (NS 1880, 466; BC 1881, 29; LF 1; CIL vi. 31684; Cons. 288). The inscription is, however, fragmentary, and its provenance not absolutely certain (HJ 451). T. Sextius Africanus was consul suffectus in 59 A.D. (Pros. iii. 236, 464).

SEXTIA CETHEGILLA. A lead pipe bearing her name was perhaps found on the Esquiline, in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele (CIL xv. 7537). She was the daughter of the Emperor Pupienus (Pros. iii. 110. 805; cf. CIL vi. 1087=31237, 31750).

SILVERIUS. A lead pipe inscribed *pt Silveri v. in.* (the meaning of the first abbreviation is uncertain but is probably *presbyteri*) was found near the Lateran (CIL xv. 7538).

APP. SILVIUS IUNIUS SILVINUS: on the Quirinal, but known only from an inscribed pipe found in the vineyard of the Cardinal d'Este (corresponding with the western part of the royal palace) in the sixteenth century (CIL xv. 7539). Cf. APPIUS CLAUDIUS MARTIALIS.

D. SIMONIUS PROCULUS IULIANUS. He was praefectus urbi before 254 A.D. (Pros. iii. 248. 529; cf. Museo Italiano iii. 55). A lead pipe bearing his name was found south-west of the Casino dell' Aurora of the Villa Ludovisi (CIL xv. 7528; LF 9; cf. BC 1887, 102; NS 1887, 109), and the sepulchral inscription of one of his dependants (*alumnus*) on the via Salaria (Mitt. 1906, 88; CIL vi. 38271).

SISENNA STATILIUS: see DOMUS CICERONIS.

SPURIUS MAXIMUS: on the Quirinal, under the Palazzo Barberini, where an inscribed pipe (CIL xv. 7540) and some ruins of a private house have been found. This Spurius was perhaps L. Spurius Maximus, trib. vigilum under Severus (Pros. iii. 258. 583; Mitt. 1897, 85; BC 1872-3,<sup>1</sup> 227; HJ 427).

C. STERTINIUS XENOPHON: on the Caelian, known only from an inscribed pipe (CIL xv. 7544). Stertinius was the physician of Claudius (Plin. NH xxix. 7; CIL vi. 8905), and caused his death by poison (Tac. Ann. xii. 61, 67); cf. Pros. iii. 273. 666.

C. SUETRIUS SABINUS. This house has been located on the Aventine (LF 40; Merlin 321), but the evidence is insufficient (CIL vi. 1476; xv. 7546; Pros. ii. 425. 19).

P. SULLA: on the Palatine. It was seized by Clodius in the outbreak of 57 B.C. (Cic. ad Att. iv. 3. 3).

<sup>1</sup> The drawings of a nymphaeum with well-preserved paintings which was found in this house referred to in BC cit. are at Windsor (Inv. 12080, 12081; not in the volume referred to by Lanciani). There are also drawings in the Baddeley codex (xci, xcii; see PBS viii. 49, and reff., to which may be added Winckelmann, *Gesch. d. Kunst* vii. 3, § 6 (Werke v. 106=Opere, ed. Fea, ii. 54), 'das sogenannte Nymphäum an eben dem Orte hat der Möder vertilget').

SULPICIA PACATA. A lead pipe bearing her name (second century A.D.) was found between the church of S. Crisogono and the excubitorium of the seventh cohort of the vigiles (CIL xv. 7548).

SULPICIA C.F. TRIARIA. A lead pipe bearing her name was found north of the temple of Isis and Serapis in the third region (CIL xv. 7550; LF 30).

SURA: see LICINIUS SURA.

Q. AURELIUS SYMMACHUS: (1) on the Caelian (Sym. Ep. iii. 12, 88; vii. 18, 19), near the Villa Casali, where inscriptions have been found (CIL. vi. 1699, 1782, 31903).

(2) on the right bank of the Tiber (ib. i. 44; Amm. Marcell. xxvii. 3. 4), called *pulcherrima*, and burned in 367 A.D.

TAMPILIANA: see POMPONII.

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS: on the Velia, near the temple of Iupiter Stator (Liv. i. 41. 4), ad Mugoniam portam supra summam novam viam (Solin. i. 24).

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS: (1) ad Statoris (Plin. NH xxxiv. 29); (2) on the Esquiline, supra clivum Pullium ad Fagutalem lacum (Solin. i. 26), near S. Pietro in Vincoli (Jord. i. 1. 155, 157).

T. TATIUS: on the arx, the site afterwards occupied by the temple of Iuno Moneta (Solin. i. 21; Plut. Rom. 20).

TERENTIUS CULLEO. A lead pipe bearing his name was found at the corner of the (modern) Via Merulana and the Via dello Statuto, a little south-west of the porta Esquilina. He was consul suffectus in 40 A.D. (Pros. iii. 301. 54). See CIL xv. 7551; LF 23.

TETRICUS: on the Caelian: opposite the temple of Isis (v. INTER DUOS LUCOS). It was probably close to the boundary between Regions II and III, near SS. Quattro Coronati (Rev. Études Anc. 1914, 213-214; AJA 1914, 530), and was called *pulcherrima* at the beginning of the fourth century (Hist. Aug. xxx. tyr. 25). It belonged to C. Pius Esvius Tetricus, who was defeated by Aurelian in 274 A.D. V. Domaszewski (SHA 1916, 7. A, 10; 1918, 13. A, 49; 1920, 6. A, 28) regards the whole passage as a sheer invention.

TETTIUS DAMIO: on the Sacra via, known only from a mention in Cicero (ad Att. iv. 3. 3).

THEODOTE: mentioned only on a slave's collar (CIL xv. 7176), of unknown provenience.

TIBERIANA:\* the palace erected by Tiberius on the north-west half of the Palatine. It is first mentioned in the accounts of the assassination of Galba (Tac. Hist. i. 27 (Otho) . . . per Tiberianam domum in Velabrum, inde ad miliarium aureum sub aede Saturni pergit, cf. iii. 84; Suet. Otho 6; Vitell. 15 cum (Vitellius) . . . incendium (on the Capitol) e Tiberiana prospiceret domo inter epulas; Plut. Galba 24), and must

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

have been destroyed, not in the fire of Nero, but in that of 80 A.D. (Suet. Tit. 8 ; Hieron. a. Abr. 2096), for we are told that Vespasian *ὀλίγα ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ᾤκει*<sup>1</sup> (which, if this palace, as well as the domus Transitoria, had been destroyed, he could not have done at all), and, as the construction and the brickstamps show, have been rebuilt under Domitian. Remains of an earlier house, in opus reticulatum, may be seen on the north side of the hill facing the Capitol, in and under the later substructions.

Caligula extended the palace towards the north-east (Suet. Cal. 22 : partem Palatii ad Forum usque promovit, atque aede Castoris et Pollucis in vestibulum transfigurata, consistens saepe inter fratres deos, medium adorandum se adeuntibus exhibebat ; cf. Cass. Dio lix. 28 ; Josephus xix. 11 (71) certainly refers to the BASILICA IULIA (q.v.)), and thus made it into so imposing an edifice as to excite Pliny's remark *bis vidimus urbem totam cingi domibus Gai et Neronis* (NH xxxvi. 111).

Of the remains of the original building of Tiberius we know practically nothing ; but scanty traces of the extension of Caligula down to the temple of Castor and Pollux have been recognised in the course of the latest excavations—a peristyle with a large open water-basin, 26 by 9 metres (in which a fragmentary inscription *Ger]manici f.* was found, which has generally been referred to Caligula), in the centre, situated behind the temple and orientated with the domus Tiberiana—and higher up, of the reservoir, in three stories, by which it was supplied with water. Of the stairs which must have connected this vestibule with the palace on the hill above, nothing now remains (Mitt. 1902, 81 ; HJ 85 ; AJA 1924, 368-398). The cryptoporticus on the south-east side of the domus Tiberiana is sometimes attributed to Nero (ZA 198 ; Mem. Am. Acad. v. pl. 62) ; this would account for the break in the wall, where the branch to the DOMUS AUGUSTIANA (q.v.) goes off, which, of course, cannot be earlier than the time of Domitian.

Domitian appears to have reconstructed the whole palace ; the excavations of 1728 on the summit of the hill brought to light some fragments of columns and cornices, which appear to have belonged to his time (Mitt. 1895, 266-268), and some similar fragments still lie about the garden which occupies the site. Further excavations were carried on here in 1860 ff. as to which we have very scanty information ; the whole rectangle (about 100 by 150 metres) seems to have had a large courtyard with pillars in the centre and to have been divided into three approximately similar parts, to judge from Rosa's plan. A great deal of it (more than is generally supposed) rests upon arched substructions ; and that these have, as is only natural, undergone later repairs, is clear from the presence, a long way in, of a copy of the

<sup>1</sup> Cass. Dio lxxv. 10. 4. Josephus speaks of τὰ ἄνω βασιλεία (B. Jud. vii. 5. 4).





23 DOMUS TIBERIANA  
Inclined plane to Palatine (p. 193)



24 DOMUS TRANSITORIA, REMAINS OF  
Under Domus Augustiana (p. 195)



brick-stamp—CIL xv. 1081 (145-155 A.D.); but further investigation is needed. For some fine pieces of pavement in opus sectile, see PT 183.

It is, of course, easier to study the outer extremities of the palace. At the north angle we must attribute to Domitian the huge pile, on the level of the forum, erected over the peristyle of Caligula, but on a divergent orientation, which is commonly known as the temple of AUGUSTUS (q.v.) with the two halls behind it, often called the BIBLIOTHECA TEMPLI DIVI AUGUSTI (q.v.), into which the church of S. Maria Antiqua was inserted before the sixth century (HCh 309; Rushforth, PBS i. 1-123; Mitt. 1902, 74-82; 1905, 84-94; HC 161-180; Grüneisen, S. Marie Antique (Rome 1911); Wilpert, Mosaiken und Malereien, ii. passim), but by others supposed to be a reconstruction of the vestibule of the domus Gaiana (Jahrb. d. Inst. xxxvi. 1-36).<sup>1</sup> To him we must also attribute the reconstruction of the exterior of the substructions of the palace itself, and especially the double-tiered balcony above the clivus Victoriae—the so-called Bridge of Caligula (PBS vii. 118-120; AJA cit.); the rooms behind it are supposed to be guard rooms; see RA 63, 64; Mem. Am. Acad. iv. 46-48; HFP 67, 68.

A single-tiered balcony of the same form continues all round the exterior of the substructions as far as the east angle (JRIBA 1922, p. 561, fig. 8: ASA 135: the type is quite frequent at Ostia).

Hadrian enclosed the 'Temple of Augustus' group with a stately portico, with arcades connected by half columns. 'At the same time the lofty guardrooms on the slope above vanished, in their turn, behind even more lofty vaults and arches, which united the palace above to the new Atrium Vestae below, which is of the same period. As a link to unite these two great structures, Hadrian also built the majestic ramp by which one still ascends to the Palatine'; (AJA 1924, 398 and pl. x (Ill. 23); the plans in LF 29=LR 155 and ZA 193 are less correct).

On the south-west side of the palace there are traces of work of the beginning of the second century A.D. (HJ 78, n. 96), especially in the vaulted chambers described in BC 1894, 95-100; NS 1896, 162; LR 148, and in the open fish pond above them.

The domus Tiberiana is mentioned in Hist. Aug. Pius 10; Marcus 6; Verus 2, 6, as the residence of the emperors at that time (for the only evidence of reconstruction, see above), though by DOMUS COMMODIANA (Commodus 12) the DOMUS AUGUSTIANA (q.v.) is probably meant; and its library is spoken of by Fronto ad M. Caes. iv. 5, p. 68, Naber, and Gellius xiii. 20. 1 (from whom is probably taken the false statement in Hist. Aug. Prob. 2: *usus autem sum praecipue libris ex bibliotheca Ulpia—item ex domo Tiberiana: v. FORUM TRAIANUM*).

Cf. also CIL vi. 8653-5 for inscriptions of slaves attached to it

<sup>1</sup> The two small openings in the back wall, one leading into each of the two halls into which S. Maria Antiqua was inserted, are, however, as Hülsen has pointed out, no proper continuation of a monumental entrance of this kind (cf. HFP 43).

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

(8655a (=xiv. 4120. 3=xv. 7142), and 8656 should probably be added : the latter, which mentions domus Palatina, belonging probably to the time of Tiberius). It is also mentioned in the Notitia (Reg. X, Domum Augustianam et Tiberianam). See HJ 64, 76-79 ; ZA 178, 189-198.

For the graffiti (representing rope dancers) in a room at the lower level on the clivus Victoriae see Marucchi, *Di alcuni graffiti del Palatino* (1898) ; cf. *Forum Romain et Palatin*, 1903, 378-380 ; BC 1895, 195-196 ; AL 954.

TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS : (1) mentioned once (possibly twice) (Plin. NH xxxvi. 37, in connection with the Laokoon ; cf. xxxiv. 55). This house was probably part of the domus Aurea of Nero, occupied by Titus and adjacent to his baths (q.v.), and afterwards destroyed by Trajan to secure room for his *thermae* (LS ii. 222-228).

(2) on the Quirinal next to the *templum gentis Flaviae*, and standing in the fourth century (Hist. Aug. xxx. tyr. 33)—if it be not an invention, on the basis of Suet. Dom. i. 5 (cf. GENS FLAVIA, *TEMPLUM*) as V. Domaszewski thinks (SHA 1916, 7. A, 10, 11).

TRANSITORIA :\* a palace erected by Nero qua Palatium et Maecenatis hortos continuaverat (Tac. Ann. xv. 39 ; cf. Suet. Nero 31 : domum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit quam primo transitoriam, mox incendio absumptam restitutamque auream nominavit). Its object was to connect with the Palatine, not merely the HORTI MAECENATIS (q.v.) but other estates (HORTI LAMIANI, LOLLIANI, etc.) which in one way or another had come into the possession of the imperial house. It was destroyed by the fire of 64 A.D. and replaced by the domus Aurea. No remains of it were believed to exist, until the excavations made by Boni under the southern portion of the state apartments of the domus Augustana (Flavia) led to the rediscovery of the remains of a sumptuous and beautifully decorated palace in two stories. By some it is attributed to the DOMUS Q. LUTATII CATULI (q.v.), but this will not agree with the date of the construction. Others assign it to Claudius, owing to the existence of a quarry mark bearing his name on a piece of cornice found there ; but it is a good deal more likely that we have to deal with the remains of a part of the domus Transitoria (the attribution to the original house of Augustus (HJ 90) will not hold, as the remains are obviously of a later date) ; see Mem. Am. Acad. v. 116, 121, 122.

To the lower floor belongs a sunk garden ; one wall of it is occupied by a magnificent nymphaeum, once decorated with polychrome marbles, but terribly damaged in the excavations made by the Farnese in 1721 sqq. (Mitt. 1894, 22-26 ; LR 163 ; PBS vii. p. 48, No. 100, where the references to Breval's Remarks should read Ser. I (1726) ii. 298 ; Ser. II (1738) i. 84 sqq. ; Kirkhall's coloured engravings—copies at Eton, Bn. 13, 51-54). In the centre were two pavilions with



small columns, and between them garden beds, with vertical walls of curved slabs of marble, as in the 'Maison des Jardinières' at Timgad (III. 24). The wall opposite the nymphaeum is decorated with niches. On the south-west is a room with extremely beautiful paintings—small scenes from the Homeric cycle, within a framework in which blue and gold are predominant. What little remains of the polychrome marble pavement and wall facing shows extreme delicacy and beauty (YW 1912, 10-11; 1913, 22; BA 1914, Cr 73). The irregular curving concrete foundations which cut through the whole of this part of the building belong to the domus Aurea, as they are certainly posterior to the fire of Nero and equally certainly anterior to Domitian.

Two rooms to the north-east, wrongly known as the baths of Livia (HJ 90, n. 117), have been accessible since 1721; and their ceilings have been frequently drawn (PBS vii. p. 33, n. 24 (cf. Egger, *Krit. Verzeichn. d. Handzeichn. in Wien*, n. 114); *ib.* p. 60, n. 14, is there wrongly identified with the ceiling of the second room, which is, however, represented by Ronczewski, *Gewölbeschmuck*, p. 29, fig. 16, and by Parker, photo 2227). Fine coloured drawings of both exist in the breakfast-room of the Soane Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields in London.<sup>1</sup>

Beyond these rooms is a very large latrine, which has been wrongly thought to be the machinery chamber of a hydraulic lift, which would, it is supposed, have worked in a shaft over 120 feet deep found not far off (JRS 1913, 251). The dining-room with a revolving ceiling, which Boni supposed to have been worked by the same machinery, was in the domus Aurea (Suet. Nero, 31).

From each end of the nymphaeum a flight of marble stairs ascended to the upper floor. Under the later triclinium only the bed of the pavement is left; but to the south-west and north-east its white marble slabs can be seen, some three or four feet below the level of Domitian, who reconstructed this part of the palace with only one story, abolishing the lower floor entirely; while under his nymphaeum on the north-west may be seen a remarkably fine pavement of opus sectile, which when found showed clear and abundant traces of damage by fire. Close to it is a room which once contained a series of fountains, the water from which ran down to the nymphaeum below.

The piscina under the basilica of the Flavian palace is attributed to Nero by Boni (JRS 1913, 246), who wrongly refers Suet. *cit.* to the Palatine. See DOMUS AUREA, p. 166, and DOMUS AUGUSTIANA, p. 161. Cf. ZA 206-208.

Other remains belonging to the domus Transitoria have been found near the junction of the Nova via with the clivus Palatinus (AJA 1923, 402); for remains under the platform of the temple of Venus and Rome, see LR 197, 198; Mitt. 1892, 289, 291; Mem. Am. Acad. v. 121, 122.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Mitt. 1911, 145 (wrongly called Augustan).

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued*:

TULLUS HOSTILIUS: (1) on the Velia (Cic. de rep. ii. 53; Varro ap. Non. 531; Solin. i. 22).

(2) on the Caelian, destroyed by lightning with Tullus himself (Liv. i. 30. 1, 31. 8; Dionys. iii. 1. 5).

TURCI: between the Sacpta and the porticus Divorum, in the campus Martius, south of S. Marco, where remains and inscriptions have been found (CIL vi. 1772, 1773). L. Turcius Secundus was praef. urbi in 363 A.D.

M. TUTICIUS CAPITO: see T. FLAVIUS TIBERIANUS.

L. VAGELLIUS: on the Caelian, near the Ospedale Militare, where an inscribed pipe was found (CIL xv. 7555). Vagellius was cos. suff. in 44/46 A.D. and a friend of Seneca (Pros. iii. 347. 3).

VALERII: (1) on the Caelian, on the site occupied now by the Ospedale dell' Addolorata, where many remains of pavements, frescoes, and works of art have been found (LS iii. 69; BC 1890, 288 ff.; 1902 145-163; NS 1902, 268, 356, 463, 509; 1903, 59, 92), and eleven inscriptions (CIL vi. 1684-1694; PT 292) relating to the family in the fourth century. This house was offered for sale in 404 A.D., but found no buyer on account of its magnificence, while six years later, after the sack of Rome by Alaric, it was sold for almost nothing (vit. S. Melaniae iun. in Anal. Boll. 8 (1889), 31 ff. c. 14). It seems to have been transformed into a hospital—Xenodochium Valeriorum or a Valeriis (Greg. Magn. reg. ix. 82; LP xcvi. 15 (Stephanus III); xcvi. 81 (Leo III); LPD i. 482, n. 26, 456, n. 4; ii. 46, n. 108; Kehr, i. 43-44, 156; BC 1902, 150; Arm. 122-124; HJ 240; LR 347; Grisar, Geschichte Roms i. 48-50).

A little north of this site, in the villa Casali, were found other ruins and an inscribed basis of L. Valerius Poplicola Maximus, consul in 232 or 253 A.D. (CIL vi. 1532; cf. 1531; Pros. iii. 376. 121).

(2) on the Palatine, said to have been presented by the state to M. Valerius Volusus Maximus, dictator in 494 B.C. (Val. Ant. ap. Asc. in Pison. 52; JRS 1914, 208).

(3) in summa Velia, the house in which P. Valerius Publicola, consul in 509 B.C., lived until he was forced to tear it down because it seemed too much like a stronghold, and to build again infra Veliam (Liv. ii. 7; Cic. de rep. ii. 53; Plut. Popl. 10; Dionys. v. 19; Val. Max. iv. 1. 1). This site was afterwards occupied by the temple of Vica Pota (Liv. loc. cit.). According to a variant tradition, a house sub Veliis (Asc. in Pison. 52, ubi aedes Victoriae = Vicae Potae), or in Velia (Cic. de Har. resp. 16), was given to Valerius as a special honour (cf. Plin. NH xxxvi. 112, where there is no indication of site), or on the Palatine (Dionys. v. 39). The body of P. Valerius is also said to have been buried in a sepulchre given by the state ὑπὸ τῇ Οὐελίας

(Dionys. v. 48 ; cf. Cie. de legg. ii. 58 ; Plut. Popl. 23 ; Quaest. Rom. 79), and fragments of *elogia* of two members of the family, M. Valerius Messala Niger, consul in 69 B.C., and M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, consul in 31 B.C., have been found behind the basilica of Constantine, where they had probably been carried from their original position (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. pp. 190, 201 ; vi. 31618 ; EE iii. 1-4).

It is probable that the variants under (2) and (3) refer to one house, on the western slope of the Velia, where the sepulchre was also located.

M. VALERIUS BRADUA MAURICUS. A lead pipe bearing his name was found on the Aventine near S. Alessio (CIL xv. 7556). He was consul in 191 A.D. and curator aquarum (Pros. iii. 353. 31).

Q. VALERIUS VEGETUS : on the Quirinal, between the Alta Semita and the vicus Longus, near the Ministero della Guerra, where some remains and an inscribed pipe have been found (CIL xv. 7558). Valerius was cos. suff. in 91 A.D. (Pros. iii. 379. 150). See BC 1885, 11-17.

PUBLIA VALERIA COMASIA c(larissima) f(emina). A lead pipe bearing her name was found on the Esquiline, and another on the Aventine (CIL xv. 7559). If both belonged to the same conduit, it must have been an exceptionally long one. She seems to have been the daughter of the consul of 220 A.D. (Pros. iii. 379. 156).

VALERIA EUNOEAE. Lead pipes bearing her name were found in 1776 in the garden of the Barberini nuns, south-west of the south-west exedra of the thermae of Diocletian (CIL xv. 7560).

VARENIUS LIBERALIS. A lead pipe bearing his name was found on the Esquiline (CIL xv. 7562).

VECTILIANA : on the Caelian (Hist. Aug. Com. 16) in Region II (Not.), but its exact site is unknown. Commodus was killed in this house (Hist. Aug. Com. 5. 7 ; Oros. vii. 16 ; Chron. 147).

VEDIUS POLLIO : on the clivus Suburanus. Veditius bequeathed this house, which was famous for its magnificence, to Augustus, but that emperor tore it down to show his disapproval of such private residences, and built the porticus Liviae on its site (Ov. Fast. vi. 639-644 ; Cass. Dio liv. 23).

P. VERGILIUS MARO : on the Esquiline, near the horti Maecenatis (Donat. vit. Verg. 6 ; cf. however, BC 1914, 365).

VERUS : near the Domus Lateranorum on the Caelian (Hist. Aug. Marc. 1).

VESPASIANUS : on the Quirinal, in the street ad Malum Punicum, a site afterwards occupied by the templum gentis Flaviae (Suet. Dom. 1 ; cf. GENS FLAVIA).

VETTIUS AGORIUS PRAETEXTATUS ET FABIA PAULINA (uxor) : north-east of the porta Esquilina, between the Vie Rattazzi, Principe Umberto, Cappellini, and Principe Amedeo, where considerable remains (BC

DOMUS (names of owners given in the nominative)—*continued* :

1874, 58 sqq.) and inscribed pipes have been found (CIL xv. 7563). Vettius was praef. urbi in 367 A.D. From the apparent extent of this property, it may perhaps be regarded as *horti* (HJ 368).

VIRIUS LUPUS IULIANUS : on the western slope of the Quirinal, where ruins and inscriptions have been found in the Via dei Serpenti, near the Banca d'Italia (CIL vi. 31774 ; NS 1910, 420 ; 1911, 316 ; BC 1911, 202). Virius was legatus of Lycia and Pamphilia in the second century.

VITRUVIUS VACCUS : on the Palatine. It was destroyed in 330 B.C., when its owner, a native of Fundi, was put to death for treason. The site was afterwards known as Vacci prata (Cic. de domo 101 ; Liv. viii. 19. 4, 20. 8 ; Jord. i. i. 189).

L. VOLUMNIUS : on the Quirinal in the vicus Longus (Liv. x. 23. 6). Volumnius was consul in 296 B.C.

VULCACIUS RUFINUS : on the Quirinal, near the vicus Longus. The ruins of this house, and an inscribed base (CIL vi. 32051 ; PT 178) were found under the Ministero della Guerra. Vulcaci was consul in 347 ; praef. urbi in 349 A.D., and an uncle of the Emperor Julian (BC 1885, 17).

DUO AEDES : a locality, probably a street, mentioned only in Not. as in Region IX (Eranos, 1924, 88-90).

DUODECIM PORTAE. (1) Mentioned in the Regionary Catalogue in Region XI, and probably by Obsequens (77 : mula ad d. p. peperit). It was probably the name of the open space or street at the west end of the circus Maximus, derived from the twelve carceres of the circus. (2) Possibly a popular designation of some opening in the Servian wall (Plin. NH iii. 66), but no satisfactory explanation of this passage has been given (Jord. i. i. 203 ; ii. 86-88 ; Mitt. 1897, 157 ; Mél. 1909, 132 sq.).

DUAS DOMOS, AD : the name applied to the church of S. Susanna on the Quirinal, under which remains of a house of the third century A.D. have been found (Kirsch, Röm. Titelkirchen, 70-74).

DUOS AMANTES, AD : a locality mentioned in the life of S. Silvester (LP xxxiv. 3), so that the name probably goes back to classical times. A church of S. Salvatore ad duos amantes occurs in various documents of the eleventh century, and may be identical with S. Salvatore de Camiliano (HCh 433, 601) to the west of the Saepta.



## E

**ELAGABALUS, TEMPLUM:** a temple of the Syrian god, known officially as Sol Invictus Elagabalus (Hist. Aug. Elag. 1. 7, 17. 8), erected on the Palatine close to the imperial palace (see JUPITER ULTOR for a conjectural site) by the Emperor Elagabalus, into which he proposed to transfer all the principal cults of Rome (op. cit. 1. 6, 3. 4, 6. 7; Herodian. v. 5. 8; Aur. Vict. Caes. 23. 1; Cass. Dio lxxix. 11). It was dedicated in 221 (Chron. 147: Eliogaballium dedicatum est; Hieron. a. Abr. 2236), survived the death of Elagabalus for some time (Hist. Aug. Elag. 17. 8), but was afterwards destroyed by fire (Passio S. Philippi AA. SS. Oct. 9, 545; Mitt. 1892, 158), presumably before the date of the Notitia, in which the temple is not mentioned (HJ 106; RE v. 2221; WR 365-366; Rosch. iv. 1143-1146; DE ii. 2089; see GRADUS HELIOGABALI). V. Domaszewski, however, thinks (SHA 1918, 13 A, 150-153) that there would have been no more room on the Palatine, and puts it in eo loco . . . in quo prius aedes Orci fuit (Hist. Aug. Elag. 1. 6; cf. DIS PATER, AEDES). He also maintains that this suits the passage in the Vita S. Sebastiani (Acta SS. Jan. 20, p. 642), in which the martyr addresses the emperor 'stans super gradus Heliogabali'—in which case the martyrdom took place in the circus Maximus.

For a coin showing this temple, and coins and a capital representing the stone that embodied the god, see Ann. de Numism. 1890, 468; Mitt. 1901, 273-282; 1902, 67; SS&R 310-312.

**ELAGABALUS νεώς:** a temple of the Syrian god Elagabalus, built by the Emperor Elagabalus in some suburb (*ἐν τῇ προαστείῳ*) of the city as a summer residence of the deity (Herodian v. 6. 6-7). Into this temple, which is described as very large and magnificent, the stone that represented the god was carried with great pomp and ceremony. Nothing further is known of the building, which has wrongly been placed on the Esquiline (HJ 364; Gilb. iii. 114; Richter 315; RE v. 2221).

**ELEPHAS HERBARIUS:** mentioned in Reg. in Region VIII, and in mediaeval documents without the adjective (Mir. 29; Eins. 9; Graphia ap. Iord. ii. 532; Reg. Sublac. 138 ad a. 1003; LPD i. 490, 515, n. 13; ii. 75). The name survived in that of the mediaeval church of S. Abbacyri et Archangeli ad Alafantum (Arm. 563-4; HCh 162-3, 290; cf. 338 (templum maius (that of Jupiter) quod respicit super Alafantum), and the district is mentioned in a bull of Anacletus II (1130-8); cf. Jord. ii. 667. The

monument probably stood a little east of the forum Holitorium, near the present church of S. Galla. It was probably a statue, but the meaning of *herbarius* is uncertain. It has been interpreted as 'tame' (Hülsen in RE v. 2325), as referring to a resort of the *herbarii* meaning dealers in herbs (Jord. i. 2. 476; Arm. loc. cit.), and (more probably) as indicating that the beast was represented eating grass (Platner, CP 1917, 194, who cites as parallels CIL vi. 10209; NS 1899, 149; BC 1924, 188-196; 1925, 65; Eranos, 1925, 129; RAP iv. 305-385).

**EMPORIUM**: the landing place and market for the merchandise that was brought up the Tiber from Ostia. It is said to have been established by M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus when curule aediles in 193 B.C. (Liv. xxxv. 10. 12: *porticum unam extra portam Trigeminam emporio ad Tiberim adiecto*), and was probably at first not much more than an open space with wharf and offices, for it was paved and enclosed by barriers by the censors of 174 (Liv. xli. 27). It is not mentioned after this time, and as it lay between the river and the horrea Sulpicia, it became a part of the system of quays (*portus*) and warehouses (*horrea*) that extended along the left bank of the river for a kilometre south from the porta Trigemina.

Fragments of the wall and quay and of the steps and paved inclines which led down to the water to facilitate unloading have been found, and a few of the stone corbels, sometimes in the shape of lions' heads, which projected out from the quay and were pierced with holes for mooring rings. One or two chambers in *opus reticulatum* were found in 1919 and have been built into the embankment just above the Ponte Aventino. Farther back from the bank between the Vie Romolo Gessi and Beniamino Franklin, were ruins of a large rectangular structure of *opus incertum*, dating probably from the period before Sulla, which are often regarded as part of the Emporium, or sometimes (wrongly) as belonging to the PORTICUS AEMILIA (q.v.). They may be identical with the 'paries antiquus maior' mentioned as existing near the church of S. Petrus in Horrea in the eleventh century (HCh 416, 417). See Bull. d. Inst. 1868, 145-152; 1872, 134; BC 1886, 34; 1915, 330; 1916, 236; Sächs. Ber. 1848, 137 ff.; Jord. i. 1. 431-433; HJ 173, 178; LR 44-45, 511-513; Bruzza, Triplice Omaggio a Pio IX (1871), 39-46; DE ii. 2106-2108; RA 21-23). After the construction of the great horrea, the Emporium was largely used for unloading marble (Ann. d. Inst. 1870, 106-204; LR 511).

**EPICTETENSES**: a name found in one inscription (CIL vi. 31893; BC 1891, 356), which seems to mean those who lived in a vicus Epicteti, in Region XIV.

**EQUUS CAESARIS**: the equestrian statue of Julius Caesar, mounted on his famous horse with fore feet like those of a man, which the dictator set up in front of the temple of Venus Genetrix in the forum Iulium (Suet.

Caes. 61 ; Plin. NH viii. 155). It is said (Statius, *Silv.* i. 1. 84-88) that the original statue was one of Alexander and Bucephalus, the work of Lysippus, and that Caesar had substituted his own head for that of Alexander. If this is so, he must have altered the feet of the horse also (Jord. i. 2. 440 ; Sächs. Ber. 1891, 99-112).

**EQUUS CONSTANTII** : an equestrian statue of Constantius in the northern part of the later Comitium, close to the arch of Septimius Severus. The marble pedestal, bearing a dedicatory inscription (CIL vi. 1158 ; cf. add.) was set up by Neratius Cerialis, praefectus urbi in 352-353 A.D. It has been replaced on its brick base (CR 1899, 233 ; Mitt. 1902, 22).

**EQUUS CONSTANTINI** : an equestrian statue of Constantine in the forum (Not. Reg. VIII ; Eins. i. 7 ; 7. 8), to which the dedicatory inscription (CIL vi. 1141) is thought to belong. It may have stood on a low pedestal that still exists near the eastern end of the forum area. This base stands directly on the travertine pavement and is made of bricks on which blocks of travertine and fragments of marble columns were placed : the construction is wretched even for the time of Constantine (Jord. i. 2. 187-9 ; Mél. 1900, 209-222 ; Mitt. 1905, 74-5 ; Théd. 167, 220, 266 ; HC 140 ; CIL vi. 31246 ; EE iii. p. 256).

**EQUUS DOMITIANI** : a bronze equestrian statue of Domitian erected in the forum in 91 A.D. in honour of his campaign in Germany. Statius devotes one poem (*Silv.* i. 1) to a description and celebration of this statue. It stood on the concrete base discovered in 1903 near the centre of the forum (CR 1904, 139, 328-329 ; BC 1904, 75-82, 174-178 ; Mitt. 1905, 71-72 ; Atti 574-577 ; HC 141-144 ; DR 479-482). This base is 11.80 metres long and 5.90 wide, and its top is 1.50 metres below the level of the latest pavement. The mass cuts into the main cuniculus and one of the cross-passages, and dates from the Flavian period. In the top of the base are set three square blocks of travertine, in which are holes about 0.44 metre square and 0.15 deep, which seem well adapted to hold supports of some kind. In the east end of the base was a hollow block of travertine (over which was placed another block as a lid), containing clay jars, in which were sand, stone, pitch, and fragments of tortoise shell, and in one of them a small piece of quartz with a bit of gold attached, but nothing suggestive of funeral gifts. There seems to be little doubt that, as Hülsen thinks, the workmen who sunk the foundations for the statue came on a prehistoric tomb (for the pottery is identical with that of the necropolis near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina) and that, inasmuch as its true nature was unknown, the pottery was regarded as highly venerable and enclosed in the base of the statue. So also Von Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde* i. 417 ; and cf. *BUSTA GALLICA, DOLIOLA*.

The statue itself was undoubtedly destroyed in consequence of the damnatio decreed by the senate after the death of Domitian, and its



base concealed under the pavement of the forum. Over part of it Trajan afterwards erected a building (*not* the imperial tribunal) (BPW 1906, 221 ; CR 1906, 132, where Boni's misinterpretation of Plin. Panegy. 36 is discussed). It has been thought that the so-called Trajanic reliefs (generally, and rightly, attributed to the Rostra) are really Flavian, and once decorated the enclosure wall round this statue (SScR 142).

**EQUUS SEVERI**: a bronze equestrian statue of Severus in the forum, erected by the emperor himself to commemorate a dream (Herodian ii. 9. 6). It is probably represented on several coins (Cohen, *Sevère* 3-6, 8, 11, 14 (?) ). No trace of this statue has been found, and its position is unknown (Mél. 1900, 215-220 ; Théd. 167, 267 ; Mitt. 1905, 74-5).

**EQUUS TIRIDATIS REGIS ARMENIORUM**: mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue in Region VII. *Equos* is the reading of the *Curiosum*, and *equum* of the *Notitia*. The latter is probably correct, and this equestrian statue may have been erected by Nero on the occasion of the memorable visit of Tiridates to Rome (Suet. Nero 13. 30).

**EQUUS TRAIANI**: see **FORUM TRAIANI** (p. 239).

**EQUUS TREMULI**: an equestrian statue of Q. Marcius Tremulus, consul in 306 B.C., erected in front of the temple of Castor and Pollux to commemorate his victory over the Hernici (Liv. ix. 43. 22). It was still standing in Cicero's day (Phil. vi. 13), but had disappeared before the time of Pliny (NH xxxiv. 23). A concrete base in front of the temple of Divus Iulius has been believed to be that of this statue (NS 1904, 106 ; CR 1904, 330 ; BC 1904, 178-179 ; Atti 583, 584), but it certainly belongs to the Augustan period (Mitt. 1905, 73, 74 ; Pl. 260, 261 ; HC 155). To suppose either that so comparatively unimportant a monument would have been restored and placed in front of the new temple, or that, having been restored, it would so soon have disappeared, is almost impossible ; and it is far more natural to attribute it to a statue of Caesar himself. See **STATUA (LORICATA) DIVI IULII**.

**ESQUILIAE**:\* (A) the earlier general name for the **MONS OPPIUS** and **MONS CISPIUS** (q.v.), the two projections from the high ground on the east of the city afterwards known as the **mons Esquilinus**. *Esquiliae* is in form a place-name and was so treated grammatically (Cic. de nat. deor. iii. 63 ; de legg. ii. 28 ; cf. Madvig, Kl. Schrift. 299). It is derived from *ex-colo* (Walde, Etym. Wörterb. s.v. ; cf. *inquilinus*, and for fanciful etymologies, Varro, LL v. 49 ; Ov. Fast. iii. 245), and meant 'an outside settlement,' that is, the settlement on the Oppius and Cispius when that district was still beyond the limits of the Palatine city. Von Duhn's explanation (*Italische Gräberkunde* i. 468 sqq.) of *Esquiliae* as 'Nicht-Wohngebiet,' i.e. necropolis, is tempting. He points out that it was devoted to this use as early as the time of the Kings, though (p. 434) he also notes that very few cremation tombs have actually been found—so far as we can gather from the insufficient reports that are the only sources of our



information. In point of time its use is of course later than that of the necropolis of the forum, belonging as it does to the period after the enlargement of the Septimontium into the city of the four regions. Regio Esquilina was the second in the City of the Four Regions (Varro, LL v. 49-50), and comprised the Oppius, Cispius, Subura and Argiletum. Its eastern limit must have been the ancient necropolis which began near the present S. Martino ai Monti (KH i.). After the Servian wall was built, the eastern limit of the region probably coincided with the wall, and the adjacent district beyond was organised as the PAGUS MONTANUS (q.v.). At the end of the republic the PUTICULI (q.v.) were ultra Esquilias (Varro, LL v. 25). This region was well wooded at first, as is shown by the several *luci* (Fagutalis, Mefitis, Esquilinus, Lucinae) within its limits.

Esquiliae was the term in general use in the earlier period, at least in literature. Mons Esquilinus is found only once in Cicero (*de rep.* ii. 11) and for the first time, and is not used at all by Livy, Tacitus, Pliny, Suetonius or Martial, but it was adopted by Greek writers, and became common after the first century (RE vi. 683).

(B) the name of the fifth region of Augustus' city, which was entirely outside the line of the Servian wall, and therefore contained no part of the original Esquiliae. Of the republican Esquiliae, the Oppius fell in the third and the Cispius in the fourth region. It is not possible to determine the limits of this region in the Augustan period with certainty at all points, but in the fourth century its western boundary coincided with the Servian agger and wall from the porta Viminalis to a point just south of the temple of Isis, and from there appears to have run straight to the porta Asinaria. Thence it followed the Aurelian wall to the castra Praetoria, except between the amphitheatrum Castrense and the aqua Claudia, where it curved out some 200 metres. Its northern boundary was the street between the porta Viminalis and the gate in the Aurelian wall south of the castra Praetoria. Of this area, most of that part north of the via Tiburtina vetus was probably not included in Region V until the time of Vespasian (Mitt. 1897, 150-151). A large section of the region was occupied by parks, *horti* (q.v.), and there were numerous distributing stations of the seven aqueducts that entered the city at the porta Praenestina (Jord. i. 1. 183-185; HJ 254-273, 342; RE vi. 680-3; Gilb. i. 161-197; Pl. 444-474; DE ii. 2158-2167). For this reason the Esquiliae are called *aquosae* (Prop. iv. 8. 1, 58).

EURIPUS: known only from one inscription (NS 1908, 327), and of uncertain location, but apparently near the Tiber.

EURIPUS IN CIRCO MAXIMO (q.v.): a water channel, three metres wide, that Caesar built around the arena of the circus Maximus, just inside the lowest tier of seats, to protect the spectators from the wild beasts. It was filled in by Nero to provide more space for seats. The name was taken

from the channel between Euboea and the mainland at Chalcis (Suet. Caes. 39; Plin. NH viii. 21; RE vi. 1284; cf. p. 115).

EURIPUS THERMARUM AGRIPPAE (q.v.): a water channel through which water from the aqua Virgo appears to have flowed into the STAGNUM (q.v.) of the thermae (Ovid. ex Ponto i. 9. 38; Sen. Ep. 83. 5; Frontin. de aq. ii. 84; Strabo xiii. i. 19 (590)).

EVANDER, ARA: an altar of Evander on the slope of the Aventine not far from the porta Trigemina. It was believed to be of very ancient origin, and was still standing in the time of Augustus (Dionys. i. 32. 2; RE vi. 841; Merlin 106, 260; Rosch. i. 2918; Gilb. ii. 158; Pais, *Storia Critica di Roma* i. 226).

EXCUBITORIA VIGILUM: see COHORTIUM VIGILUM STATIONES.

## F

**FAGUTAL**: the early name of the western part of that spur from the Esquiline plateau, to all of which the name **MONS OPIUS** (q.v.) was afterwards usually applied. This is the part of the hill now dominated by S. Pietro in Vincoli, where the arx of the earliest settlement was probably situated.<sup>1</sup> **Fagutal** is a substantive form from *fagutalis* (Varro, LL v. 152: *Fagutal a fago unde etiam Iovis Fagutalis quod ibi sacellum*; Plin. NH xvi. 37: *Fagutali Iove etiam nunc ubi lucus fageus fuit*; CIL vi. 452; Solin. i. 26<sup>2</sup>), and was given to this hill because of the beech trees, the *lucus Fagutalis*, that covered it, some of which were standing at the end of the republic. **Fagutal** seems also to have been used of the shrine of Jupiter itself (Fest. 87: *Fagutal sacellum Iovis in quo fuit fagus arbor quae Iovis sacra habebatur*). The exact relation of **Oppius** and **Fagutal** is not clear, for while there is a distinct differentiation between the two in the description of the **Septimontium** (Fest. 341, 348), this separation is not so definite in the list of the **Argei** (Varro, LL v. 50). Probably **Fagutal** came to be regarded merely as one part of the **Oppius**, and was perhaps largely displaced in popular usage by **CARINAE** (q.v.), which seems originally to have designated only the extreme south-west edge of the hill (HJ 255-256; Mon. L. xv. 782-784, pl. xxv.; BC 1905, 199-202; 1914, 364-365; WR 116; Gilb. i. 162; Rosch. ii. 652-653). See **VICUS IOVIS FAGUTALIS**.

**FAUNUS, AEDES**: so far as is known the only temple of **Faunus** in Rome, situated at the north end of the island in the Tiber (Ovid. Fast. ii. 193-194: *Idibus agrestis fumant altaria Fauni / Hic ubi discretas insula rumpit aquas*). It was vowed in 196 B.C. by the aediles Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Scribonius Curio, who built it out of fines collected from three *pecuarii* who had been convicted of cheating (Liv. xxxiii. 42. 10). Two years later it was dedicated by Domitius (Liv. xxxiv. 53. 4) on the Ides of February (Ovid. loc. cit. Hemerol. Esq. ad Id. Feb., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 210=vi. 2302; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 87). Vitruvius cites it as an example of a prostyle temple (iii. 2. 3). It was built on the island probably because of the non-urban character of the god. There are no references

<sup>1</sup> The passage was written under the influence of Pinza's theories (Mon. L. cit.); but it is of course doubtful whether he is right in dividing the site of Rome into several separate villages (RE i. A. 1011); cf. p. 375.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen's text gives: *Tarquinius Superbus et ipse Esquilinus supra clivum Pullium et Fagutalem lacum*, without any hint of the variant *lucum*.

to it later than those of the calendar, and no traces have been found (HJ 637; Jordan in comment. in honor. Mommsen 359; and esp. Besnier, 290-303 and literature cited).

**FAUSTA FELICITAS**: a shrine on the Capitol, dedicated to Felicitas, and mentioned in the calendars in connection with Genius Publicus and Venus Victrix in such a way that it is uncertain whether there were separate shrines for the three divinities, or one for the three together (Fast. Amit. et Arval. ad vii Id. Oct., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. pp. 214, 245). It is probable that the same shrine is referred to in the Fasti Antiates under date of 1st July (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 248: Felici(tati) in Cap(it)o(lio); p. 331 (Oct. 9); Jord. i. 2. 46; RE vi. 2164; Rosch. i. 1474; WR 266; DE iii. 43-44).

**FAUSTINAE AEDICULA**: the name frequently, but without sufficient reason, given to a small shrine, of which the remains are visible between the temples of Vespasian and Concord at the foot of the Capitoline. It was built at the same time as the temple of VESPASIAN (q.v.), for its left wall rests on the foundations of the temple, which were made to project for that purpose. The building was 4.10 metres wide and 2.50 deep, and the marks of its vaulted roof are visible on the front wall of the Tabularium. The purpose of the structure is unknown, but in it was found a marble base dedicated to Faustina by the viatores quaestorii ab aerario Saturni, who may have used it for a schola (Mitt. 1893, 284-285; Théd. 160, 362; HC 93; DR 203-205).

**FEBRIS, TEMPLUM**. According to Valerius Maximus (ii. 5. 6) there were three temples of Febris in Rome: (1) in area MARIANORUM MONUMENTORUM (q.v.), of which the site is uncertain and nothing further is known (Jord. i. 2. 44-45; Gilb. iii. 98-99; RE vi. 2095-2096).

(2) at the highest point of the vicus Longus on the Quirinal (HJ 418; Gilb., RE locc. cit.).

(3) on the Palatine. Besides templum (Val. Max. loc. cit.; August. de civ. dei iii. 25; iv. 15), this shrine was called aedes (Theodor. Priscian. iii. p. 250, Rose), fanum (Cic. de nat. deor. iii. 63; Sen. Apoc. 6; Plin. NH ii. 16), νεὼς καὶ βωμός (Ael. v.h. xii. 11: οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ὑπὸ τῷ λόφῳ τῷ Παλλαντίῳ Πυρετοῦ καὶ νεὼν καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρύσαντο), and Cicero mentions (de leg. ii. 28) the 'ara vetusta in Palatio Febris,' and testifies to the antiquity of the cult. There is no doubt that these passages all refer to the temple on the Palatine, although some have no indication of site, but nothing more is known of the history of the structure or of its exact location (HJ 45; WR 245, 246; Gilb. iii. 62; RE vi. 2095-2096).

**FECUNDITAS, TEMPLUM**: a temple voted by the senate in 63 A.D. on the occasion of the birth of the daughter of Nero and Poppaea (Tac. Ann. xv. 23). It is possible that there is a reference to offerings made to Fecunditas at this time in the Acta of the Arval Brethren (CIL vi. 2043. ii. 9). There is no certainty whatever that this temple was ever built, although this is frequently assumed (Rosch. i. 1471-1472; RE



vi. 2098; Gilb. iii. 136; WR 336), in fact the contrary is far more probable, as the child died within four months.

FELICITAS (SACELLUM, ARA ?) : see THEATRUM POMPEI and GENIUS POPULI ROMANI.

FELICITAS (ναὸς Εὐτυχίας) : a temple planned by Caesar in 44 B.C., just before his assassination, and built by M. Aemilius Lepidus on part of the site previously occupied by the CURIA HOSTILIA (q.v.) of Faustus Sulla (Cass. Dio xlv. 5. 2). Nothing whatever is known of the later history of this temple (WR 266; RE vi. 2164; Rosch. i. 1473; Jord i. 2. 253; DE iii. 43-44).

FELICITAS, AEDES : a temple erected by L. Licinius Lucullus from booty taken during his campaign in Spain in 150-151 B.C., and dedicated by him after 146 (Strabo viii. 6. 23, p. 381 (ἱερόν); Cass. Dio, frg. 76. 2 (Τυχαιόν; cf. l. 10. 2)). For the embellishment of this temple L. Mummius presented Lucullus with works of art that he had brought from Greece, and certain statues of the Muses by Praxiteles from Thespiae which stood in front of the temple (Cic. Verr. iv. 4, 126; Plin. NH xxxiv. 69; xxxvi. 39). It was in front of this temple that Caesar broke the axle of his chariot when celebrating his triumph in 46 B.C. (Cass. Dio xliii. 21), and it therefore lay on the line of the triumphal procession. In describing this accident Suetonius (Caes. 37) says, 'Velabrum praetervehens,' but we know no other details as to its site (Jord. i. 2. 486; DAP 2. vi. 262; Gilb. iii. 106, 107; RE vi. 2163; Rosch. i. 1473). It was burned early in the reign of Claudius and apparently not rebuilt. Pais (Fasti Triumph. ii. 481) wrongly maintains that it stood close to the first-mentioned temple (see VELABRUM for the misinterpretation on which this theory rests).

FELICITAS IN CAPITOLIO. The mention in Fast. Ant. (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 331; cf. 339 and Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 100) may refer to an otherwise unknown shrine on the Capitol. See GENIUS POPULI ROMANI.

FERONIA, LUCUS IN CAMPO MARTIO : a grove of the goddess Feronia, known from one inscription that was found near the porta Salaria (NS 1905, 15 : Epigono Volusiano operi(s) exactori ab luco Feroniae). In or beside this grove there must have been a temple of the goddess, whose festival occurred on 13th Nov. (Fast. Arval. ad Id. Nov. : Feroniae in [ca]mp(o); cf. CIL vi. 2295=32482; i<sup>2</sup>. p. 335; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 117). To this temple allusion is doubtless made in Livy (xxii. 1. 18 : unde Feroniae donum daretur). Its exact site and history are unknown (HJ 483; RE vi. 2218).

FICUS NAVIA : a fig tree in the Comitium, near the steps of the curia and the statue of Attus Navius (Fest. 169; Dionys. iii. 71 : ἱερὰ συκή). It was said to have been the tree beneath which the wolf suckled the twins, Romulus and Remus, and to have been miraculously transported to the Comitium by the power of the augur Navius (Plin. NH xv. 77;

Tac. Ann. xiii. 58). It was surrounded by a bronze grating (Conon, Narr. 48: ἐπίπεδός ἱερὰ), and thereby marked a spot that had been struck by lightning (Plin. loc. cit.: sacra fulguribus ibi conditis). It was regarded as a symbol of Rome's power, and any sign of withering as an unfavourable omen which must be averted by the priests (Plin. loc. cit.; Fest. 169). This happened in 58 A.D., according to Tacitus (loc. cit.), who calls the tree *ruminalis arbor* (see below), and says that it had sheltered the twins 840 years before. The probable explanation of this tree on the Comitium is, that it had grown in a spot which had been struck by lightning and therefore was left unpaved and sacred; and, as this spot was close to the statue of Navius, the legend had developed that the augur had brought it over from the Lupercal (Jord. i. 2. 264, 356-7; RE vi. 2147-8).

FICUS, OLEA, VITIS: a fig tree, olive tree and vine, that stood in the middle of the forum, near the lacus Curtius in the time of Pliny (NH xv. 78). The fig tree is represented on the reliefs, and with the vine and olive may perhaps have grown in an open space about 4 metres square (where the STATUA MARSYAE (q.v.) also stood), between the inscription of Naevius and the reliefs, where there are no traces of pavement (RE vi. 2148; Hülsen, Forum, Nachtrag 15-19; HC 150). See **ROSTRA**.

FICUS RUMINALIS: the fig tree that stood close to the Lupercal, where Romulus and Remus were washed ashore and suckled by the she-wolf (Varro, LL v. 54; Serv. Aen. viii. 90; Fest. 270, 271; Plin. NH xv. 77; Plut. Rom. 4). Tradition said (see above) that this tree was removed by the augur Attus Navius and thenceforth stood on the Comitium. Ovid (Fast. ii. 411 ff.) states that only *vestigia* remained on the original spot in his day, but Livy, in telling the story of the twins, writes (i. 4): ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est. Elsewhere (x. 23. 12) he says that the Ogulnii, aediles in 296 B.C., erected a monument that represented the twins and wolf, ad ficum ruminalem. It is possible that the site continued to be called ficus Ruminalis, after the tree itself had disappeared (HJ 38; RE vi. 2147-2148). *Ruminalis*, according to one view, is to be connected with *Ruma*,<sup>1</sup> the Etruscan gentile name from which Rome and Romulus are derived (Schulze, Lat. Eigenn. 580-581; WR 242; RE i. A. 1225). The Romans themselves, however, derived it from *ruma*, *rumis*, breast (Fest. loc. cit.; cf. *Rumina*, the goddess of nursing, and Varro, RR ii. 11. 5: mamma enim rumis sive ruminare); and Herbig has put forward the view that *Roma* is the Latinised form, and as a proper name means 'large-breasted,' i.e. strong or powerful (BPW 1916, 1440 ff., 1472 ff.; summarised by Nogara in DAP 2. xiii. 279 and BC 1916, 141).

<sup>1</sup> The evidence, however, is insufficient: for the late brick-stamp (CIL ix. 6083. 30) is susceptible of another interpretation—C. Sext(ili) Romaei Tusc. Corssen, followed by Guidi (BC 1881, 63, 73; cf. Serv. Aen. viii. 63) connected it with *Rumon*, river (see **TIBER**). Cf. also RAP iv. 167-177.

**FIDES, AEDES** : a temple of Fides, afterwards known as Fides Publica (Val. Max.) or Fides Publica populi Romani (diplomata), on the Capitol. The establishment of the cult and the erection of a shrine (*sacrarium*, *ἱερόν*) is ascribed to Numa (Liv. i. 21. 4 ; Dionys. ii. 75 ; Plut. Numa 16), probably on the site of the later temple. This was dedicated—and presumably built—by A. Atilius Calatinus in 254 or 250 B.C. (Cic. de nat. deor. ii. 61, cf. Aust. de sacris aedibus 16), and restored and re-dedicated by M. Aemilius Scaurus in 115 B.C. (Cic. loc. cit.). The day of dedication was 1st October (Fast. Arv. Amit. Paul. ad Kal. Oct., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 214, 215, 242 ; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 114). This temple was in Capitolio (Fast. locc. citt. ; Plin. NH xxxv. 100), and vicina Iovis optimi maximi (Cato ap. Cic. de off. iii. 104), and probably inside the area Capitolina, at its south-east corner near the porta Pandana<sup>1</sup> (HülSEN, Festschrift an Kiepert 211-214), rather than outside (Hermes 1883, 115-116 ; Rosch. ii. 709). It was used for meetings of the senate (Val. Max. iii. 17 ; App. BC i. 16), and on its walls were fastened tablets on which international agreements were probably inscribed (Ann. d. Inst. 1858, 198 ff.). In 43 B.C. a great storm tore off some of these tablets (Cass. Dio xlv. 17. 3 ; Obseq. 128). The diplomata of honourably discharged soldiers were also fastened up here (CIL iii. pp. 902, 916 ; Suppl. p. 2034). The temple contained a painting by Apelles of an old man teaching a youth to play the lyre (Plin. xxxv. 100), but nothing is known of its appearance, construction or later history (Jord. i. 2. 42 ; RE vi. 2281-2283 ; Rosch. i. 1481-1483 ; WR 133-134).

**FIDES, TEMPLUM** : a temple of Fides on the Palatine, which, according to Agathocles, *περὶ Κυζίκου*, as quoted by Festus (269), was dedicated by Rhome, the daughter of Ascanius, who came to Italy with Aeneas. There is no other mention of the temple, and its existence is very doubtful (HJ 46 ; RE vi. 2281 ; Rosch. i. 1482 ; WR 133).

**FIGLINAE** (in figlinis) : a district on the Esquiline hill, just inside the Servian wall, so named from its potteries (Varro, LL v. 50 ; cf. Fest. 344 ; Jord. ii. 255).

**FLORA, AEDES** : a temple of Flora, built by the aediles Lucius and Marcus Publicius, in 240<sup>2</sup> or 238 B.C. (cf. BM. Rep. i. 469, n. 3) ; restored by Augustus, in part at least, and dedicated by Tiberius in 17 A.D. (Tac. Ann. ii. 49) ; and probably again restored in the fourth century by the younger Symmachus (Anth. Lat. iv. 112-114). It stood on the slope of the

<sup>1</sup> HülSEN conjectures that the legend of Aracoeli (Chron. Min. iii. 428 ; cf. Mirabil. 13) arose from a wrong reading of the inscription on an altar : ' Fidei Aug(ustae) sacr(um) ' as Fi(lio) Dei Aug(ustus) sacr(avit). See his Bilder aus der Geschichte des Kapitols (Rome, 1899, 31) ; Journ. Brit. and Amer. Arch. Soc. iv. 39-47 ; HCh 323 ; Town Planning Review xii. (1927), 162.

<sup>2</sup> So Vell. i. 14. 8 (acc. to CIL and HJ 118 ; WR makes it 241) ; Plin. NH xviii. 286 is the authority for the later date. The date of foundation is given as 28th April by Fast. Praen. (while Fast. Allif. (13th Aug.) refers to a restoration ; see CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 325) and the Floralia lasted from that date till 3rd May.

Aventine at the west end of the circus Maximus (Fast. Allif. ad Id. Aug. ; cf. CIL xv. 7172), probably on the CLIVUS PUBLICIUS (q.v.), which was built by the same aediles (HJ 118 ; RE vi. 2748 ; Merlin 95, 30 ; cf. AD To(n)SORES).

FLORA, TEMPLUM : a temple of Flora on the slope of the Quirinal (Varro, LL v. 158 ; Mart. v. 22. 4 ; vi. 27 ; Vitr. vii. 9. 4), undoubtedly on the site previously occupied by an altar that was said to have been erected by Titus Titius to the Sabine Flora (Varro, LL v. 74). Nothing is known of the date of erection of this temple, or of its history, except that it was standing in the fourth century (Not. Reg. VI). The site is not certain, but we are told that a clivus led up to the CAPITOLIUM VETUS (q.v.) from it, and that it was not far from the temple of Quirinus. It is claimed that two sites conform to the statement, one outside the Servian wall at the foot of the Quirinal, near the Piazza Barberini, and the other just below the Capitolium vetus, between it and the street ad Malum Punicum, the modern Via delle Quattro Fontane (HJ 412 ; RE vi. 2747).

FONTUS or FONS, ARA : an altar of the god Fontus or Fons on the Janiculum (Cic. de leg. ii. 56), near the burial place of Numa. Its exact site is, of course, unknown (HJ 624 ; RE vi. 2839 ; Rosch. i. 1497 ; WR 221 ; Walde, Etym. Wört. s.v. Fons ; Pais, Fasti Triumph. ii. 478).

FONS APOLLINIS : mentioned only by Frontinus (de aq. i. 4) as peculiarly wholesome. Its site is unknown (cf. LA 225 ; HJ 206).

FONS CAMENARUM : see CAMENAE.

FONS CATI : see CATI FONS.

FONS, DELUBRUM : a shrine dedicated in 231 B.C. by Cn. Papirius Maso from the booty that he had taken in Corsica (Cic. de nat. deor. iii. 52). Its site was probably just outside the porta Fontinalis in the extreme southern part of the campus Martius (cf. a fragment of the calendar found on the Esquiline in 1894, CIL vi. 32493, pr. Id. Oct. : <sup>1</sup> Fonti extra p . . . , probably to be completed portam Fontinalem, and Fest. 85 : Fontinalia fontium sacra unde et Romae Fontinalis porta ; HJ 483-484 ; RE vi. 2839 ; DE iii. 181).

FONS IUTURNAE : see LACUS IUTURNAE.

FONS LOLLIANUS : a spring somewhere on the western slope of the Caelian, known only from an inscription (CIL vi. 161 ; cf. HJ 206 ; LA 235 ; LS iii. 206 ; CIL vi. 30705).

FONS MUSCOSUS : mentioned only in Plutarch (de fort. Rom. 10 : *μουσκάσσα καλουμένη κρίνη*). It may have been in the forum Boarium (WR 257) ; see FORTUNA VIRGO.

<sup>1</sup> This date is incorrect ; other calendars record the Fontinalia on the 13th (cf. Fast. Ant. in NS 1921, 116).



FONS PAL . . . : perhaps to be completed as Palatinus, a spring known only from inscriptions (CIL vi. 157-160) and situated probably on the western slope of the Caelian (cf. FONS LOLLIANUS and literature cited).

FONS SCAURIANUS : a spring known only from inscriptions (CIL vi. 163-165), and probably on the Aventine near the present church of S. Prisca (HJ 169-170, 206 ; LA 235 ; LS iii. 206 ; CIL vi. 30705).

FORNIX AUGUSTI : \* probably an arch at the head of the pons Aemilius, remains of which and an inscription (CIL vi. 878) are reported to have been found in the fourteenth century. This inscription merely records a restoration by Augustus after 12 B.C. In 1551 two other inscriptions (CIL vi. 897, 898) to Gaius and Lucius Caesar were found near the temple of Fortuna Virilis, which may have belonged to the arch (LS iii. 39 ; Jord. i. 2. 485).

See BC 1924, 229-235 ; RAP iii. 179 ; Mitt. 1925, 337, 349, 350, for an identification with the ARCUS STILLANS (q.v.) and for a theory that it was an arch of a branch aqueduct of the Aqua Claudia (not the Marcia, as is wrongly stated) across the river (Frontinus, de aquis, i. 20 ; modum quem acceperunt (arcus Neroniani) aut circum ipsum montem (Caelium) aut in Palatium Aventinumque et regionem Transtiberinam dimitunt).

FORNIX CALPURNIUS : a decorative arch, mentioned only once (Oros. v. 9), that appears to have stood on the clivus Capitolinus, below the temple of Jupiter.

FORNIX FABIANUS or FABIORUM : an honorary arch erected on or over the Sacra via at the east end of the forum by Q. Fabius Allobrogicus in 121 B.C. to commemorate his victory over the Allobroges (fornix : Cic. pro Planc. 17 ; de or. ii. 267 ; in Verr. i. 19 ; Schol. pp. 133, 393, 396 ; Orell. ; arcus : Sen. dial. ii. 1. 3 ; Schol. Pers. iv. 49 ; vit. Salonini 1). This was the first arch of the kind in or near the forum, and was restored by the grandson of the builder in 56 B.C. (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 762=vi. 1303). Among the fragments discovered in 1540-46 (LS ii. 196), in 1882 (NS 1882, 222-6), and later, are the nine travertine voussoirs and the archivolt, which have hitherto been attributed to it.<sup>1</sup> It was therefore believed that the arch was single, 3.945 metres in diameter, and built of tufa and peperino with travertine facings (PAS ii. 28). Three inscriptions were also found (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 198 and p. 542, No. 763=vi. 1304<sup>abc</sup> ; DE i. 649), to L. Aemilius Paullus, the elder Africanus, and Fabius, who restored the arch, but these survive only in copies, and as the original size of the letters is not known, it is impossible to decide whether they belong to statues placed on top of the arch, or lower down on the structure (RE vi. 1739 ; PAS ii. 28 ; Hülsen, Festschrift für Hirschfeld 427). For further discussion, see HC 231 ; Ann. d. Inst. 1859, 307-325 ; Théd. 145.

The remains of the arch have recently been identified by Van Deman (JRS 1922, 26 sqq.) with some scanty remains of tufa foundations on the

<sup>1</sup> These really belong to the portico of the DOMUS AUREA (p. 168).

north side of the temple of Julius Caesar. She follows Gatti (NS 1899, 490) in attributing to it a fragmentary inscription (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 764) [*Q. Fabius L. f. Maxs*] *umus* [*aid. cur. restit*] *uit . . . ori*. The identification is accepted by Hülsen, Forum and Palatine, 36. The marble keystone and other fragments in the Tabularium, which are sometimes attributed to this arch (Bocconi, Musei Capitolini, 309), could only belong to a restoration, of which we have no record; and their provenance is doubtful.

**FORNIX SCIPIONIS**: a decorative arch erected by Scipio Africanus in 190 B.C. at the top of the clivus Capitolinus (Liv. xxxvii. 3. 7). In front of it were seven statues and two marble basins.

**FORNIX STERTINII**: an arch erected in the circus Maximus by L. Stertinius in 196 B.C., from spoils brought from Spain, at the same time with two other similar arches in the forum Boarium (Liv. xxxiii. 27. 4). These arches were surmounted by gilded statues.

**FORNICES STERTINII**: two arches erected by L. Stertinius in 196 B.C. in the forum Boarium, in front of the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, on which were gilded statues (Liv. xxxiii. 27. 4). See BC 1924, 197; Mitt. 1925, 334-338, 349-350.

**FORS FORTUNA, FANUM**: a temple of Fors Fortuna on the bank of the Tiber, outside the city, ascribed to Servius Tullius (Varro, LL vi. 17: dies Fortis Fortunae appellatus ab Servio Tullio rege quod is fanum Fortis Fortunae secundum Tiberim extra urbem Romam dedicavit Iunio mense; Dionys. iv. 27: ναὸς δύο κατασκευασάμενος Τύχης . . . τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἡύσι τοῦ Τεβέριος, ἣν ἀνδρείαν προσηγόρευσαν, ὡς καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλεῖται, where Fortis is incorrectly taken for an adjective and translated ἀνδρεία, as also by Plutarch (de fort. Rom. 5): πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἰδρύσατο Τύχης ἱερὸν Μάρκιος Ἀγκος . . . καὶ τάχα πού τῃ Τύχῃ τὴν ἀνδρείαν παρωνόμασεν ἢ πλείστον εἰς τὸ νικᾶν Τύχης μέτεστι), who is evidently referring to the same temple, although he attributes its erection to Ancus Marcius. That this temple was on the right bank of the Tiber is shown with reasonable certainty by the calendars (Fast. Amit. ad viii Kal. Iul.: Forti Fortunae trans Tiber(im) ad milliar(ium) prim(um) et sext(um); Fast. Esq.: Fort(i) For(tunae) t(rans) T(iberim) ad mil(liarium) I et VI; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 243, 211, 320), which, however, mention two such temples, one at the first, and the other at the sixth, milestone on the via Portuensis, the latter close to the grove of the Arval Brethren.<sup>1</sup> Both had the same festival day, 24th June.

In 293 B.C. Sp. Carvilius let the contract for a temple of Fors Fortuna near that of Servius (Liv. x. 46. 14: reliquo aere aedem Fortis Fortunae de manubiis faciendam locavit prope aedem eius deae ab rege Servio Tullio dedicatam). This was of course on the right bank of the river, but Carvilius' temple is mentioned nowhere else by name, nor is the day

<sup>1</sup> Here were found four dedications to Fors Fortuna (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 977-80=NS 1904, 366; CIL vi. 167-9; cf. BC 1904, 317-324).

of its dedication known. It cannot be one of the two temples of the calendars, for they were five miles apart (vid. sup.), and there must, therefore, have been three in existence in the time of Livy, to any one of which his notice of a prodigium in 2 B.C. may refer (xxvii. 11. 3 : in cella [aedis] Fortis Fortunae).

Finally in 17 A.D. Tiberius dedicated another temple to this goddess (Tac. Ann. ii. 41 : fine anni . . . aedes Fortis Fortunae Tiberim iuxta in hortis quos Caesar dictator populo Romano legaverat . . . dicantur). As the Fasti Esquilini at any rate antedate 17 A.D., and as the day of dedication was near the end of the year, not 24th June, Tiberius' temple cannot be identified with either of the two temples of the calendars. If our sources are so far correct, this made the fourth temple of this goddess in Trastevere.

There are four later references to a temple of Fors Fortuna on the right bank of the Tiber : (1) Plutarch, Brut. 20 : καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κήπων ἀπολελειμμένων οὗ νῦν ἐστὶ Τύχης ἱερόν ; (2) id. de Fort. Rom. 5 : τὴν δὲ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ Τύχην 'φόρτιν' καλοῦσιν . . . ὥς τὸ νικητικὸν ἀπάντων κράτος ἔχουσιν. καὶ τὸν γε ναὸν αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τῷ δήμῳ καταλειφθεῖσι κήποις ᾠκοδόμησαν ἡγούμενοι κακῆϊνον εὐτυχίᾳ γένεσθαι μέγιστον, ὥς αὐτὸς ἐμαρτύρησε ; (3) Donatus ad Ter. Phorm. 841 : Fors Fortuna . . . huius aedes trans Tiberim est ; (4) Not. Reg. XIV : Fortis Fortunae.

(2) plainly implies that Plutarch believed that the temple in the gardens of Caesar was built after Caesar's death, or at least after he had achieved success ; and (1) is consistent with this view. Therefore, if we are to attach any weight to Plutarch's statements in this matter, they must refer to the temple erected by Tiberius. (3) might refer to any one of the four ; and (4) to any but that at the sixth milestone from the city.

There remains to be considered Ovid's description of the festival of 24th June (Fasti vi. 773-786) :

quam cito venerunt Fortunae Fortis honores !  
 post septem luces Iunius actus erit.  
 ite, deam laeti Fortem celebrate Quirites !  
 in Tiberis ripa munera regis habet.  
 pars pede, pars etiam celeri decurrite cumba ;  
 nec pudeat potos inde redire domum.  
 ferte coronatae iuvenum convivia lintres,  
 multaque per medias vina bibantur aquas.  
 plebs colit hanc, quia, qui posuit, de plebe fuisse  
 fertur et ex humili sceptrā tulisse loco.  
 convenit et servis serva quia Tullius ortus  
 constituit dubiae templa propinqua deae.  
 ecce suburbana rediens male sobrius aede  
 ad stellas aliquis talia verba iacit.

Because of the plurals, *munera regis* (776) and *propinqua templa* (784), this passage is interpreted by some as referring to two temples of Fors

Fortuna, that is, the two mentioned in the calendars, at the first and sixth milestones, with one of which the temple of Carvilius either is (Mommisen, Wissowa, Peter, Gatti), or is not (Hülßen, Otto) identified. *Munera regis*, however, has no force in this connection, and lines 781 and 785 seem to refer distinctly to only one temple. If line 784 (*propinqua templa*) be interpreted in the ordinary way, Ovid must allude to two temples at least, and as two five miles apart can hardly be called propinqua, we must suppose that he has in mind that at the first milestone, the old foundation of Servius, and that built by Carvilius near it, which the poet erroneously regards as Servian. In this case also we must assume three temples in Ovid's time, that at the sixth milestone, of which nothing remains at present; one at the first, presumably that generally regarded as Servian, to which Varro and Dionysius refer, and Plutarch in *de Fort. Rom.* 5; and that erected by Carvilius. Both of these last two were close to the gardens of Caesar, and might have been within their limits, while that of Tiberius is distinctly said to have been in the gardens. This fact may have caused confusion in later writers, and Plutarch's topographical statements are frequently unreliable. The theory that Carvilius' temple may have been replaced by that of Tiberius is not supported by the language of Tacitus. There seems, therefore, to be no escape from assuming the existence of three temples near the first milestone and the gardens of Caesar, unless there is error in the sources.

One at least of these temples was in existence in the fourth century (Not.), and in this neighbourhood many small votive offerings in bronze have been found (NS 1888, 229; Mitt. 1889, 290-291). The ruins of a concrete podium faced with peperino, with architectural fragments, which were found in 1861, may perhaps belong to the temple of Servius (BC 1884, 26-27; Ann. d. Inst. 1860, 415-418). For the discussion of these temples, and further literature, see HJ 644-645; Becker, *Top.* 478-480; Rosch. i. 1501-1502; RE vii. 16-18; WR 256-257; Pr. Reg. 216; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 320).

FORTUNA: a temple dedicated by Trajan to ἡ πάντων Τύχη (Lydus *de mens.* iv. 7), to which offerings were brought on 1st January. Under this name all the special manifestations of Fortuna seem to have been comprised (Rosch. i. 1536; RE vii. 33).

FORTUNA, AEDES: a temple of Fortuna in the forum Boarium ascribed by tradition to Servius Tullius (Liv. xxxiii. 27; Dionys. iv. 27: *νεὸς Τύχης*). It was burned in 213 B.C. (Liv. xxiv. 47; Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 625)<sup>1</sup> and restored by a special commission (Liv. xxv. 7) at the same time as the temple of MATER MATUTA (q.v.). The day of dedication was the same (11th June; v. *Fast. Ant. ap.* NS 1921, 99). It contained an archaic gilded wooden statue, which was not injured when the temple was burned (Ov. *loc. cit.*;

<sup>1</sup> It is called *templum* in both passages.



Val. Max. i. 8. 11 ; Dionys. iv. 40). This statue was draped with two togas (Ov. Fast. vi. 570), variously called undulatae (Varro ap. Non. 189), praetextae (Plin. NH viii. 197), and regia undulata (ib. 194), so that its identity was in dispute. Some believed it to be a statue of Servius, others that of the goddess (Ov. Fast. vi. 571 ; Varro, Pliny, Dionysius, Val. Maximus, locc. cit. ; Cass. Dio lviii. 7 ; for the later history of this statue, see FORTUNA SEIANI, and cf. PUDICITIA PATRICIA and Rosch. iii. 3274-3275 ; Wissowa, Ges. Abh. 254-60.

The temple stood inside the porta Carmentalis (Liv. xxv. 7 ; cf. Mél. 1909, 123-127), and has sometimes been identified with the temple which has been converted into the church of S. Maria Egiziaca (for a complete description of which, see MATER MATUTA). If this is the case, which seems far from certain, the temple must have been entirely restored about the middle of the first century B.C., to which period the construction seems to point (Jord. i. 2. 484 ; Rosch. i. 1509-1510 ; RE vii. 19-20).

FORTUNA, AEDES : see LACUS ARETIS.

FORTUNA, Ἀποτρόπαιος, ἱερόν : a shrine mentioned only by Plutarch (q. Rom. 74) among those attributed to Servius Tullius. It has been suggested that the Latin equivalent of Ἀποτρόπαιος is Averrunca (Hartung, Rel. d. Römer ii. 238 ; RE vii. 31 ; Rosch. i. 1513).

FORTUNA BREVIS (ἱερόν) : a temple ascribed by Plutarch to Servius, and otherwise unknown (q. Rom. 74 : Διὰ τί μικρὰς Τύχης ἱερόν ἰδρύσατο Σερούιος Τούλλιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἢν 'βρεβεμ' καλοῦσι ; then follow varying explanations of this epithet ; Rosch. i. 1514 ; RE vii. 30).

FORTUNA DUBIA : see VICUS FORTUNAE DUBIAE.

FORTUNA EQUESTRIS, AEDES : a temple of Fortuna in her relation to the equites, vowed in 180 B.C. by Q. Fulvius Flaccus during his campaign in Spain (Liv. xl. 40, 44), and dedicated in 173 (ib. xlii. 10), on 13th August (Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 106). For the decoration of this temple Fulvius took some of the marble tiles from the temple of Juno Lacinia near Croton, but was ordered by the senate to restore them (Liv. xlii. 3 ; Val. Max. i. 1. 20). It is referred to under the date of 92 B.C. (Obseq. 53), and possibly of 158 (ib. 16), but it must have been destroyed before 22 A.D. when there was no temple of Fortuna equestris in Rome (Tac. Ann. iii. 71 ; cf. BPW 1903, 1648, for arguments to the contrary). This temple was near the theatre of Pompey (Vitr. iii. 3. 2) and is cited by Vitruvius as an example of a systylos, in which the intercolumnar space is equal to twice the diameter of the columns (HJ 487-488 ; Becker, Top. 618-619 ; Rosch. i. 1521 ; RE vii. 33-34 ; AR 1909, 76).

FORTUNA = Τύχη ἐνέλας : a shrine ascribed to Servius Tullius by Plutarch, who calls it ἱερόν (q. Rom. 74) and βωμός (de fort. Rom. 10). It was on the VICUS LONGUS on the Quirinal, and seems to have represented the combination of Fortuna and Spes that is so commonly found on coins

(RE vii. 41; Rosch. i. 1538-1539 and literature cited). The Latin equivalent of *εὐέλπης* is not known, nor anything whatever of the history of the structure.

**FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI, AEDES**: a temple vowed by Q. Lutatius Catulus on the day of the battle of Vercellae, 30th June, 101 B.C. (Plut. Mar. 26: *Τύχη τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης*), and dedicated by him on an anniversary of the battle (Fast. Allif. Pinc. ad III Kal. Aug., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 217, 219, 323). It was in the campus Martius (Fast. locc. citt.: in campo), but the exact site is unknown. This Fortuna is clearly the deity to whom the happy issue of each day is owing (Cic. de leg. ii. 28: *Fortunaque sit vel Huiusce diei, nam valet in omnis dies*, etc). Certain statues by Pythagoras of Samos stood ad aedem huiusce diei in Pliny's time (NH xxxiv. 60), but whether this temple is meant or that on the Palatine is uncertain (see below). In the sixth century (Procop. BG i. 15. 11) there was a stone replica of the Palladium which Diomede had brought from Troy to Italy *ἐν τῷ τῆς Τύχης ἱερῷ*, and it is generally assumed that this temple is referred to, although without much reason (HJ 491; Rosch. i. 1514; RE vii. 32).

Paribeni (BC 1915, 168) proposes to interpret Fortune Camcesi (sic) on the plinth of a statuette of Fortuna (CIL vi. 185=30709; MD 895) as an error for Campesi (Campensi) and to refer it to this temple.

**FORTUNA HUIUSCE DIEI**: a shrine of some sort dedicated to this goddess on the Palatine, as is shown by the existence of a VICUS HUIUSCE DIEI (q.v.). The date of its erection is not stated, but it was probably this temple in which L. Aemilius Paullus and (later) Q. Lutatius Catulus set up statues by Phidias (Plin. xxxiv. 54; see also above). Possibly Aemilius built the temple (cf. Aust. de sacris aedibus 26). Nothing is known of its later history (HJ 104; Rosch. i. 1514; RE vii. 32; WR 262).

**FORTUNA MALA, ARA**: an ancient altar dedicated to Fortuna mala somewhere on the Esquiline (Cic. de nat. deor. iii. 63; de leg. ii. 28; Plin. NH ii. 16; HJ 260; RE vii. 30; Rosch. i. 1513).

**FORTUNAE (TRES), AEDES**: three temples of Fortuna on the Quirinal, just inside the porta Collina, which gave their name to the district (Vitr. iii. 2. 2: *huius autem (sc. aedis in antis) exemplar erit ad tres Fortunas ex tribus quae est proxime portam Collinam*; Crinagoras Anth. app. iv. 40=48 ed. Rubensohn: *γείτονες οὐ τρισσαὶ μόνον Τύχαι ἔπρεπον εἶναι, Κρίσπε*).<sup>1</sup> The principal one of these three seems to have been that of the Praenestine goddess who was known officially at Rome as Fortuna publica populi Romani Quiritium primigenia (Fast. Caer. ad VIII Kal. Iun., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 213, 319: *Fortunae p(ublicae) p(opuli) R(omani) Q(uiritium) in colle Quirin(ali)*; Fast. Esquil. ad eand. diem, CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 211: *Fortunae public(ae) p(opuli) R(omani) in coll(e)*; Fast. Venus. ib.:

<sup>1</sup> The epigram is addressed to the great nephew and namesake of the historian C. Sallustius Crispus, whom he had adopted as his heir, and who died in 20 A.D. (Pros. iii. 159. 61; HJ 430, n. 104).

Fortun(ae) Prim(igeniae) in coll(e); Fast. Ant. ap. NS. 1921, 96, For. PRQ; Ov. Fast. v. 729: populi Fortuna potentis publica; Lydus de mens. iv. 7). This temple was vowed in 204 B.C. by the consul P. Sempronius Sophus at the beginning of the battle with Hannibal at Croton (Liv. xxix. 36. 8: si eo die hostis fudisset), and dedicated in 194 by Q. Marcius Ralla (Liv. xxxiv. 53—at least this is probably the temple referred to). The day of dedication was 25th May, and it is probably this temple in which prodigies were observed in 169 B.C. (Liv. xliii. 13: in aede Primigeniae Fortunae quae in colle est).

The second of these temples was dedicated to Fortuna publica citerior—that is, nearer the city than the others—and its festival day was 5th April (Fast. Praen. ad Non. Apr., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 235, 315: Fortunae publicae citerio(ri) in colle; Fast. Ant. ap. NS. 1921, 91; Ov. Fast. iv. 375-376), but nothing is known of its history. One of these two temples is probably referred to by Cassius Dio under date of 47 B.C. as *Τύχη δημοσία* and is being close to, if not within, the gardens of Caesar that were near the porta Collina (xlii. 26: *κερανοὶ τε εἰς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ εἰς τὸν τῆς Τύχης τῆς δημοσίας καλουμένης ναὸν εἰς τε τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος κήπους κατέσκηψαν . . . καὶ τὸ Τυχαῖον αὐτόματον ἀνέφχθη*).

The third of these temples was one that seems to be mentioned only twice (Fast. Arval. ad Id. Nov., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 215, 335: Fortun(ae) Prim(igeniae) in c(olle); Fast. Ant. ap. NS. 1921, 117: Fort(unae) Prim(igeniae), of which the festival day was 13th November.

One of these three is mentioned by Vitruvius (see above) as an example of a temple in antis; and the podium and foundations of one of the other two were probably discovered at the corner of the via Flavia and the via Servio Tullio (LF 10; LR 421). Other traces have also been found in the neighbourhood (BC 1872-3, 201-211, 233, 243, 248; see AZ 1872, 77-79; WR 261; HJ 413-414; RE vii. 28-29; Rosch. i. 1516-1518; Gilb. iii. 372).

FORTUNA MAMMOSA: a shrine or altar in Region XII (Not.), evidently on the VICUS FORTUNAE MAMMOSAE (q.v.), probably between the porta Capena and the baths of Caracalla. This manifestation of the goddess may have borne some resemblance to the Ephesian Diana (Pr. Reg. 196; Myth. ii. 187; Rosch. i. 1520; HJ 197).

FORTUNA, TEMPLUM NOVUM: a temple in Region VII (Not., Cur. om.), but otherwise unknown (HJ 465; Jord. ii. 7-8).

FORTUNA OBSEQUENS (*ἱερόν*): a shrine somewhere in Region I (cf. VICUS FORTUNAE OBSEQUENTIS), ascribed to Servius Tullius by Plutarch (de fort. Rom. 10: καὶ τὸ τῆς Ὀψεκούντις, ἣν οἱ μὲν πειθήνιον, οἱ δὲ μελίχιον εἶναι νομίζουσι; q. Rom. 74: οὐ γὰρ μόνον Τύχης . . . μελίχιας . . . ἱερὰ κατεσκεύασεν; Rosch. i. 1512; RE vii. 31).

FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA (*ἱερόν*): a temple of Fortuna, the first-born daughter of Jupiter, on the Capitol, ascribed by tradition to Servius Tullius (Plut.



q. Rom. 74: *πρωτογενεία*; de fort. Rom. 10: τὸ τῆς Πριμιγενείας λεγομένης ὃ πρωτογόνον τις ἂν ἐρμηνεύσειε; CIL xiv. 2852 = Carm. epig. 249; Clemens Alex. protrept. iv. 51 (?). It was probably in the area Capitolina (Jord. i. 2. 64; Becker, Top. 404-405; Rosch. i. 1518; RE vii. 29; WR 261). See also FORTUNAE (TRES), AEDES.

FORTUNA PRIVATA (Τύχη ἰδία): a temple of Fortuna in relation to the individual as distinguished from FORTUNA PUBLICA (q.v.). It was on the Palatine, and was ascribed by tradition to Servius Tullius (Plut. de fort. Rom. 10; q. Rom. 74; HJ 46; RE vii. 30; Rosch. i. 1518).

FORTUNA REDUX, TEMPLUM: a temple built by Domitian in the campus Martius after his triumphal entry into Rome in 93 A.D. after the war in Germany (Mart. viii. 65; Claudian. de sext. cons. Honor. 1). It may be represented on a coin of 174 A.D. and on a relief of the same period on the arch of Constantine (Cohen, M. Aurel. 3; PBS iii. 259-262), and if so, it was probably near the present Piazza di Venezia (HJ 501; RE vii. 38; Rosch. i. 1526; for an erroneous theory that this temple was the ara Fortunae reducis of Augustus, see BC 1908, 122-124). See ARCUS DOMITIANI (1).

FORTUNA REDUX, ARA: an altar erected by the senate in 19 B.C. near the porta Capena, in honour of the return of Augustus from the east, when he entered the city, 12th October (Mon. Anc. ii. 29, Greek version, vi. 7: *βωμόν Τύχης Σωτήριον*; Fast. Amit. ad iv Id. Oct. et ad xviii Kal. Ian.; Fast. Cum. ad xviii Kal. Ian.; Prop. iv. 3. 71; Cass. Dio liv. 10: *Τύχη τε Ἐπαναγώγῳ βωμόν*). At this altar the Augustalia were celebrated by pontiffs and Vestals (Mommsen, RGDA<sup>2</sup> 46-47; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 331-332). The altar itself was dedicated on 15th December (see Fasti above) and is represented on several coins (Babelon ii. 412, Rustia 3; Cohen, August. 102-108, 513; BM Rep. ii. 34. 4440-4; 77. 4580, Aug. 2, 358-361). An aedituus Fortunae reducis (CIL vi. 8705) can hardly have belonged to this altar (HJ 204; Rosch. i. 1525-1526; RE vii. 37; BC 1908, 121-122).

FORTUNA RESPICIENS, νεὸς Dio, ἱερόν Plutarch: a temple of Fortuna on the Esquiline, ascribed by tradition to Servius Tullius (Plut. q. Rom. 74; de fort. Rom. 10, where the epithet is *ἐπιστρεφόμενη*; Cass. Dio xlii. 26, where it is stated that the epithet is *οὐκ εὐαφήγητον Ἑλληνισι*). Nothing more is known of this temple and its site is uncertain (HJ 260; Rosch. i. 1513; RE vii. 31).

FORTUNA RESPICIENS: a shrine of some sort on the Palatine (Not. Reg. X) which evidently gave its name to the vicus Fortunae Respicientis of the Capitoline Base (CIL vi. 975), but is otherwise unknown (HJ 104; Rosch. i. 1513; RE vii. 31).

FORTUNA RESTITUTRIX, ARA: see CASTRA PRAETORIA (p. 108).



**FORTUNA SEIANI, AEDES**: a temple of Fortuna built by Nero within the precincts of the domus Aurea (Plin. NH xxxvi. 163: Nerone principe in Cappadocia repertus est lapis duritia marmoris . . . hoc construxerat aedem Fortunae quam Seiani appellant a Servio rege sacratam, amplexus area domo). Cassius Dio (lviii. 7) states that Sejanus had in his own house the statue of Fortuna set up by Servius Tullius, probably in the temple of FORTUNA in the FORUM BOARIUM (q.v.), that was covered with two togas (Plin. NH viii. 197: Servi Tullii praetextae quibus signum Fortunae ab eo dicatae coopertum erat, duravere ad Seiani exitum), and Nero may have erected this temple to house this statue, but this is mere conjecture (Wissowa, Ges. Abh. 260; HJ xxii.; Rosch. i. 1510-1511 and literature cited; BC 1914, 366).

**FORTUNA STATA**: a shrine of some sort known only from an inscription (CIL vi. 761) that records its dedication in 112 A.D. by the magistri of the VICUS SANDALIARIUS (q.v.) in Region IV.

**FORTUNA TULLIANA**: probably one of the several temples of Fortuna ascribed by tradition to Servius Tullius, which for some reason was marked out by the epithet Tulliana (Rosch. i. 1521). It is known only from one inscription found near the porta Flaminia (CIL vi. 8706: aedituus aedis Fortunae Tullianae), and no identification is more than conjectural, although that with Fors Fortuna seems not unlikely.

**FORTUNA VIRGO** (ἱερὸν): a temple of Τύχη παρθένος said to have been built by Servius Tullius (Plut. q. Rom. 74: παρὰ δὲ τὴν Μουσκῶσαν καλουμένην κρήνην; de fort. Rom. 10; cf. FONS MUSCOSUS). It may be referred to by Varro (ap. Non. 189: virginis Fortunae (i.e. *signum*), and it is possible that it may be the ancient temple of Fortuna in the forum Boarium (WR 257; Rosch. i. 1519; RE vii. 19).

**FORTUNA VIRILIS\*** (ἱερὸν, ἔδος): a temple of Τύχη ἄρρην (undoubtedly the Greek of Fortuna Virilis), ascribed to Servius Tullius (Plut. q. Rom. 74; de fort. Rom. 10; cf. Fast. Praen. ad Kal. Apr., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 235). The site of the temple is unknown, and its actual existence has been called in question<sup>1</sup> (Rosch. i. 1518; RE vii. 22). The name has been very generally (but wrongly) applied to the temple of MATER MATUTA (q.v.).

**FORTUNA VISCATA** (ἱερὸν): a temple of Τύχη ἰξευτηρία (Plut. q. Rom. 74: ἦν βισκᾶταν ὀνομάζουσι ὡς πόρρωθεν ἡμῶν ἀλισκομένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ προσισχομένων τοῖς πράγμασιν; de fort. Rom. 10), ascribed to Servius Tullius. Its site is uncertain, but it may have been on the Palatine (HJ 46). For discussion of the epithet, see CR 1903, 421; RE vii. 35; Rosch. i. 1515).

**FORTUNIUM**: see PORTUNIUM.

**FORUM AHENOBARBI**: mentioned only in the list of fora in Appendix I of the Registry Catalogue, and entirely unknown (Pr. Reg. 226; Jord. ii. 214).

<sup>1</sup> Wissowa in Gött. Gel. Anz. 1904, 559; ZA 247; but see WR 258.

FORUM APRONIANI : mentioned only in the Codex Theodosianus (xiii. 5. 29), and possibly in Pol. Silv. 545, where the text reads *Apurani*, with no indication of location (Jord. ii. 214; RE ii. 271; Gilb. iii. 240; DE iii. 200); in the former it occurs under date 400 A.D.

FORUM AUGUSTUM or AUGUSTI :\* the second of the imperial fora, adjoining the FORUM IULIUM (q.v.), built by Augustus to provide additional room for the courts, and for other needs of the increasing population (Suet. Aug. 29. 1; Mon. Anc. vi. 34; Cassiod. Chron. a. Abr. 1971). The site was purchased by Augustus from its owners with the proceeds of the spoils of war (Mon. Anc. iv. 21), but he did not succeed in acquiring enough land to carry out his original plan (Suet. Aug. 56. 2). Within the forum was the temple of Mars Ultor (templum, aedes Suet. (Aug. 29), inscription (CIL vi. 8709; Hermes 1879, 567-583), delubrum Suet. (Vitell. 8),<sup>1</sup> ναός Cass. Dio (lv. 10)), vowed by Octavianus at the battle of Philippi pro ultione paterna (Suet. Aug. 29. 2; Ov. Fast. v. 569-578), which formed the essential element of the forum as the temple of Venus Genetrix did that of the forum Iulium. The work was greatly delayed (Macrob. Sat. ii. 4. 9), but that on the forum was hurried at last and this was opened before the temple was finished (Suet. Aug. 29. 1), although its actual dedication is said to have taken place on 1st August, 2 B.C., at the same time as that of the temple (Cass. Dio lv. 10; lx. 5. 3; Vell. ii. 100; but cf. Ov. Fast. v. 551 ff., where 12th May seems to be given as that of this temple also; cf. Jord. i. 2. 444; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 318). Because of the temple of Mars, this forum was sometimes called forum Martis (Schol. Juv. xiv. 261-262; Pol. Silv. 545; CIL xv. 7190; cf. cod. Laur. Apul. subscriptio: ego Salustius legi (c. 395 A.D.) et emendavi Romae in foro Martis), and this name is preserved in that of the via Marforio.

In 19 A.D. Tiberius erected two arches, one on each side of the temple,<sup>2</sup> in honour of the victories of Drusus and Germanicus in Germany (Tac. Ann. ii. 64; CIL vi. 911). Pliny regarded this forum with the temple of Peace and the basilica Aemilia, as the three most beautiful buildings in the world (xxxvi. 102), and says that the timber used in its construction was cut in the Raetian Alps in the dog days, considered to be the best time (xvi. 191). In fact, wooden dowels (see below) were found in the sixteenth century so well preserved that they could be used again (Vacca, Memorie 89; Mem. L. 3. xiii. 1884, 402). As might be expected, many works of art were collected in the forum (Plin. NH vii. 183; xxxiv. 48; xxxv. 27. 93-94; Serv. Aen. i. 294; Paus. viii. 46. 1. 4), including a quadriga dedicated by the senate to Augustus (Mon. Anc. vi. 26); and in the temple, which was as magnificent as the rest of the structure (Plin. xxxiv. 141; Ov. Fast. v. 551-552, 555-568; Trist. ii. 295-296; Tac. Ann. iii. 18; xiii. 8; Suet. Cal. 24). The forum was restored by Hadrian (Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19),

<sup>1</sup> The reference in this passage need not be to Rome at all.

<sup>2</sup> Traces of both these arches have been found (Forschungen und Fortschritte iii. (1927) 161; YW 1926-7, 102; Gnomon, i. 244-245 is incorrect).

and is mentioned in the *Notitia* (Reg. VIII and app.); the temple incidentally in two inscriptions (CIL vi. 8709: *aedituus aed. Martis ultoris*, and a dedication to *Silvanus* by another *aedituus* in the Lateran museum; see RAP iii. 462) and elsewhere (Suet. Claud. 13; Mart. vii. 51), and perhaps in the *Feriale Cumanum* under date of 12th May (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 229: *supplicatio molibus Martis*; cf. Gell. xiii. 23. 2 and *Hermes* 1882, 637). How long the forum was used for the courts is not known. *Claudius* and *Trajan* sat in judgment here (Suet. Claud. 33; Cass. Dio lxviii. 10), but the building of *Trajan's* forum probably diminished the importance of all the others. Once at least *Augustus* celebrated the festival of *Mars* in his forum on account of an inundation of the *Tiber* (Cass. Dio lvi. 27. 4), and the *Arval Brethren* sacrificed here (Act. Arv. ad a. 59, 69) to *Mars Ultor*, *Salus* and the genius of the princes (Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1920, 124-133).

*Augustus* placed in the forum bronze statues of all the Roman triumphatores from *Aeneas* down (Suet. Aug. 31. 1; Ov. Fast. v. 563-566; Cass. Dio lv. 10. 3; Plin. NH xxii. 13; Gell. ix. 11. 10; Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 28. 6, where the statues are said to have been of marble) with the name and *cursus honorum* of each general engraved on the plinth and his *res gestae* on a marble slab fixed to the wall below. Of these inscriptions a considerable number have been recovered (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. pp. 186-202; BC 1889, 26-34, 73-79, 481-482; 1890, 251-259; NS 1889, 15-16, 33-34; 1890, 318-320; Mitt. 1889, 247-249; 1891, 94-101). Later, statues of other persons, of varying degrees of distinction, were set up (CIL vi. 1386; Tac. Ann. iv. 15; xiii. 8), and honorary inscriptions (Vell. ii. 39. 2).

In the temple certain formalities were regularly observed, i.e. the assumption of the *toga virilis* by young men, the formal leave-taking of provincial governors when setting out for their posts, and their reception when returning with signs of victory which were deposited here, together with other less important functions (Cass. Dio lv. 10. 3-5; Suet. Aug. 29. 2; Cal. 44). It served as a place of safe deposit until some thief stole the helmet of *Mars* (Iuv. xiv. 261-262 and Schol.), and was the scene of the famous banquets of the *Salii* (Suet. Claud. 33; CIL vi. 2158; LS i. 80). It is usually supposed that the standards recovered from the *Parthians* were kept in this temple after its completion (Mon. Anc. v. 42), being removed thither from the temple of *Mars Ultor* on the *Capitol* (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 318).

The forum was rectangular in shape, about 125 metres long and 90 wide, and joined the forum *Iulium* on the north-east, its longest axis being perpendicular to that of the latter. The regularity of this rectangle was broken by two large semi-circular apses or *exedrae* on the south-east and north-west sides, and also at the north-east end, where *Augustus* had evidently not been able to get all the land he desired (see above). Exactly in the middle of the north-east half of the forum stood the temple, with its end abutting against the enclosure wall. The forum



was surrounded by an enormous wall, which served the double purpose of protecting it against fire and shutting off the view of the squalid quarters of the city in the immediate neighbourhood. A considerable part of this wall at the north-east end, and of both exedrae, has been preserved. It was originally nearly 36 metres high, and was built of large blocks of peperino in alternate courses of headers and stretchers, with wooden dowels (see above), but no mortar. On the outside two courses of travertine divided it into three sections. Travertine is also used at other points of stress. In the part of the wall now standing is one of the original arched gateways, *Arco dei Pantani*, through which the modern *Via Bonella* passes, 6 metres above the ancient level (III. 25). The inner surface of the wall was covered with marble and stucco. Whether a colonnade and porticus surrounded the south part of the forum within the wall is uncertain.

Each apse was separated from the forum area by a line of four pilasters and six fluted columns of cipollino, 9.50 metres high, which supported an entablature of white marble. In the curved wall of the apse were two rows of rectangular niches, the lower about 2.50 metres and the upper about 15, from the pavement. The wide wall-space (about 8.50 metres) between these two rows of niches, which appears to have been bare of ornament other than the lining, was probably masked by the entablature. About 5 metres above the upper row of niches ran a cornice, and above this the wall rose again for a considerable height. In each apse in the lower row were fourteen niches, not counting the large one in the middle, and four between each apse and the temple, making thirty-six in all. Whether there were more in the other portion of the wall is not known. In the lower niches were the statues of the triumphatores, and in the upper probably trophies. Between the niches were marble pilasters.

The temple was octostyle, and peripteral except at the north-east end, where it joined the forum wall (Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Vienna 1902, 61 ff.<sup>1</sup>; BA 1911, 300 sqq.). Three of the columns with the architrave are still standing. They are of white marble, fluted, 15.30 metres high and 1.76 in diameter, with Corinthian capitals (for a restoration of the capital, see *Mem. Am. Acad.* ii. pl. 2).<sup>2</sup> It was thought that they belonged to the restoration by Hadrian, and not to the structure of Augustus. This theory has, however, now been abandoned by Hülsen and Fiechter (*Toeb.* i. 35-41; cf. 51), for we have neither record nor traces of any restoration.<sup>3</sup> The cella wall is of peperino, lined with

<sup>1</sup> For the relief (formerly attributed to the *Ara Pacis*) in the *Villa Medici*, which has often been supposed to represent the façade of this temple, see *Meded. Nederland. Hist. Inst.* i. (1921), 101; *Festschrift für P. Arndt*, 55, 56; *SScR* 69-71, 417.

<sup>2</sup> And for the entasis, *ib.* iv. 122, 142.

<sup>3</sup> Unless we attribute to Hadrian the smaller rectangular niche which was afterwards placed inside the apse of the temple (*Gnomon*, iii. 58-60). Whether the podium was decorated with bronze reliefs is now questioned (*ib.*).





25 FORUM AUGUSTUM, ENCLOSURE WALL (p. 222)



26 FORUM AUGUSTUM, STEPS OF TEMPLE OF MARS ULTOR (p. 223)



Greek marble. Owing to the width of the cella it was divided into a nave and two aisles by internal columns.<sup>1</sup> The ceiling of the peristyle, between the cella wall and the columns, is coffered, with rosettes in the centre of each coffer. The concrete base of the steps (Ill. 26) is well preserved (though the steps are thought to have been relaid at a later date), and so is a portion of the podium, with its facing of marble slabs which shows signs of decoration with bronze reliefs. In the podium is a chamber which was cut in the Middle Ages to serve as a burial vault. A courtyard behind the north-west exedra, surrounded by an arcade, is interesting; and the north-west exedra itself has been entirely cleared. The work, which is still in progress, has not yet been fully described. (For other literature on forum and temple, see Jord. i. 2. 442-447; Rosch. ii. 2392; Gilb. iii. 229-232; WR 146; Mem. L. 3. xiii. 1884, 400-415; Mitt. 1891, 94-98; LR 304-309; LS i. 185; Théd. 181-189, 372-374; Valadier, *Fabbriche di Roma*, pt. vii.; Canina, *Edifici* ii. pls. 96-103; DAP 2. xv. 367; D'Esp. Mon. ii. 99-102; ZA 36-41; YW 1924-25, 84; Capitolium, ii. 4-49; 395-402; Mem. L. 5. xvii. 511-513; ASA 53, 54, 71).

FORUM BOARIUM (Bovarium, Cic. pro Scaur. 23; Liv. passim; ἀγορὰ καλουμένη or λεγομένη Βοαρία Dionys. i. 40; iv. 27; βοῶν ἀγορά Plut. cit.) was, as its name implies, the cattle-market of ancient Rome. It originally extended from the boundary of the Velabrum (later marked by the arcus Septimii Severi and the Janus Quadrifrons) to the Tiber, and from the valley of the circus Maximus to the road leading from the pons Sublicius (or pons Aemilius) towards the Velabrum, but not as far north as the Servian wall (Ov. Fast. vi. 477, 478; Varro, LL v. 146; id. ap. Macrobian. Sat. iii. 6. 10; Propert. iv. 9. 17; Liv. x. 23. 3; xxi. 62. 3; xxii. 57. 6; xxiv. 10. 7; xxvii. 37. 15; xxix. 37. 2; xxxiii. 27. 4; xxxv. 40. 8; Plin. NH xxviii. 12; xxxiv. 10, 33; Tac. Ann. xii. 24; Plut. Marcell. 3 (cf. Oros. iv. 13. 3; Cass. Dio, fr. 47); Fest. 30; Not. app.; Pol. Silv. 545; Aethicus p. 83, Riese; CIL vi. 1035). The first gladiatorial games were held here (Val. Max. ii. 4. 7). See ARCUS SEPTIMIUS SEVERI (in foro Boario).

In process of time this large open space was greatly encroached upon by buildings; but the name was still applied to the whole district. A bronze statue of a bull (said to have been brought from Aegina) symbolised its purpose, and (according to some authorities) gave it its name. It was an important centre of traffic, and had been so from a remote period; for the original route from the north and east (see VIA FLAMINIA, VIA SALARIA) came along the VICUS IUGARIUS or the VICUS TUSCUS (q.v.)

<sup>1</sup> For a bas-relief from Carthage representing Mars Ultor, Venus and Cupid, and the deified Iulius—the divinities whose statues stood in the apse of the temple—see Rev. Arch. 1899, 37; Petersen, cit. p. 184, fig. 58; Théd. p. 184, pl. vi. The statue of Mars may be also represented by the Mars in the Capitol (Cap. 39; SScR 249), which was, however, not found in the Forum Transitorium (cf. Cons. 367).

on its way to the crossing of the Tiber at the pons Sublicius (or later the pons Aemilius), and here intersected the road which ran from the campus Martius between the Capitol and the river, passing through the porta Carmentalis and the porta Flumentana, and on to the porta Trigemina. The road along the valley of the circus Maximus and the clivus Publicius descending from the Aventine also opened into this narrow level space between the hills and the river. Thus streets, in later days adorned with porticoes, radiated from the forum Boarium in all directions (DAP 2. vi. 247-248).

This crowded area was often devastated by fire. It seems to have lain for the most part within the eleventh region of Augustus, but to have also included a small portion of the eighth.

Two terminal stones (CIL vi. 919, 31574), one of the period of Tiberius, the other of Claudius, show that the open space, which was public property, required protection from encroachment, and define the eastern boundary as running along the front of the *TEMPLUM HERCULIS POMPEIANI* (q.v.), which stood in front of the carceres of the circus Maximus.

Of the temples situated in or near the forum Boarium the round temple of *HERCULES INVICTUS* (q.v.), with the *ara Maxima* close by it, was the most famous; there were also those of *FORTUNA*, *HERCULES POMPEIANUS*, *MATER MATUTA*, *PORTUNUS*, *PUDICITIA PATRICIA* (qq.v.).

Among other monuments were the two fornices erected by L. *STER-TINIUS* (q.v.). The *BUSTA GALLICA* and *DOLIOLA* (q.v.) were probably primitive tombs, discovered (and misunderstood) in Roman times. See Jord. i. 1. 238, 412; 2. 474-487; LR 515-516; DAP 2. vi. 231-275; HJ 143; Pl. 395-403.

**FORUM CAESARIS**: see **FORUM IULIUM**.

**FORUM COQUINUM**: a name used once by Plautus (Pseud. 790), probably for the *MACELLUM* (q.v.), where cooks waited to be hired (Ter. Eun. 255-7).

**FORUM CUPPEDINIS**: the market where various delicacies were sold (*cuppedia*, cf. Walde, Etym. Wörterb. s.v.), between the *Sacra via* and the *Argiletum* (Varro, LL v. 146; Fest. 48; Donat. Ter. Eun. 256). This, with other separate markets, was incorporated in the *MACELLUM* (q.v.) of Fulvius Nobilior in 179 B.C. (Jord. i. 2. 434). In Symmachus (ep. iii. 19) it is called *forum Cupedinarium*.

**FORUM ESQUILINUM**: an open area on the Esquiline, known from three inscriptions (CIL vi. 2223, 9179, 9180), one of which was found near the arch of Gallienus. This forum may perhaps be identified with that mentioned in two other inscriptions (CIL vi. 1662, 31888) which record its restoration by Fl. Eurycles Epitynchianus, praef. urbi in 450 A.D. It is probably referred to in Appian (BC i. 58), where the emended text reads *περὶ τὴν Αἰσχύλειον ἀγοράν*. This was the scene of the conflict between Sulla and Marius in 88 B.C., and the description



indicates a rather large area inside the Servian wall. The forum was therefore probably inside the porta Esquilina, on the north-east part of the Oppius, near the church of S. Martino ai Monti (HJ 317; DE iii. 203; RE vi. 684; cf. BC 1914, 133).

FORUM GALLORUM: mentioned only in Reg. app. I, and wholly unknown (Jord. ii. 214; DE iii. 203).

FORUM GRAECORUM: see GRAECOSTADIUM.

FORUM HOLITORIUM: the vegetable market of Rome (Varro, LL v. 146: *ubi quid generatim, additum ab eo cognomen ut forum boarium, forum olitorium; hoc erat antiquum macellum ubi olerum copia*), lying just outside the porta Carmentalis, in the ninth region of Augustus. Its south-east and north-east limits were marked by the Servian wall and the slope of the Capitoline hill, and it extended north-west across the present Piazza Montanara. On the west and south-west it probably extended originally to the river, but was afterwards diminished in area and practically enclosed by four temples, erected in foro holitorio, to PIETAS, IANUS, SPES and IUNO SOSPITA (qq. vv.), and the theatre of Marcellus. The ruins of three of these temples exist beneath the church of S. Nicola in Carcere (for restorations, see D'Esp. Mon. ii. 128-129). By the second century B.C. the forum had been paved, and considerable fragments of its pavement of travertine have been found between S. Nicola in Carcere and a wall of peperino that crosses the Piazza Montanara, for a distance of about 90 metres (BC 1875, 173). The details given as to this wall are insufficient; but it is noticeable that Lanciani omits it in LF 28; cf. BC 1917, 168 sqq. and pl. xiv., xv., where he deals further with the porticus in vicolo della Bufala. This peperino wall perhaps marks the northern limit of the forum which, after it was surrounded by buildings, was about 125 by 40-50 metres in area. Its eastern corner, between the Capitoline and the Servian wall, was closed by a building, apparently a large porticus, that has been erroneously identified with the PORTICUS MINUCIA (q.v.). Its ruins were found in the Vicolo della Bufala (HJ 515; NS 1891, 316; Mitt. 1892, 292). Other remains of this portico, at a slightly different orientation, are also to be seen in Piazza Montanara (NS 1879, 314). The forum was connected with the vicus Iugarius and the forum Boarium by a street that ran south through the porta Carmentalis (see in general, HJ 507-515; Pl. 389-392; Richter 192-194; ZA 236-248).

FORUM IULIUM: the first of the so-called imperial fora, begun by Julius Caesar and designed, not for a market, but to provide a centre for business of other kinds (App. BC ii. 102). The plan of this forum had been conceived as early as 54 B.C., for in that year Cicero and Oppius were engaged in purchasing land for Caesar from private owners, and had already paid sixty million sesterces (Cic. ad Att. iv. 16. 8). More land was acquired afterwards, and the final cost is said to have been one hundred

million sesterces, about £1,000,000 (Plin. xxxvi. 103; Suet. Caes. 26), a sum perhaps exaggerated.

Work was probably begun in 51, during Caesar's absence in Gaul (Suet. loc. cit.). At the battle of Pharsalus Caesar vowed a temple to Venus Genetrix, the mythical ancestress of the Julian gens, and proceeded to build it in the centre of his forum (App. BC ii. 68-69, 102; iii. 28; Cass. Dio xliii. 22. 2), which thus became in effect a porticus surrounding the temple, a type followed in all the later fora. Temple and forum were dedicated on the last day of Caesar's great triumph, 26th September, 46 B.C. (Cass. Dio, loc. cit.; Fast. Arv. Pinc. Vall. ad vi Kal. Oct., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 215, 219, 240, 322-323, 330; Fast. Praen. in BC 1915, 170, 346), although the forum was not finished by Caesar (cf. Nic. Damasc. Caes. 22; Plin. NH xxxv. 156), but by Octavianus after the dictator's death (Mon. Anc. iv. 12; Cass. Dio xlv. 6. 4). In the forum Caesar allowed the erection of a statue of himself wearing a cuirass (Plin. xxxiv. 18), and he himself dedicated a statue of his horse with 'humanis similes pedes priores' (Plin. viii. 155; Suet. Caes. 61; Stat. Silv. i. 1. 84-85), on which the dictator was mounted (Ber. d. k. sächs. Gesells. 1891, 99-112). In front of the temple stood a fountain surrounded by nymphs, called APPIADES (q.v.). The forum was burned in 283 A.D. and restored by Diocletian (Chron. 148). While the official designation was forum Iulium (Mon. Anc.) it appears regularly in our sources as forum Caesaris (locc. cit.; Not. Reg. VIII; Plin. xvi. 236; CIL vi. 10097 (?) = 33960; BC 1915, 170-171; possibly Phlegon refers to this forum as ἡ 'Ρωμαίων ἀγορά (Mir. 13).

The temple of Venus (aedes, Livy, Pliny, Suet., Vitruvius, templum, Ovid, Pliny, Tacitus, *νεώς* Appian, Cass. Dio, Ἀφροδίσιον Cass. Dio) was pycnostyle (Vitruvius iii. 3. 2) and built of solid marble (Ovid A.A. i. 81). The statue of Venus Genetrix by Arcesilas, which Caesar set up, in foro Caesaris (Plin. xxxv. 156; cf. Cass. Dio xlvii. 18. 4), was probably in the cella of the temple.<sup>1</sup> (For another type of Venus Genetrix (seated) on a coin, see BM. Rep. i. 583. 4277.) Caesar also placed in the temple two paintings by Timomachus, Ajax and Medea (Plin. vii. 126; xxxv. 26, 136); a gilded statue of Cleopatra (Cass. Dio li. 22. 3; App. BC ii. 102); six dactyliothecae or collections of engraved gems (Plin. xxxvii. 11); and a thorax adorned with British pearls (Plin. ix. 116). Later, Augustus is stated to have set up in the temple a statue of the deified Julius with a star above his head (Cass. Dio xlv. 7. 1; xlvii. 18. 4; Plin. ii. 93), although some scholars believe that this is a mistake for the temple of divus Iulius in the forum (see Jord. Hermes 1875, 342-343; Gilb. iii. 226).

A colossal statue was erected near the temple in honour of Tiberius by fourteen cities of Asia Minor which had been relieved by him after

<sup>1</sup> See Weickert in Festschr. f. P. Arndt, 54-61, for the type as represented on a relief in the Villa Borghese (Reinach, Rép. iii. 171. 1), which he assigns to the period before 46 B.C.; and cf. AJA 1927, 141-152.

the earthquakes of 17 and 23 A.D., with personifications of them on its base: and a copy of this in relief was found at Puteoli (Tac. ii. 47; iv. 13; Atti Acc. Nap. 1903, 119 sqq.: Ruesch, Guida Mus. Nap. 22-24; CIL x. 1624).

A statue of Drusilla was erected in the temple after her death (Cass. Dio, lix, 11. 2-3).

The forum Iulium was rectangular, about 115 metres long and 30 wide, surrounded by a colonnade and wall. Its main axis ran north-west to south-east, corresponding with that of the curia Iulia which adjoined it at the south corner. On this axis the temple was built, facing south-east. All that remains of the forum is part of the enclosure wall of peperino on the south-west side (Via delle Marmorelle 29), 12 metres high and 3.70 thick, and some small vaulted chambers or tabernae opening into the corridor of the forum through a row of peperino arches with Anio tufa piers and travertine imposts (TF 46). Of the temple of Venus, excavations in the sixteenth century brought to light portions of the foundations of peperino and travertine, and fragments of columns and frieze (cf. Strena Helbigiana 139-142 and DAP 2. xv. 366). At this time Palladio (Quattro Libri dell' Architettura 1570, iv. ch. 31, 128 sqq.) and Labacco (Libro appartenente all' Architettura, 1552, 25-28; 1559, 33-36) drew a plan and reconstruction from what was then visible, representing a peripteral octostyle structure with very narrow intercolumniations. A piece of the architrave still exists in the Villa Medici. (For forum and temple, see also Jord. i. 2. 436-441; Théd. 178-180, 371-372; Gilb. iii. 224-227; LR 302-304; ZA 34-36; Mem. L. 5. xvii. 153; ASA 54.)

FORUM MARTIS: see FORUM AUGUSTUM.

FORUM NERVAE: \* the fourth of the imperial fora (Mart. x. 28. 6, 51. 12), built by Domitian, but dedicated by Nerva at the beginning of 97 A.D. (Suet. Dom. 5; Stat. Silv. iv. 3. 9-10; Cassiod. Chron. 140; Hier. a. Abr. 2105; Eutrop. vii. 23; Vict. Caes. 12. 2; CIL vi. 953=31213). It occupied the space between the forum Augustum on the north-west and the forum Pacis on the south-east, and was in effect a transformation of the intervening Argiletum with its crowded and unsightly buildings into a magnificent avenue which had the form of a very narrow forum. Its length was about 120 metres, its width about 40, and the walls of the fora already existing were extended so as to form a continuous enclosure. A part of the wall at the north-east end is still standing and corresponds in height and character with that of the forum Augustum which it adjoins, except that the size of the rectangular blocks of stone used in the construction has been considerably increased (from 59 cm. (2 Roman feet) to 78 cm.).

This forum was officially the forum Nervae (Suet. loc. cit.; Lydus, de mens. iv. 1), but as it was the main thoroughfare between the Subura



and forum Romanum and the other imperial fora, it soon became known as the forum Transitorium (Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 28. 6 ; 36. 2 ; Pol. Silv. 545 ; Cassiod. Chron. cit. ;<sup>1</sup> Eutrop. vii. 23 ; Hier. a. Abr. 2105 ; Serv. Aen. vii. 607), or, less frequently apparently, forum Pervium (Vict. Caes. 12. 2). In Reg. it is listed in Region IV as forum Transitorium, in Region VIII and the Appendix as forum Nervae, which indicates the common use of both names, and that the boundary between the two regions passed through the forum (Pr. Reg. 144). Once it is called forum Palladium (Mart. i. 2. 8), because of the temple of Minerva, but whether this was in general use, or merely a conceit of the poet, is uncertain (cf. also MINERVA TEMPLUM). It appears to be spoken of as Caesareum forum in CIL vi. 10097=33960 (cf. Mart. i. 117. 10).

After the pattern set in the other imperial fora, Domitian built in his forum a temple of Minerva, to whose cult he was especially devoted (Suet. Dom. 15 ; Cass. Dio lxvii. 1). It was dedicated by Nerva at the same time as the forum, and was a magnificent and imposing building (Vict. Caes. loc. cit. ; CIL vi. 953=31213). It is represented on the Marble Plan (116), and stood in the centre of the north-east end of the forum. From either side short walls extended across the fora of Augustus and Vespasian. It was of the Corinthian order, hexastyle prostyle, and its apse projected beyond the limits of the forum.

Besides this temple Domitian also erected one to IANUS QUADRIFRONS (q.v.) ; and Alexander Severus set up colossal statues of all the emperors who had been deified, with bronze columns on which their *res gestae* were inscribed (Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 28. 6).<sup>2</sup>

A considerable part of the temple of Minerva (which was known as templum Palladis in the twelfth century, see JRS 1919, 30, 52) was standing in the sixteenth century, and of this we have views (Du Pérac, *Vestigi* pl. vi. ; Palladio, *Quattro Libri di Architettura* (1570), iv. ch. 8 ; cf. Mem. L. 3. xi. 25 ; DuP 101-105 ; Toeb. i. 52-53 ; DAP 2. xv. 367), but this was destroyed in 1606 by Paul V and the material used in building his fountain on the Janiculum. Modern houses stand on the podium (FUR p. 27 ; LR 310).

The short ends of the forum were slightly curved, and that toward the forum Romanum was pierced by two monumental archways, while at the other end there was one, east of the temple. Of these arches the last-named was known as arcus Aurae (v. AURA), or arcus Aureus, in the Middle Ages (cf. the churches of S. Andreas and S. Maria de Arcu Aureo, of which the former is also called S. Andrea in Portogallo (Arm. 142, 170 ; Mél. 1905, 149 ; HCh 177, 312), while the arch at the other end, called arcus Nerviae, is still to be seen in the bird's-eye view of Rome published in 1577 by Du Pérac, and the Colonnacce were called Arca Noe (Noah's ark) ; cf. S. Maria de Archa Noe (HCh 311), probably the same as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Chron. Min. i. 147 (Prosp. Tiro).

<sup>2</sup> The colossal statue of Mars in the Capitoline Museum was not found here (p. 223, n. 1).



S. Maria degli Angeli in Macello martyrum (cf. 342; Jord. ii. 474, 503). See also PORTICUS ABSIDATA.

Within the enclosure wall was a colonnade of marble columns, entirely surrounding the forum. Two of these columns, with about 11 metres of the wall itself, are still standing at the east corner of the forum, in the Via della Croce Bianca. This ruin, one of the most beautiful in Rome, is called Le Colonnacce. The wall is peperino, lined with marble, the columns are 8.80 metres high without the capital, and 1.08 in diameter at the base (NS 1912, 226), and the intercolumniations 5.30 metres in width. Above the columns are a cornice and lofty attic which, instead of following the line of the columns, run along the wall itself in the intercolumnar spaces, and project and return round the columns, thus breaking the entablature into sections. The attic, which is 4.40 metres high, has a plinth and cornice, and in the space between the columns is a relief of Minerva, 2.65 metres high. The close parallelism between the architectural details of the forum Transitorium and those of Domitian's palace has already been noticed (DuP 101, n. 1), and is further developed by Fiechter ap. Toeb. i. 54-61. It is probable that similar reliefs, either of Minerva or of some other goddess, stood in each intercolumnar space. The frieze is decorated with reliefs representing (a) Minerva among the nine Muses; (b) the punishment of Arachne, together with scenes of household life, such as spinning, weaving and dyeing—the arts which were especially under the protection of Minerva. According to Strong (ScR 132) the scenes 'are perhaps to be interpreted as scenes of initiation into the mysteries of the goddess of wisdom' (Ann. d. Inst. 1877, 5-36; Mon. d. Inst. x. pls. 40, 41, 41a; Mitt. 1889, 88, 249; for the forum and temple in general, see Jord. i. 2. 449-453; Gilb. iii. 232-234; Mem. L. 3. xi. 22-26; 5. xvii. 521; Mél. 1889, 346-355; Mitt. 1891, 101-103; Théd. 194-197, 369-371; ASA 54).

FORUM PACIS: see *TEMPLUM PACIS*.

FORUM (PALATINUM?): a forum supposed to be on the Palatine because of the discovery of an inscription preserved only in the *Einsiedeln Itinerary* (CIL vi. praef. xi; 1177), which records the dedication of a forum by Valentinianus, Valens and Gratianus, under the direction of Flavius Eupraxius, prefect of the city (for an identification of this forum with the paved space of the HORREA AGRIPPIANA (q.v.) cf. Richmond in *Essays and Studies* presented to William Ridgway, Cambridge, 1913, 211).

FORUM PALLADIUM: see *FORUM NERVAE*.

FORUM PERVIUM: see *FORUM NERVAE*.

FORUM PETRONII MAXIMI: assumed to have been constructed by Petronius Maximus, praef. urbi under Valentinian III and emperor 455 A.D., because of one dedicatory inscription (CIL vi. 1198), in which he is called *conditor fori*, and a possible reference in another (ib. 1197). The first inscription was found a little north-east of S. Clemente, and therefore the forum is

supposed to have been situated in that neighbourhood on the via Labicana (HJ 303-4).

FORUM PISCARIUM: the fish-market north of the forum, between the Sacra via and the Argiletum. It was burned in 210 B.C. (Liv. xxvi. 27. 2) and rebuilt the next year. In 179 it was incorporated in the general Macellum, built by Fulvius Nobilior in the same region (Liv. xl. 51. 5; Varro, LL v. 146-7; cf. Hermes xv. 119). This forum is called piscatorium in Livy, and piscarium in Varro and Plautus (Curc. 474).

FORUM PISTORUM: mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue in Region XIII. It was probably near the horrea, at the southern end of the Aventine (HJ 179; Jord. ii. 108).

FORUM (ROMANUM S. MAGNUM):\* at first the market-place, and later the civic centre of ancient Rome. The adjunct *Romanum* is not common (Verg. Aen. viii. 361; Plin NH. xix. 23; Tac. Ann. xii. 24; Suet. Aug. 72: so ἡ ἀγορὰ ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Dionys. i. 87 (here only); Cass. Dio lix. 28: ἡ ἀγορὰ ἡ Ῥωμαία; epit. lxiv. 6: ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀγορά); while *magnum* is not classical, though Cass. Dio xliii. 22, who here too<sup>1</sup> calls it Ῥωμαία, says that it was called μεγάλη after the construction of the forum Iulium. Strabo v. 3. 8. 236 calls it ἡ ἀρχαία ἀγορά. Cf. Jord. i. 2. 410. In Not. Regio VIII it is called Forum Romanum vel (et) magnum. The etymology is uncertain; the derivation from *ferre* is generally discarded, but nothing has been found to take its place.

The valley of the forum, and its continuation, the Velabrum, was at first a marshy valley, traversed by a stream, which served as one of the defences of the Palatine city and separated it from the Capitol and Quirinal; and the first extension of the original settlement towards the east and south, by which the 'Septimontium' city was formed, still left it out. Outside the boundaries of this city, and on the edge of the valley there lay a burial ground, the so-called SEPULCRETUM (q.v.), the earliest tombs of which are variously dated, though the latest must go down to the end of the seventh or the middle of the sixth century B.C.

Roman tradition long preserved the memory of the original state of the forum (cf. Ov. Fasti vi. 401: hic ubi nunc fora sunt, udae tenuere paludes; omne redundatis fossa madebat aquis. Curtius ille lacus, siccus qui sustinat aras, nunc solida est tellus; sed lacus ante fuit).

The testimony of geology also shows that the centre of the valley was originally a swamp. Traces of man's presence were still found at 3.60 metres above sea-level (the lowest point reached in the excavations) near the foundations of the equestrian statue of Domitian, in the shape of fragments of carbonised wood; while, at between 6 and 7 metres above sea-level, the skeletons of three individuals (if not more) were brought to light. No proper report is as yet available, but Mosso studied the skull of a female, which he found to be very small and dolichocephalic.

<sup>1</sup> So also Dionys. ii. 42.

The height was only 1.22 metre ; and near her was found the skeleton of a newly born infant. All three individuals were unburied ; while a child found close by had been placed on a hollowed piece of wood, with a small vase near it (NS 1906, 46-50). The archaic vases found in a travertine block enclosed in the concrete base of the *EQUUS DOMITIANI* (q.v.) belonged no doubt to a tomb, being exactly similar to those of the *sepulcretum*.

HülSEN indeed rightly claims that from the point of view of early Roman history, the confirmation of the traditional ascription of the *cloaca Maxima* to the Tarquins, who ruled over Rome in the sixth century B.C. (at the time, that is, when the necropolis ceased to be used) is one of the most important results of the recent excavations (HC 4).

The forum thus became a market-place—*quo conferrent suas controversias, et quae vendere vellent quo ferrent, forum appellarunt* (Varro, LL v. 145). On each side there was a row of *tabernae*—the older, the *veteres*, on the south side, facing away from the sun ; while another row, the *novae*, was later on placed on the opposite side. Games were also held here on the occasion of festivals or funerals, from the earliest times ; justice was administered here, and it naturally became a place of public resort, first for business, then for politics and popular assemblies, and later on for idleness or amusement. In this it was not dissimilar to the *fora* of other Roman cities in Italy and elsewhere. Fest. 84 says that there are six senses of the word : *primo negotiationis locus . . . alio, in quo iudicia fieri, cum populo agi, contiones haberi solent* (the rest does not concern us) ; but the *COMITIUM* (q.v.) was peculiar to Rome, and was the stronghold of aristocratic government and tradition. This was a slightly higher area in front of the *curia*, which adjoined the forum on the north-east, being separated from it by the *ROSTRA VETERA* (q.v.) with the *SEPULCRUM ROMULI* (q.v.), while the *VOLCANAL* (q.v.) higher still, rose on the north-west, on the slopes of the Capitol.

The open area of the forum was traversed by triumphal processions on their way up to the *clivus Capitolinus* ; but it is probable that the *Sacra via*, which entered at the south-east end, near the *Regia*, did not at first have a regularly marked-off course under ordinary circumstances. Other streets which radiated from this centre were the *ARGILETUM* (q.v.), and another street on the further side of the *Tabernae Novae*,<sup>1</sup> which led to the *Subura* and the *vicus Longus* ; the *VICUS IUGARIUS* and *VICUS TUSCUS* (q.v.), which led on each side of the *Tabernae Veteres* through the *Velabrum* to the forum *Boarium*, and so towards the river ; the steps near the temple of *Vesta*, leading up to the *Nova via* and on to the *clivus Victoriae* ; and the street between the *curia* and the temple of *Concord*, which led past the *LAUTUMIAE* (q.v.) (from which at first it took its name,

<sup>1</sup> In later days there was only a narrow footway between the *basilica Aemilia* and the temple of *Antoninus* and *Faustina*, the name of which is unknown ; it cannot have led beyond the forum *Pacis*.



being called *clivus Argentarius* under the late empire), which gave access to the *campus Martius* and to the roads to the north.

Conflicting influences are visible in the orientation of the buildings of the forum. The religious orientation of the earliest period, which followed the points of the compass, was always maintained in the shrine of *Iuturna*, the *regia* and the temple of *Vesta*, in the *comitium* and *rostra* until the time of *Julius Caesar*, and in the *atrium Vestae* (which, strictly speaking, lies, like the temple, outside the forum) until that of *Nero*. On the other hand, the line of direction of the temples of *Saturn* and of *Castor* (the *lacus Iuturnae*, at first orientated with the precinct of *Vesta*, was afterwards made to conform with this temple), which date from the beginning of the fifth century B.C., already began at that period to exert an influence the other way, which finally triumphed in the main. The *Tabernae Veteres*, and the various *basilicas* which succeeded them, doubtless conformed to it; and so did the *Tabernae Novae*, and consequently the *basilica Aemilia*. *Julius Caesar's* transference of the *rostra* and reconstruction of the *curia* dealt (with the exceptions noted above) the final blow to the old orientation (*Mem. L. 5. xvii. 506, 511*).

The first indubitable signs of the existence of an open area with well-defined limits and at a fixed level appear at 10.60-10.90 metres above sea, and are to be recognised in the following remains of *cappellaccio* pavements: (a) in front of the *basilica Aemilia* (CR 1901, 138); (b) in front of the temple of *Julius Caesar*; (c) under the fountain of *Iuturna* (but this may have been the floor of a basin; cf. NS 1901, 112-113; CR 1901, 141); (d) behind the republican *Atrium Vestae*.

To the next period (circa 174 B.C.) we must assign a level some half metre higher, which can be traced in the *comitium*, though in the forum proper there is nothing corresponding to it, except perhaps the remains of the pavement of the *clivus Capitolinus* of that date on the north-west side of the temple of *Saturn*, at 13.97 metres above sea-level. This is the period of the erection of permanent structures, called *BASILICAE* (see *B. AEMILIA, PORCIA, SEMPRONIA*) behind the two rows of *tabernae*—large covered halls which provided shelter from sun and rain, in which courts of law sat, and business was transacted. For the aspect of the forum at this time, see HC 12. fig. 4, and cf. *Plaut. Curc. iv. 1. 15*. Another epoch in its history came, when, in 145 B.C., the *Comitia Tributa* were transferred to the forum by the tribune *C. Licinius Crassus*, who, for the first time, addressed the people in the forum from the *rostra*, and turned his back on the *comitium*. In 121 B.C. the restorer of the temple of *Concord*, *Opimius*, built a *basilica* close to it (see *BASILICA OPIMIA*).

The next level, which is in general 11.80 to 11.90 metres above sea, has been recently assigned to *Sulla*<sup>1</sup> by *Dr. Van Deman* (*JRS 1922, 1-31*),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Fest. 317*: *Statae matris simulacrum in foro colebatur: postquam id collastravit,† ne lapides igne corrumperentur, qui plurimis† ibi fiebant nocturno tempore, magna pars populi in suos quisque vicos rettulerunt eius deae cultum. Most editors emend 'Cotta stravit'; but cf. *Jord. i. 1. 525*, where it is rightly pointed out that it would have been*



who enumerates (p. 10) a number of pavements which belong to it: (1) those of Monte Verde tufa, near the shrine of Venus Cloacina and at the lacus Curtius, and the remains of a similar pavement near the concrete base in front of the temple of Julius Caesar. There are pieces of similar pavement outside the area of the forum proper, near the arch of Augustus and the temple of Vesta (p. 20); (2) those of brick tesserae under the vicus Tuscus (CR 1899, 466; BC 1899, 253) and under the arches at the west end of the forum (called by Boni 'rostra Vetera'); and (3) the selce pavement of the street under the east front of the arch of Augustus (which was also found among the foundations of the temple of Julius Caesar), which is commonly called the vicus Vestae. A row of pozzi<sup>1</sup> parallel to it has been traced on the side towards the forum. (There are also indications of a corresponding level in the comitium.) To this level conform the earlier basilica Aemilia, the shrine of Venus Cloacina, the lacus Curtius, and the fountain of Iuturna.

The central area of the Sullan forum was enclosed on three sides by streets paved with polygonal blocks of selce, which took the place of the early cappellaccio slabs; and some remains of the pavement of the clivus Capitolinus above that of 174 B.C., at 14.50 metres above sea-level, belong to this period also. So also does the viaduct (which Boni calls the rostra Vetera, but cf. *ROSTRA*, p. 451, and *CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS*), the top of which is at the same level (p. 16). Of buildings assignable to the period of Sulla we know of little except the curia and the rostra, both of which were restored by him; while the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and the Tabularium were finished by Catulus.

The next level is 12.60 metres above sea-level. To this belong the travertine curbs of the shafts leading down to the remarkable series of cuniculi, as they are generally called<sup>2</sup>—underground passages the main line of which runs from the south-east end of the forum to the rostra of Augustus, with branches diverging at right angles (for plan see HC 139, fig. 69). A few pieces of white marble pavement at this level have been brought to light; and to it, too, belongs the restoration of the pavement of the lacus Curtius in slabs of travertine. This level is undoubtedly to be assigned to Julius Caesar's remodelling of the forum: Pliny tells us that when he gave a gladiatorial show, he covered the whole forum

necessary to specify which Cotta was meant, whereas 'Sulla stravit' is not more difficult palaeographically and is far more natural (cf. Rosch. iii. 223; WR 230; but contrast Pr. Myth. ii. 154, where it is proposed to refer 'id' to 'simulacrum'; cf. EE i. 231).

<sup>1</sup> For the so-called pozzi rituali see Mitt. 1902, 58; HC 113, 114; CR 1904, 330; 1906, 282; JRS 1922, 13; YW 1924-5, 83. They are rectangular pits, lined and covered with slabs of stone, several lines of which are traceable parallel to the rostra Vetera; while other lines have been found under the pavement of the Sacra via along the front of the Basilica Iulia and parallel to the *ROSTRA AUGUSTI*: so that it would appear that, in the time of Caesar, the open area of the forum was enclosed by them. Pottery was found in some of them, and they do not seem at all suited for drainage (they are not connected with any of the cloacae); but their real purpose is quite uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Their object has never been satisfactorily explained.

with awnings, as well as the Sacra via from his own house downwards and the whole of the clivus Capitolinus (NH. xix. 23).

The travertine pavement of the forum of the Augustan period which is dated to that period by the inscription of L. Naevius Surdinus<sup>1</sup> (see TRIBUNAL PRAETORIUM) rises from 12.60 metres above sea-level in front of the temple of Julius Caesar to 14 metres above sea-level in front of the rostra of Augustus along the line of the main axis of the central area (JRS 1922, 1-2). The discovery of this inscription proved conclusively that this pavement continued to be in use until the end of the classical period, and that it was not, as had previously been believed, the work of a later date. The comitium had, largely owing to the erection of the rostra of Caesar and of the SAEPTA (q.v.), lost most of its political importance; and the forum, transformed by Augustus, who continued and carried out the designs of Julius Caesar, has come down to us much as he left it. The majority of the buildings by which it is surrounded belong to his time—the temples of Saturn, Concord, Castor and Julius Caesar, and the rostra, the two basilicas, the regia and the *milliarium aureum*. The curia, though reconstructed by Diocletian, occupies the site of the curia Iulia; and the only other monuments we have to add are the temples of Vespasian and of Antoninus and Faustina (the latter really lies outside the limits of the forum proper), the arch of Septimius Severus, the portico of the Dii Consentes, and the *umbilicus*.

The famous reliefs which are believed to have stood on the ROSTRA of Augustus (q.v.), whether they belong to the period of Domitian or of Trajan, represent in all its essentials the forum as it was recreated by Augustus. (See also Ills. 27, 28.) The equestrian statue of Domitian (EQUUS DOMITIANI, q.v.) made only an ephemeral appearance in the central area of the forum; the tribunal of Trajan never existed; and this area must have long remained clear of monuments of any sort.

In 283, under Carinus, a great fire raged in the forum, which gave an opportunity for extensive building operations by Diocletian and his successors.

The seven bases which flank the Sacra via, opposite the basilica Iulia, are attributed to the period of Diocletian owing to the existence in them of brick-stamps of Constantine (CIL xv. 1569, a, 3, 4; 1643, b, 4). But inasmuch as the brickfaced concrete of some of them shows clear traces of having been built round a core of opus quadratum, we must suppose either that the nucleus was formed of this material, or that this belongs to similar bases for statues of an earlier period (Jord. i. 2. 179-184; ZA 85). The columns along the Sacra via are represented in the relief

<sup>1</sup> It is stated in Mem. L. 6. i. 225, n. 1; JRS 1926, 133, that it is an error to believe that this inscription indicates the position of the Tribunal Praetorium: but there is nothing incorrect in this, but only in confining the meaning of the inscription to the tribunal, and failing to realise that it involved the repavement of the whole forum, or in still believing, as Richter (BRT iv. 29) does, that the rest of the pavement is late.



27 FORUM ROMANUM  
From arch of Septimius Severus (p. 234)



28 FORUM ROMANUM, GENERAL VIEW LOOKING NORTH-WEST (p. 234)





referred to on p. 452. Though the brickwork of the base of the column of Phocas is similar to that of the other bases, it is perhaps unlikely that it was erected as early as the time of Diocletian (though certainly long before 608 A.D.), as it would have obstructed the front of the rostra (Mitt. 1902, 59-60; 1905, 68). On the other hand, an equestrian statue of Constantine (EQUUS CONSTANTINI) was erected in the centre of the area, just to the south-east of the spot where that of Domitian had stood.

But the transfer of the imperial residence to Byzantium led to an inevitable decline; and the forum became the scene of struggles between Paganism and Christianity. Monuments of the beginning of the fifth century may be found there (see *ROSTRA AUGUSTI*), but in 410 the fires which accompanied the plundering of Rome by Alaric destroyed many of the buildings of the forum, and notably the basilica Aemilia, which was never rebuilt. A terrible earthquake is recorded in 442 (Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. xiii. 16); while in 455 the Vandals under Gaiseric pillaged Rome; and the inscription placed on the rostra in commemoration of the naval victory of 470 is the last monument of the western empire in the forum. Theodoric (483-526), on the other hand, must have repaired many of the buildings of the forum, where a considerable number of bricks bearing his name have been found (HC 26; all that are actually published are CIL xv. 1665a low down in the favissa of the temple of Vesta, and the same stamp and ib. 1669 in the roof of the old church of S. Martina); and Theodohad's care for certain bronze statues of elephants (probably from an arch of triumph) in 535-6 is testified to by Cassiodorus (Var. x. 30). The first church in the forum was SS. Cosmas and Damianus (526-530), while the origin of S. Maria Antiqua is probably even earlier; S. Hadrianus and S. Martina occupied the curia and the secretarium about 20 years after the dedication of the column of Phocas (608 A.D.); while the basilica Aemilia and the atrium Vestae became the dwellings of Byzantine or papal officials.

It was the earthquake in the time of Pope Leo IV in 847 (LPD ii. 108: *huius beati tempore praesulis terre motus in urbe Roma per indictionem factus est x*,<sup>1</sup> *ita ut omnia elementa concussa viderentur ab omnibus*) which led to the destruction not only of S. Maria Antiqua, but of the majority of the monuments of the forum; and probably the fire of Robert Guiscard in 1084 caused great damage also. Certainly about 1130 the centre of the forum was entirely impassable (cf. *Liber Politicus Benedicti* ap. Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, ii. 158); and the description given in the *Mirabilia*, the genesis of which dates from this period, shows a curious mixture of real knowledge, false conjecture and pure imagination. The level of the forum rose gradually (cf. *CURIA IULIA*; HC fig. 53), and desolation increased.

The return of Pope Urban V from Avignon (1367) led to an increased

<sup>1</sup> This indiction ended on Aug. 30.

interest in ancient monuments, though they were often sacrificed as building material; and during the Renaissance this latter tendency became much stronger, despite the general spread of classical culture. In fact, the very architects who measured and drew the remains of antiquity were most active in using them as quarries for their own buildings. But we also have numerous sketches by artists, which cannot be enumerated here, but are of the highest value for our knowledge. A few notable finds of inscriptions and fragments of architecture were made; but nothing was attempted in the way of scientific excavation until the end of the eighteenth century, when a part of the basilica Iulia was laid bare, but incorrectly identified.

In 1803 Fea began by clearing the arch of Severus, and the work was continued by the French, the temples of Saturn and Vespasian being isolated, and the column of Phocas cleared; the temples of Castor and Concord followed. The work was continued in 1827-36, and the isolated excavations connected; but very little more was done until after 1870, when the work was taken in hand seriously (though at first with too little regard to the late classical period, see LR 244-245), and the forum and Sacra via cleared from the Tabularium to the arch of Titus. Work stopped again in 1885, and was not resumed again until 1898, when extensive excavations were begun by Boni and carried to the lowest strata at many points over the whole area. In this connection a passage in LR 240, written in 1897, just before Boni's excavations began, should be quoted. 'It is necessary to remind the reader that the excavations of the Forum and of the Palatine have nowhere been carried to the proper depth. We have satisfied ourselves with laying bare the remains of the *late* empire, without taking care to explore the earlier and deeper strata.' At the same time came the addition of the site of the basilica Aemilia and of the comitium; and the demolition of the church of S. Maria Liberatrice rendered it possible to connect up the forum with the Palatine, and to lay bare the lacus Iuturnae, the whole group of S. Maria Antiqua, the horrea Agrippiana, etc.

The best guides to the voluminous literature of the forum, and to its history through the ages are: Jord. i. 2. 155-429; cf. EE iii. 238-248; LR 221-294; LS *passim*.

For the recent excavations, see Vaglieri in BC 1903, 3-239; Boni in Atti 493-584—his reports in NS only deal with the temple of VESTA, the LACUS IUTURNAE, the COMITIUM, and the SEPULCRETUM (qq. v.); cf. also CR 1899-1906 *passim*—CQ 1908, 142-150; Thédénat, Forum Romanum (ed. 4, 1908); Hülsen, Forum Romanum, tr. Carter (ed. 2, 1909), and Nachtrag, Rome, 1910; Forum und Palatin, Berlin, 1926 (English edition, New York, 1928); and in Mitt. 1902, 1-97; 1905, 1-119; De Ruggiero, Foro Romano, Rome, 1913; RE Suppl. iv. 461-511. For the forum in Christian times see Leclercq in Cabrol, Dict. v. 1997-2065. For a restoration, see D'Esp. Mon. ii. 84-86.

FORUM RUSTICORUM : mentioned only in App. I of Reg. with the FORUM GALLORUM, and very doubtful (Jord. ii. 214 ; DE iii. 203).

FORUM SUARIUM : the pork market of Rome during the empire, mentioned first in two inscriptions of about 200 A.D. (CIL vi. 3728=31046, 9631), and then in documents of later date (Not. Reg. VII ; Pol. Silv. 545 ; Cod. Theodosianus xiv. 4. 4. 4 ; Philostr. Her. 283 Kays.<sup>1</sup>). This market was near the barracks of the cohortes urbanae in the northern part of the campus Martius, probably close to the present Propaganda, and its administration was in the hands of the prefect or of one of his officers (CIL vi. 1156a ; Not. dignit. occ. iv. 10 ; Digest. i. 12. 1. 11). See HJ 452 ; BC 1895, 48-9 ; DE iii. 207 ; and cf. CAMPUS PECUARIUS.

FORUM TAURI : evidently an open forum in Region V, in the neighbourhood of the HORTI TAURIANI (q.v.), and perhaps within the limits of the region caput Tauri (BC 1890, 280-3). References to both are found only in mediaeval literature ;<sup>2</sup> to the forum in connection with the martyrdom of S. Bibiana (Catalogus codd. hagiograph. Paris, Brussels 1889, i. 522 ; BC loc. cit.) ; and to the caput here and also elsewhere (Acta S. Bib. in cod. Vat. 5696 (cf. Jord. ii. 319 ; HJ 369) ; LPD i. 127, 258). The forum was therefore probably near S. Bibiana, while the caput Tauri extended some distance around it, and was perhaps separated from the horti Tauriani (CIL vi. 29771) by the via Tiburtina vetus. It is not to be confused with the locality known as AD TAURUM (q.v.) near the thermae Traianae. It is also possible that L. Statilius Taurus, consul in 44 A.D., who owned the horti, constructed the forum and adorned it with bulls' heads, which in turn gave the name to the surrounding region. The porta S. Lorenzo was called porta Taurina in the twelfth century and later (Urlichs, pp. 115, 127-130, 150).

FORUM TRAIANI \* (sometimes Ulpium : Hist. Aug. Marc. 22. 7 ; Sid. Apoll. Carm. 2. 544 ; CIL vi. 1724, 1749) : the last, largest and most magnificent of the imperial fora, built by Trajan with the assistance of the Greek architect Apollodorus, and dedicated, at least in part, about 113 A.D. (Cass. Dio lxxviii. 16. 3 ; lxxix. 4. 1 ; Vict. Caes. 13. 5 : adhuc Romae a Domitiano coepta forum atque alia multa plusquam magnifice coluit ornavitque, which may perhaps mean that the work was planned and possibly begun by Domitian ; see S. Sculpt. 149 ; ScR 135 ; NS 1907, 415 ; CQ 1908, 144). When completed by Trajan it consisted of the forum proper, the basilica Ulpia, the column of Trajan, and the bibliotheca, and extended from the forum Augustum north-west between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, with the same orientation as the other imperial fora. Unlike these it did not contain a central temple of which it formed a virtual porticus (for the possible significance of the sacellum Libertatis, see below).

<sup>1</sup> ii. 129. 12 (Teubner).

<sup>2</sup> Add Marcell. comes Chron. a. 447 : Saxa quoque ingentia in forum Tauri dudum super sese in aedificio posita . . . collapsa sunt.



After Trajan's death, however, Hadrian erected the great temple of Trajan on the north-west side of the bibliotheca (Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19. 9; CIL vi. 966, 31215), which thenceforth formed an integral part of the forum whole, and made it conform somewhat to the imperial type. Although the walls of the forum of Trajan and the forum of Augustus seem to have been separated by a short distance, they must have been connected by a wide avenue at least, and thus Caesar's plan of connecting the forum Romanum and the campus Martius (Cic. ad Att. iv. 16. 8) was finally carried out.

The construction of Trajan's forum necessitated much excavation and levelling. The space thus prepared was 185 metres in width, and the extreme length of forum and temple precinct was about 310 metres. The inscription on the pedestal of the column (CIL vi. 960: *senatus populusque Romanus imp. Caesari divi Nervae f. Nervae Traiano . . . ad declarandum quantae altitudinis mons et locus tan<(tis oper)>ibus sit egestus*) in connection with a passage in Cassius Dio (lxviii. 16. 3: *ἔστησεν . . . κίονα μέγιστον ἅμα μὲν ἐς ταφὴν ἑαυτῷ, ἅμα δὲ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔργου· παντὸς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου ἐκείνου ὀρεινοῦ ὄντος κατέσκαψε τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ κίων ἀνίσχει καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ τούτου πεδινὴν κατεσκεύασε*) was formerly taken to mean that the height of the column (100 Roman feet) was that of a ridge between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills which had to be cut away, but geological evidence showed that it never existed. This was confirmed by the discovery of an ancient street and houses of the early empire beneath the foundation of the column (NS 1907, 389-410, 414-427; CQ 1908, 141-144). In view of this fact various attempts have been made to explain the inscription, and especially *mons*, in some other way (Boni, NA 1906, 1 Nov.; Proceedings of the British Academy iii. 1907, 93-98; Binder, Die Plebs, Leipzig 1909, 42-51; Comparetti, RL 1906, 570-588; Mau, Mitt. 1907, 187-197; Richter, Internationale Wochenschrift 1907, 664-668; Sogliano, Atti dell' Acc. d. Napoli xxiv. 1908, 79-98; Nazari, Atti dell' Acc. di Torino xliii. 1908, 595-613; Rasi, Atti dell' Acc. di Padova, 1910, 167-176; Rasi, Riv. di Fil. 1910, 56-62; Graffunder, BPW 1912, 1736; Ramorino, Giornale d'Italia, Rome 1906, Nos. 308, 310, 318; La Nazione, 7 Nov. 1907. Cf. the summary by Nazari (loc. cit. 595): 'Veramente questo studio dovrebbe piuttosto intitolarsi le peripezie di un monte che si credette esistito fino a questi ultimi tempi, fu negato dal Boni il quale gli sostituisce il vicino Quirinale, fu idealmente reconstituito dal Comparetti con marmi fatti venire dall' Egitto dalla Libia e da altri lontani e vicini paesi, divenne per opera del Ramorino una montagna di capolavori artistici, fu inalzato dal Sogliano scaricando immondizie e detriti portati poi via da Traiano, e finalmente fu ridotto ad un bastione dal Mau'). The least unsatisfactory explanation as yet suggested is that *mons* refers to the extreme eastern shoulder of the Quirinal, the collis Latiaris, that was cut back so far that the height of the excavation was approximately 100 feet (Hülssen, Geogr. Jahrbuch xxxiv. (1911), 203-205). Groh



(RL 1925, 40-57) accepts this view, explaining that the *mons* was probably situated to the north-west of the forum of Augustus; and suggests that the column was not placed there, but further west, in order that Trajan's tomb might not fall within the Pomerium.

The forum proper was a rectangular court (Gell. xiii. 25. 2: in area fori) 116 metres wide and 95 long (according to LF 22, who places the south-east wall of the forum 25 metres farther from the forum Augustum than other topographers), enclosed by a wall of peperino faced with marble, except on the sides, where great hemicycles, 45 metres in depth, projected outwards. Around three sides was a colonnade of different kinds of marble, single on the south-east, and double on the north-east and south-west. The entrance to the area was in the middle of the south-east side, opposite the forum of Augustus, where in 116, the year of Trajan's death, the senate erected a magnificent arch to commemorate his victories in Dacia (Cass. Dio lxviii. 29). This arch is represented on coins (Cohen, Traj. 167, 169) as single, but with three columns on each side of the passage way and niches between the columns. It was surmounted by a six-horse chariot, in which stood the emperor crowned by Victory (Baumeister, Denkmaler, fig. 1974). On the roof of the colonnade were gilded statues of horses and military standards, provided from the spoils of war (Gell. xiii. 25), and in the centre of the area was a bronze equestrian statue of Trajan himself (Amm. Marcell. xvi. 10. 15: in atrio medio; Cohen, Traj. 1, 2). On each side was a smaller arch; and the three entrances corresponded to those of the basilica Ulpia. One of the colonnades in this forum was called porticus Purpuretica, probably because the columns were of porphyry (Hist. Aug. Prob. 2; (but cf. SHA 1916, 7. A, 9; 1918, 13. A, 46, where this statement is called a pure invention); CIL xv. 7191; BCr 1874, 50).

In the intercolumnar spaces of the porticoes, and perhaps here and there in the area, Trajan and his successors set up statues of many distinguished statesmen and generals (Hist. Aug. Marci 22. 7; Alex. Sev. 26. 4: statuas summorum virorum in foro Traiani conlocavit undique translatas; Sid. Apoll. Carm. 9. 301 and CIL vi. 1724, Merobaudes; Sid. Apoll. Carm. 8. 8 and Ep. ix. 16. 25-28, Sidonius himself; Hier. Chron. p. 195 (Sch.) and Aug. Conf. viii. 2. (3), Victorinus; Hist. Aug. Tac. 9. 2, the Emperor Aurelian). A large number of the inscriptions on these statues have been found within the precincts of the forum, some of which state that they were placed 'in foro Traiani' (M. Claudius Fronto, CIL vi. 31640, M. Bassaeus Rufus 1599, Claudian the poet 1710, Flavius Eugenius 1721, Fl. Peregrinus Saturninus 1727), in foro Ulpio (Merobaudes 1724, Petronius Maximus 1749), while the rest omit any such statement (CIL vi. 959, 967, 996, 1497, 1540,<sup>1</sup> 1549, 1566, 1653,

<sup>1</sup> This inscription, set up in honour of Vitrasius Pollio, mentions one statue set up in the Forum of Trajan, and one in the pronaos of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina (?). See CIL vi. 31676. 1566 has *in foro Divi (Traiani)*.

1683, 1725, 1729, 1736, 1764, 1783, 1789, 3559 = 32989, and probably also 997).

In this forum the consuls, and presumably other officials, held court (Gell. xiii. 25. 2), and slaves were freed (Sid. Apoll. Carm. 2. 544-545); here Hadrian burned the notes of debtors to the state (Hist. Aug. Hadr. 7. 6), Marcus Aurelius sold the treasures of the imperial palace to defray the expenses of war (Hist. Aug. Marc. 17. 4; 21. 9; Eutrop. viii. 13; ep. de Caes. 16. 9), and Aurelian burned the lists of the proscribed (Hist. Aug. Aurel. 39. 3; cf. Cass. Dio lxxi. 32. 2); and here the laws were frequently fastened up on bronze tablets (cf. cod. Theodos. xiv. 2. 1: *proposita in foro Traiani*; *Leges Novellae Valentiniani III*, ed. Meyer-Mommsen 19. 4; 21. I. 7; 2. 6; 23. 9; 27. 8; 31 7. et passim). Down to 353 A.D. the senators kept their money and silver in chests in this forum and the place of deposit was called *Opes* (Schol. Iuv. 10. 24). The forum is represented on coins (Cohen, *Traj.* 167-169), and is mentioned in Reg. (Reg. VIII, app.; Pol. Silv. 545).

The hemicycle on the north-east side of the forum area has been partially excavated (NS 1907, 414-427). Built of ornamental brick with travertine trimmings, it consists principally of two stories of chambers abutting directly against the side of the Quirinal hill (Ill. 30). The rooms on the ground floor, which were probably shops, open on the marble pavement<sup>1</sup> of the forum. Above the first story is a gallery with Tuscan pilasters, into which the rooms of the second story open. Above this gallery there was another story, the front of which was not flush with the lower façade but pushed back on the slope of the hill. The semi-circular space in front of this hemicycle was paved with white marble and surrounded with a colonnade decorated with gilt bronze trophies.

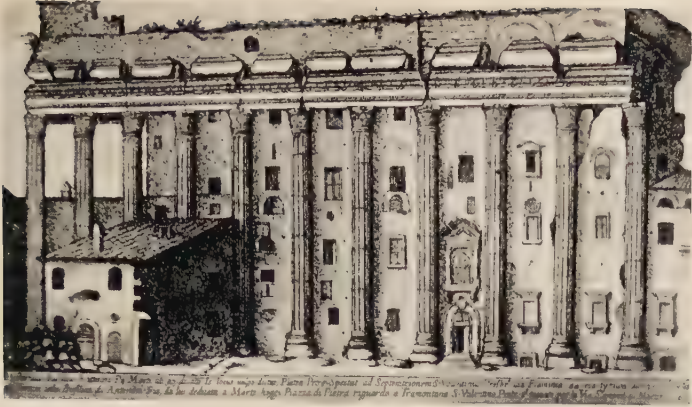
Still higher, on the upper level of the Quirinal, is a series of halls, now occupied by the barracks of the *Milizia*, approached by steps from the forum level (Ann. Assoc. Art. cult. Arch. 1910-11 (Rome 1912), 43). The mediaeval name *Magnanapoli* is by some thought to be a corruption of *Balnea Pauli*, but this is itself merely a sixteenth century invention, based on a false reading in Juvenal vii. 233. (See *BALINEUM PHOEBI.*) Cf. Adinolfi, *Roma nell' età di mezzo*, ii. 43, 47.

Hülßen quotes a privilege of 938 (Reg. Subl. p. 63, n. 24) which speaks of *Adrianus quondam de banneo Neapolim*<sup>2</sup>; and the name occurs in the form *mons Balnei Neapolis* and *mons Manianapoli* in the thirteenth century (HCh 351). Here must have been situated the church of *S. Salvator de Divitiis* or in *Cryptis* (HCh 438).

Two drawings by Cronaca (?) show a portion of the south enclosure wall of the forum proper, which was of blocks of white marble, and

<sup>1</sup> This was afterwards covered by a mediaeval road (Gnomon iii. 60).

<sup>2</sup> This, as Hülßen has suggested, may be a mistake for *Neapolini*, the name of the owner of the bath.



29 HADRIANUS, DIVUS, TEMPLUM

*From an engraving by ALÒ GIOVANNOLI, 1615 (p. 250)*



30 FORUM TRAIANI, NORTH-EAST HEMICYCLE (p. 240)

*Before the recent excavations*





decorated with an internal colonnade like the forum Transitorium, with a line of tabernae outside. The frieze with a griffin and cupids, now in the Lateran (SScR 150, pl. 33), belonged to this wall (Bartoli, in Mem. AP I. ii. 177-192), and from its style has been attributed to the period of Domitian. It has also been thought that the brickfacing of the north-east hemicycle is characteristic of his reign (RA 113). If, however, this were so, we should have to attribute to Domitian the removal of the mass of earth from the slopes of the Quirinal which is communicated by the inscription on the column of Trajan—and this is of course impossible.

The name *porticus curva* (Cassiod. Var. iv. 30) should probably be applied to the south-western hemicycle of this forum, and not to the apse of the *Secretarium Senatus*; see *CURIA IULIA* (p. 146).

On the north-west side of the area of the forum was the basilica Ulpia (probably completed in 112 A.D., CIL vi. 959; *FUR* frgs. 25-26; *Not. app.*; Cohen, *Traj.* 42-44; *Hist. Aug. Com.* 2. 1: in basilica Traiani; *Geog. min. ed. Riese*, p. 120: *sicut et quae dicitur forum Traianum quae habet basilicam praecipuam et nominatam*), rectangular in shape with apses at each end. Its floor was one metre higher than the level of the area, and was approached by flights of steps of *giallo antico*. The main entrance was in the middle of the east side, from the area of the forum, where there was a decorative façade, represented with variations on three coins (Cohen, *Traj.* 42-44). This consisted of a row of ten columns, probably of yellow marble, in the line of the wall, with six others in front on three projecting platforms. These columns supported an entablature and attics on which stood quadrigae and statues of triumphators. The central quadriga was escorted by Victories. The great hall of the basilica was surrounded with a double row of columns, 96 in all, probably of white or yellow marble, with Corinthian capitals, which formed two aisles 5 metres wide, and supported a gallery on both sides of the nave and at the ends. The nave itself was 25 metres wide, and the total length of the rectangle, without the apses, about 130. The walls of the basilica were faced with marble, and its roof was of timber covered with bronze which is mentioned by Pausanias (v. 12. 6; x. 5. 11) as one of the most notable features of the whole structure.

The central part of the basilica has been excavated, but the fragmentary granite columns now standing do not belong here, although they have been placed on the original bases. Some of the original pavement of white marble is still in situ (Lesueur, *La Basilica Ulpienne*, restauration exécutée en 1823, Paris 1878; cf. *D'Esp. Fr.* i. 78). The architectural fragments now visible in the forum have not been properly assigned to its various parts (Toeb. i. 62-66). For the reliefs attributable to the frieze which decorated the wall surrounding the forum, some of which were used for the decoration of the arch of Constantine, while other fragments are in the Villa Medici and the Louvre, see *PBS* iii. 225 ;

iv. 229-258; SScR 142-150 (and esp. 135, 151 n. 17, where it is suggested that the whole series may illustrate Domitian's Dacian campaigns) 418; Mon. Piot, 1910, xvii. 206-239; Sieveking in *Festschr. f. P. Arndt*, 29, who attributes them to Hadrian, and in *Mitt.* 1925, 161-166, where the fragment at Cannes is described.

On one of the fragments of the Marble Plan (FUR frg. 25; pp. 28, 31; Jord. i. 2. 460), in the north-east apse of the basilica, is the inscription LIBERTATIS; and Sidonius Apollinaris (Carm. ii. 544, 545: *nam modo nos iam festa vocant et ad Ulpia poscunt / Te fora donabis quos libertate Quirites*) seems to refer to this shrine, and to indicate that the ceremony of manumitting slaves, previously performed in the ATRIUM LIBERTATIS (q.v.), took place here. This was probably a sacellum, not merely a statue, and its presence may indicate that this goddess was recognised as the presiding divinity of this forum, a choice significant of the liberal character of the emperor.

On the north-east side of the basilica Ulpia was a small rectangular court, 24 metres wide and 16 deep, formed by the basilica itself, the two halls of the bibliotheca (see below), and, later, the temple of Trajan. In the centre of this court the columna Traiani was erected in 113 A.D. Nibby (*Roma Antica* ii. 183) had already pointed out that the colonnade joining the two libraries on the north was only removed when the column was built (Toeb. i. 62).

Its construction is ascribed in the dedicatory inscription on the pedestal to the senate and people (CIL vi. 960: *senatus populusque Romanus imp. Caesari divi Nervae f. Nervae Traiano ad declarandum quantum altitudinis mons et locus tan<tis oper>ibus sit egestus*), but elsewhere to Trajan himself (Cass. Dio lxviii. 16), who is said to have built it to show the depth of excavation of his forum, and for his sepulchre.<sup>1</sup> It is also figured on several coins of Trajan after 113 (Cohen, Traian 115, 284, 359, 555-6).<sup>2</sup> It was called columna cochlis (Not. Reg. VIII), and was a columna centenaria, like the COLUMN OF M. AURELIUS (q.v.), although the latter adjective is not actually applied to it in the few extant references in ancient literature.

It is built of Parian marble. The shaft and basis, composed of 18 blocks, 3.70 metres in diameter, with the additional block that forms the capital, and the plinth which is cut in the upper block of the pedestal, measure 100 Roman feet (29.77 metres) in height. The height of shaft and pedestal together is 38 metres, which corresponds with the figures

<sup>1</sup> Lehmann-Hartleben (*Traianssäule*, 3-7) maintains (a) that a further examination of the chamber in the base shows that a marble table was fixed there to carry the urn, (b) that there is no room for the letters *SOPER* but only for *SOP*, so that *tan<tis opi>bus* should be read. '*Rupibus*' is proposed in *Rev. ét. anc.* 1922, 303-305, but seems to him as unsatisfactory as other previous suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> As Lehmann-Hartleben points out, the earlier coins (Cohen, *ib.* 357, which is earlier than 110; in *ib.* 358 the type survived till 115) show a bird, probably an eagle, on the top of the column, which, when first projected, was not intended to serve as Trajan's tomb, though the change of object had come before its erection had actually begun.

of the Notitia (columnam cochlidem altam pedes cxxviii semis (Cur. : cxxviii)). On its top was a statue of Trajan in gilt bronze, of which we have no representation. Sixtus V erected the present statue of S. Peter in 1588.

Within the hollow column a spiral staircase with 185 steps leads to the top (so also Not. : gradus intus habet clxxxv—Cur. : clxxx). Light is furnished by 43 narrow slits in the wall (Not. : fenestras xlv). The pedestal, 5.4 metres high and 5.5 square, is ornamented on three sides with trophies. The south-east side has a door, and above it the inscription. Within the pedestal are a vestibule, a hallway, and a rectangular sepulchral chamber lighted by a window on the south-west side, in which the ashes of Trajan in a golden urn were probably placed (Eutrop. 8. 5 ; Cass. Dio lxix. 2 ; Aur. Vict. ep. 13 ; Hier. ad a. Abr. 2132 ; Cassiod. Chron. 141). This chamber was evidently robbed, for when re-excavated in 1906 (NS 1907, 361-401 ; CR 1906, 379 ; Builder xc. 1906, 368), it was found that a hole had been cut through the travertine foundation. To secure the stability of the structure the chamber itself had afterward been filled up with concrete, certainly after 1764, in which year one Radet wrote his name on the lintel of the door (CR cit.).

The entire surface of the shaft is covered with reliefs, arranged on a spiral band, which varies in width from about 90 centimetres at the bottom to nearly 1.25 metre at the top. These reliefs represent the principal events in the campaigns of Trajan in Dacia between 101 and 106 A.D., and also form a complete encyclopedia of the organisation and equipment of the Roman army in the second century. The average height of the figures is 60 centimetres, and they were cut after the column had been erected, so that the joints of the blocks are almost entirely concealed. These reliefs were also coloured most brilliantly (Bull. d. Inst. 1833, 92 ; 1836, 39-41).<sup>1</sup> Casts of these reliefs may be seen in the Lateran Museum, St. Germain near Paris, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London (for these reliefs, see Fröhner, *La Colonne Trajane*, Paris 1874 ; Percier, *Restauration des monuments antiques* pt. ii. 1878 ; Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Trajans-Säule*, 2 pts. Berlin 1896 ; Petersen, *Trajans Dakische Kriege* 1903 ; D'Esp. Mon. ii. 110 ; Fr. i. 79-81 ; S. Sculpt. 166-213 ; CR 1906, 235 ; PBS v. 435-459 ; vi. 177-185 ; JRS 1917, 74-97 ; SScR 153-190 ; Lehmann-Hartleben, *Traians-Säule*, Berlin 1926 : for the development of the theory that the form of the monument was suggested by the papyrus roll and that the reliefs were designed to be monumental illustrations of the history of his campaigns that Trajan himself (cf. Priscian. apud. Keil. ii. 205. 6) wrote, see Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der antiken Kunst*, Leipzig 1907, 269-315 ; RhM 1908, 39-57). In this connection it is worth noting that the earliest exemplification of the idea of a column decorated with a spiral band may be seen in a fresco on the back wall of the central room (the so-called

<sup>1</sup> So Pl. 289 : but both statements are open to question.



tablinum) of the house of Augustus (Livia) on the Palatine (Mon. Inst. xi. 22).

The little church of S. Nicolas de Columna at the base of the column is mentioned as early as 1029-32 (HCh 394-396). It disappeared between 1560 and 1570. For some heads of animals which may have come from the forum, see LS ii. 127; PT 178; and for the relief of an eagle in the church of SS. Apostoli, which is traditionally attributed to this forum, see MD 3539; SScR 206.

On either side of the column and abutting against the north-east wall of the basilica were the two buildings of the library, the bibliotheca Ulpia (Hist. Aug. Aur. 8, 24); also called bibliotheca templi Traiani (Gell. xi. 17; cf. CIL vi. 9446: *atria Traiani*;<sup>1</sup> Cass. Dio lxxviii. 16: *κατεσκεύασε δὲ (Trajan) καὶ βιβλίων ἀποθήκας*). One building was for Greek and the other for Latin books. In both were reading rooms, and on the walls were placed busts of celebrated authors (Sid. Apoll. ix. 16. 27). State archives, such as the edicts of the praetors and the *libri lintei*, or acts of the emperors, were kept here (Hist. Aug. Aur. 1; Tac. 8; Numer. 11). At a later period, and for some unknown reason, the books were transferred to the baths of Diocletian (Hist. Aug. Prob. 2; see Boyd, 17-19, 37-39). v. Domaszewski (SHA 1916, 7 A, 9; 1918, 13 A, 49-52) considers all the statements of the author of the Hist. Aug. to be pure inventions, arguing that the only correct name for the library is *bibliotheca Traiani*, and that the *bibliotheca Ulpia* was a library in Nemausus (Nîmes) of which the author was curator. See SCHOLA FORI TRAIANI.

The forum of Trajan was completed by Hadrian, who erected the great temple of Trajan and his wife Plotina, *templum divi Traiani* (Not. Reg. VIII; Gell. xi. 17. 1; Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19. 9: *numquam ipse nisi in Traiani patris templo nomen suum scripsit*—an inaccurate statement, cf. AJA 1905, 441-449, or rather a pure invention (v. Domaszewski, cit. 1918, 13 A, 46). Fragments of the double dedicatory inscription (CIL vi. 966=31215) have been found. The temple was octostyle peripteral, and stood on a raised platform, round which was a porticus. Fragments of its granite columns 2 metres in diameter, of smaller columns 1.80 metre in diameter, and some corresponding capitals of the Corinthian order, have been found at various times (Bull. d. Inst. 1869, 237; NS 1886, 158 ff.; for possible remains of pavement of the colonnade, see NS 1904, 153-157; BC 1904, 341-346; and for a base which may have belonged to it, JRS 1919, 192). The reliefs (*supra*, 241) found within the area of the forum may have belonged to the temple, but more probably to the encircling colonnade.

The forum of Trajan was probably the most impressive and magnificent group of buildings in Rome (Cassiod. Var. vii. 6; Vict. Caes. 13. 5; Paus. locc. citt.), and a vivid picture is given of the astonishment of the Emperor Constantius on the occasion of his visit to it in 356 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> See also *ib.* 33808; AL 1343.



(Amm. Marcell. xvi. 10. 15). The history of its destruction begins with the sixth century, and throughout the Middle Ages it furnished an almost inexhaustible supply of decorative material for the churches and palaces of Rome (cf. BC 1901, 300-308; DAP 2. xv. 367-368; LS passim).

See Jord. i. 2. 453-467; Gilb. iii. 234-237; LR 312-321; DuP 117-119; ZA 44-52; RA 113-116. For restorations, see Richter e Grifi, Ristauero del Foro Traiano, Rome 1839; Canina, Edifizi ii. pls. 111-125; D'Esp. Mon. ii. 103-109; Fr. i. 76, 77, 80; cf. also Mem. L. 5. xvii. 523, 524; ASA 54-57, 84, 122.

FORUM TRANSITORIUM: see FORUM NERVAE.

FORUM ULPIUM: see FORUM TRAIANI.

FORUM VESPASIANI: see TEMPLUM PACIS.

FORUM VINARIUM: known only from the mention of argentarii de foro vinario in four inscriptions (CIL vi. 9181 abc, 9182), but perhaps to be connected with the PORTUS VINARIUS (q.v.) and to be located near the Emporium (DE iii. 310).

FOSSAE QUIRITIUM: see CLOACA MAXIMA.

FREGELLAE: a quarter in Rome inhabited by Fregellans (Fest. 91), perhaps the survivors of the destruction of Fregellae in 124 B.C.

FRIGIANUM: see TEMPLUM MAGNAE MATRIS IN VATICANO.

A FURCA: found on one inscription: Iulius casarus a furca (CIL vi. 9238); apparently a district of the city.

FURRINA: see LUCUS FURRINAE.

## G

**GAIA.** A calendar anterior to Julius Caesar recently found at Antium (NS 1921, 118) notes, under 8th Dec., Tiberino, Gaiae. The cult of Tiberinus on the insula Tiberina was already known; and that of Gaia was perhaps carried on in the same shrine. Gaia is Gaia Taracia (see **CAMPUS TIBERINUS**) or Fufetia, who is identified either with Tarquinia, the virtuous Vestal of Numa's day, or with her antitype Tarpeia (Plin. NH xxxiv. 25; Gell. vii. 7. 4; Pais, *Storia* i<sup>2</sup>. 538; Mitt. 1921-2, 23-28).

**GAIANUM:** an open space in Region XIV (Reg. Cat.; Hemerol. Filoc. ad v Kal. April., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 314), south of the naumachia Vaticana and east of the via Triumphalis, where Caligula was fond of having horse races (Cass. Dio lix. 14). From inscriptions found in the vicinity (CIL vi. 10052-4, 10057-8, 10067, 33937, 33953; BC 1902, 177-185) it appears to have been surrounded by statues of successful charioteers (HJ 662; DAP 2. viii. 355-60; BC 1896, 248-9).

**GALLINAE ALBAE:** probably a street or district in Reg. VI (Reg.) and in the fourth ecclesiastical region (Greg. Magn. ep. iii. 17: domum... regione quarta, iuxta locum qui appellatur Gallinas albas), on the western part of the Viminal, in the neighbourhood of S. Lorenzo in Panisperna. The name was preserved by the church of S. Sixtus in Gallina Alba (Jord. ii. 122, 319; ASRSP 1886, 436; RhM 1894, 417; HJ xxiii, 374; HCh 471. For the name as applied to a part of the villa of Livia, on the via Flaminia, see JRS 1921, 145; BC 1923, 26, 27).

**AD GEMELLOS:** mentioned twice in Frontinus (de. aq. 5, 65): locus infra SPEM VETEREM (q.v.), that is, near the porta Praenestina (Jord. i. 1. 462; HJ 364), where the aqua Appia and aqua Augusta joined.

**GEMONIAE:** see **SCALAE GEMONIAE**.

**GENIUS CASTRORUM, SACELLUM:** a shrine or altar dedicated to the Genius of the CASTRA PEREGRINA (q.v.) on the Caelian, known only from inscriptions (CIL vi. 230-231; HJ 235; DE iii. 475-476; CR 1908, 156).

**GENIUS POPULI ROMANI** (aedicula? νεώς, ναός, τοῦ Γενίου τοῦ δήμου Cass. Dio): (1) a shrine dedicated to the Genius of the Roman people, near the temple of Concord in the forum, mentioned twice in connection with prodigies in the years 43 and 32 B.C. (Cass. Dio xlvii. 2. 3; l. 8. 2), and on an inscription (CIL vi. 248) found between the clivus Capitolinus and

the basilica Iulia. Aurelian 'genium populi Romani aureum in rostris posuit' (Chron. 148; cf. Becker, Top. 320), which probably means that the shrine was close to the rostra, and this agrees with the order in Not. (Reg. VIII; see Jord. i. 2. 377; DE iii. 467-468; RE vii. 1166).

(2) According to the calendars (Fast. Amit. Arval. ad vii Id. Oct., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 245, 214, 331) sacrifices were offered on 9th October to the Genius populi Romani, Felicitas and Venus Victrix in Capitolio, and therefore there was probably a shrine or altar of this Genius on the Capitol also. Whether it was dedicated to the Genius alone, or to the triad, is uncertain (Jord. i. 2. 46; DE, RE locc. citt.; WR 179, 266; DR 142-145).

GENS FLAVIA, TEMPLUM (templa Hist. Aug. Trig. Tyr. 33. 6; Claud. Goth. 3. 6): a temple erected by Domitian on the site of his father's, Vespasian's, house, in which he himself was born (Suet. Dom. 1, 5; Chron. 146). This was on the Quirinal just south of the Alta Semita, the present Via Venti Settembre, ad Malum Punicum, the modern Via delle Quattro Fontane (Suet. loc. cit.; Mart. ix. 20. 1; BC 1889, 383; RhM 1894, 399-400; Mitt. 1891, 120). It was struck by lightning in 96 A.D. (Suet. Dom. 15); probably enlarged by Claudius Gothicus in 268-270 A.D. (Hist. Aug. cit.: PBS iii. 242-243, though the theory here advanced in regard to the Flavian date of the round reliefs of the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE (q.v.) is not now generally accepted), and was standing in the fourth century (Not. Reg. VI). It was probably round in shape (Mart. ix. 3. 12, 34. 2; Stat. Silv. iv. 3. 19; Altm. 88), and was intended to serve as the mausoleum of the Flavian dynasty. Domitian's ashes were placed there (Suet. Dom. 17), and it is probable that he had, before his death, removed thither the ashes of his father and brother (Mart. ix. 34. 7; Stat. Silv. v. 1. 240-241; Hirschfeld, Berl. Sitz.-Ber. 1886, 1158-1159=Kleine Schriften 463-464). It was a magnificent structure, and evidently regarded as a symbol of the eternity of Rome (Mart. ix. 1. 8, 3. 12; Stat. Silv. iv. 3. 18-19). Nothing is known of the building after the fourth century, and no certain traces of it have been found (HJ 426; cf., however, Altmann, loc. cit., for possible evidence from Vacca).

GENS IULIA, ARA: an altar on the Capitoline, presumably<sup>1</sup> in the AREA CAPITOLINA (q.v.). Copies of a number of the diplomata of honourably discharged soldiers, belonging to the years after 71 A.D., state that the originals were fastened to this altar (CIL iii. pp. 847-851, Suppl. pp. 1958, 1959, 2034; DE i. 604; Jord. i. 2. 56), and it is no doubt this altar that is referred to in a fragment of the Acta Fratrum Arvalium of uncertain date (CIL vi. 2035, l. 4).

GNOMON: see OBELISCUS AUGUSTI IN CAMPO MARTIO.

GRADUS AURELIÏ: see TRIBUNAL AURELIUM.

<sup>1</sup> A diploma published in JRS 1926, 95-101, states that the original was 'fixa Romae in Capitolio in basi Pompei[li] regis aram gentis Iuliae,' which makes this presumption a certainty.

GRADUS GEMITORII : see SCALAE GEMONIAE.

GRADUS HELIOGABALI : mentioned twice in mediaeval documents (Acta S. Sebastiani AA. SS. Ian. 20, p. 642 ; Mirab. 10), and probably on the north-east part of the Palatine (Jord. ii. 382, 616 ; HJ 106 ; HCh 305, 595 ; see TEMPLUM ELAGABALI).

GRADUS MONETAE : steps mentioned only in Ovid (Fast. i. 638), and evidently leading up to the arx from the temple of Concord. It is not certain whether these steps were independent of the scalae Gemoniae, or are to be identified with them (Gilb. i. 327), or were a prolongation of them (Rodocanachi, Le Capitole 17).

GRADUS S. SABINAE : steps leading down to the Tiber from the church of S. Sabina on the north-west side of the Aventine. They are mentioned only by Gregory the Great (ep. reg. ii. 10 ed. Mon. Germ., ii. 4, ed. Migne, Maur. : hortum Feliciani presbyteri positum in regione prima ante gradus S. Sabinæ) and are marked SCALAE GEMONIAE (q.v.) on Bufalini's map of the city (1551).

GRAECOSTADIUM : an area enclosed by walls or buildings and evidently of considerable size in Region VIII (Reg.). It was restored by Antoninus Pius after a fire (Hist. Aug. Ant. Pii 8), and burned again in the reign of Carinus (Chron. 148). Part of the name—*Graecost*—appears on a fragment (19) of the Marble Plan, and this fragment probably belongs south of the basilica Iulia. The inscription on a slave's collar found in the Tiber : reboca me in Greco stadio Eusebio mancipe (BCr 1902, 126 ; DR 383), the statement in Seneca (de clem. 13) that there were dealers in worthless slaves near the temple of Castor, and the fact that the Graecostadium is mentioned in the Notitia between the vicus Iugarius and porticus Margaritaria, and in the Curiosum between the vicus and the basilica Iulia, make it probable that the Graecostadium was an open court, surrounded by buildings that were used for shops or dwellings, and that it was situated south of the forum, between it and the present church of S. Maria della Consolazione. It may be identified with the Ἑλλήνων ἀγορά of Plutarch (de sollert. anim. 19) which is called τέμενος and in front of which was a barber's shop. (Ann. d. Inst. 1860, 153 ; Mitt. 1905, II-14 ; RE vii. 1692).

GRAECOSTASIS : a raised place at the edge of the comitium, which served as a sort of tribunal for ambassadors from foreign states, especially Greeks (Varro, LL v. 155). It was near the curia (Cic. ad Q. Fr. ii. 1. 3), on the west of the rostra, and the relative position of these structures is determined by the statement of Pliny (NH vii. 212) that the accensus of the consuls proclaimed the hour of noon when, from the curia, he saw the sun between the rostra and Graecostasis—that is, in the south. On the other hand, we are told that in 304 B.C. Cn. Flavius erected a small bronze shrine (*aedicula*) to CONCORDIA (q.v.) on the Graecostasis quae tunc supra Comitium erat (Plin. NH xxxiii. 19), and this 'aedes' is also



spoken of as 'in area Volcani' (Liv. ix. 46)—a statement that may mean that the Graecostasis had been moved or had ceased to exist at all in Pliny's day. About 30 B.C. sacrifices were offered to Luna 'in Graecostasi' (Fast. Pinc., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 219), and for the years 137, 130, 124 B.C., it is recorded that it rained blood or milk on the Graecostasis (Obseq. de prod. 24, 28, 31). The Graecostasis was therefore an open platform between the comitium and the forum, on the site afterwards occupied by the arch of Severus, and eastwards. Cf. JRS 1922, 11, 25, where Van Deman places it under and north of the rostra of Augustus. Hülsen (HC. pl. v.) places it conjecturally to the west of the Lapis Niger (TF 64), but the pavement here is probably the pavement of the Sullan rostra vetera (JRS cit. 22). Nothing is known of its history after the Augustan age, nor is its exact purpose certain. Other explanations have been given, but it was probably the place where foreign ambassadors awaited their summons into the senate (cf. Justin. xliii. 5. 10; Mommsen, Hist. i. 534; Bull. Univ. Wisc. No. 99 (1904), 166-170; BC 1900, 128-130; Théd. 137). For a theory that its place was taken by the Graecostadium see DR 383-385.

GYMNASIUM NERONIS: a building for gymnastic purposes, dedicated by Nero in 62 A.D. (Suet. Nero 12: *dedicatisque thermis atque gymnasio senatui quoque et equiti oleum prae-buit*; Tac. Ann. xiv. 47: *gymnasium eo anno dedicatum a Nerone praebitumque oleum equiti ac senatui Graeca facilitate*), or in 60 after the establishment of the Neronia (Cass. Dio lxi. 21. 1: *καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον ὑποδόμησεν ἐλαίον τε ἐν τῇ καθιερώσει αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι προῖκα ἔνειμε*). Later in 62 the gymnasium was burned and a bronze statue of Nero melted (Tac. Ann. xv. 22). Philostratus (vit. Apoll. iv. 42) says that it was one of the most wonderful buildings in the city.

There are no other references to this gymnasium, but it would be natural to suppose that it was near or connected with the THERMAE (q.v.), which Nero is said to have dedicated at the same time (Suet. loc. cit.). The language of Philostratus seems to make no distinction between *γυμνάσιον* and *βαλανεῖον*, so that no inference can be drawn from it as to the existence or non-existence of the gymnasium in his time. Hülsen therefore assumes (HJ 590) that the gymnasium was an integral part of the baths, and that gymnasium and thermae were names of the same structure. In view of what is said of the burning of the gymnasium (Tac. Ann. xv. 22), it is more probable that they were separate buildings.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is more correct to say that what Vitruvius (v. 10) describes are baths pure and simple, to which Nero added the Greek gymnasium. It is to be noted that Cass. Dio calls the thermae of Nero, Trajan, and Licinius Sura *γυμνάσιον*, and those of Agrippa *βαλανεῖον* or *λακωνικόν* (PT 26; RA 38, 82; Journ. Brit. Amer. Arch. Soc. Rome iv. 353; Mitt. 1920, 154-168).

## H

**DIVUS HADRIANUS TEMPLUM, HADRIANEUM** (Not.): a temple of the deified Hadrian in the campus Martius, dedicated by Antoninus Pius in 145 A.D. (Hist. Aug. Pius 8 ; Verus 3 ; cf. also BC 1885, 92-93 and HJ 608, n. 19). From its position in the list of Reg. (Reg. IX), it was probably between the column of Marcus Aurelius and the *thermae Alexandrinae*, and is to be identified with the ancient structure in the Piazza di Pietra which is now the Bourse and was formerly called erroneously the basilica or temple of Neptune (HJ 608-610 ; Lucas, *Zur Geschichte d. Neptuns-basilica in Rom*, Berlin 1904. See **BASILICA NEPTUNI**).

A part of the north-east side is still standing (Ill. 29) and consists of eleven fluted columns of white marble with Corinthian capitals and a richly decorated entablature. The columns are 15 metres in height and 1.44 in diameter. The order is very like that of the temple of Serapis (?) on the Quirinal (see **TEMPLUM SOLIS AURELIANI**). The cornice has been so badly restored as to appear now in three patterns. The wall of the cella behind the columns is of peperino, and the original marble lining has entirely disappeared. Cella and columns stand upon a lofty stylobate till lately buried beneath the surface of the ground, (for remains and excavations, see LS iii. 126 ; BC 1878, 10-27 ; 1883, 14-16 ; 1898, 40 ; NS 1879, 68, 267, 314 ; 1880, 228 ; 1883, 81 ; 1898, 163 ; DuP 121-123 ; HCh 485 ; YW 1926-7, 102).

The stylobate was adorned with reliefs, those beneath the columns representing the provinces, and those in the intercolumnar spaces trophies of victory. In all, sixteen statues of provinces and six trophies are in existence, but they are in five different collections in Rome and Naples (Jahrb. d. Inst. 1900, 1-42 ; S. Sculpt. 243-246, 388-392 ; SScR 237-241 ; JRS 1914, 5 ; Cons. 3 ff. ; PT 62). It is probable that the temple was octostyle, peripteral, with fifteen columns on a side. If a wide flight of steps occupied the whole front of the stylobate, there would be space for thirty-six reliefs beneath the remaining columns of the peristyle, the number of provinces in the time of Hadrian.

This temple was enclosed by a rectangular porticus, of which some ruins have been found—namely, portions of a travertine pavement 4 metres below the present level of the soil, peperino blocks, a Corinthian column of yellow marble, and various architectural fragments. It is possible that this may be the **PORTICUS ARGONAUTARUM** (q.v. ; OJ 1912, 133-134).

HECATOSTYLON: a porticus of one hundred columns (Mart. ii. 14. 9; iii. 19. 1) represented on a fragment (31) of the Marble Plan as a row of columns on each side of a long wall running along the north side of the porticus Pompei, of which it may have formed a part. It was burned in 247 A.D. (Hier. a. Abr. 2263). For possible remains of this building see LS iii. 123; cf. HJ 532; RE vii. 2590. Hülsen's comparison of it with the so-called Poikile at Hadrian's villa is illuminating. From Martial we learn that the plane grove which surrounded it was adorned with bronze statues of wild beasts (*ferae*), including that of a bear: the correlative is the locality known as MANSUETAE (q.v.). Cf. Eranos 1923, 49.

HELIOGABALIUM: see ELAGABALI TEMPLUM.

HERCULES, TEMPLUM: a temple of Hercules outside the porta Collina, to which Hannibal advanced when he marched against Rome in 211 B.C. (Liv. xxvi. 10. 3: Hannibal . . . ad portam Collinam usque ad Herculis templum est progressus). Nothing further is known of this temple, for the two inscriptions (CIL vi. 284, 30899 (=i<sup>2</sup>. 981)), sometimes referred to it, were found one and two kilometres from the porta Collina (HJ 416; Mitt. 1891, 114; RE viii. 578-579; Rosch. i. 2922; DE iii. 704).<sup>1</sup>

HERCULES, TEMPLUM (?): on the site afterwards occupied by the Teatro Apollo near Ponte S. Angelo. Here remains of a small round temple (?) with two capitals in the form of a lion's skin were found (BC 1892, 175; PT 155; HF 1282, 1283—a third capital is in the Vatican, Gall. Candelabri 100) and a beautiful altar of the Augustan period, decorated with bucrania and plane leaves (BC 1891, 45-46; NS 1892, 110-111; Mitt. 1892, 322-325; HJ 600-601; HF 1465; PT 252; SSculpt 69; SScR 50, 51; for the use of plane leaves in connection with Hercules, see Mitt. 1889, 89 sqq; HF 405; JRS 1922, 242). An architrave with LIB . . . scratched upon it was also found, and led to the erroneous supposition that the temple was dedicated to Bacchus.

HERCULES CUBANS: a monument on the right bank of the Tiber, mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogue (Not. Reg. XIV), which may have been either a statue or a shrine of some kind. In 1889, within the limits of the HORTI CAESARIS (q.v.), just south of the Trastevere station, a shrine was discovered cut in the tufa rock and dedicated to Hercules, who is represented as reclining at table; together with seven heads of charioteers, and with two inscriptions recording a dedication by L. Domitius Permissus (CIL vi. 30891, 30892). To this another inscription (vi. 332) may perhaps belong, and the shrine is now generally identified with the Hercules Cubans (HJ 644; NS 1889, 243-247; BC 1890, 9; Mitt. 1891, 149; 1892, 331; 1897, 67-70; RE viii. 588-589; Rosch. i. 2962; PT 234).

<sup>1</sup> See also De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, iii. 2. 341.

HERCULES CUSTOS, AEDES: \* a temple of Hercules, near the circus Flaminius, built in accordance with the command of the Sibyl, and dedicated on 4th June (Ov. Fast. vi. 209-212):

Altera pars Circi Custode sub Hercule tuta est :  
quod deus Euboico carmine munus habet.  
muneris est tempus, qui nonas Lucifer ante est.  
si titulum quaeris : Sulla probavit opus.

The reference to Sulla probably means that Sulla restored an existing temple. In 218 B.C. a supplicatio was decreed ad aedem Herculis (Liv. xxi. 62. 9), and in 189 a statue of the god was placed in aede Herculis (ib. xxxviii. 35. 4). If, as is probable, this aedes is that restored by Sulla, the original temple must have been erected before 218, probably about the time of the erection of the circus Flaminius in 221, of which Hercules was regarded as the guardian. The day of dedication is recorded in the calendars (Fast. Venus. pr. Non. Iun., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 221 : Herc(uli) Magn(o) Custod(i) ; Vall. pr. Id. Aug. (undoubtedly an error), CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 240, 324 : Herculi Magno Custodi in circo Maximo ; Filoc. pr. Non. Iun., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 319 : ludi in Minicia—*sic*). This last is interpreted to mean that in the fourth century the cult festival was still celebrated, and that 'in Minicia' implies that the temple was within (or close to?) the PORTICUS MINUCIA (q.v.), that is, at the west end of the circus Maximus. With this location agrees the statement of Ovid (vid. sup.) that this temple was at the opposite end of the circus from the temple of BELLONA (q.v.), for the latter was probably north-east of the circus.

In the garden of the church of S. Nicola ai Cesarini,<sup>1</sup> close to its south wall, are the remains of a circular peripteral temple, with concrete podium and fluted columns of tufa, sixteen in number, covered with stucco and standing on travertine bases, fragments of seven of which have been preserved (BC 1893, 191 ; Alt. 38-40). The masonry of this structure has been attributed to the fourth century B.C., and it is represented on the Marble Plan (FUR fr. 110). Form and location suggest an identification with the temple of Hercules, but with no degree of certainty (AR 1909, 75-76 ; Pl. 362 ; BC 1911, 261-264 ; 1914, 385 ; RE viii. 571-574 ; WR 223-224 ; Rosch. i. 2976-2980 ; Comment. in hon. Mommsen 266-267 ; HJ 533, 552 ; LR 457-458 ; JRS 1919, 179, 180 ; BC 1918, 127-136, a vigorous protest against this identification). Frank, however, regards it as belonging to the time of Sulla (from its material it cannot, he thinks, belong to 179 B.C.) and therefore returns to the former identification (TF 130).

HERCULES FUNDAN(I)US, TEMPLUM : a temple of Hercules which is believed by some (Hülssen, Nomenclator ; Richter 290) to have been in Rome (cf. LACUS FUNDANI), because of an inscription (CIL vi. 311 : Herculi

<sup>1</sup> The church has now been demolished, and the remains of both the unidentified rectangular temple beneath it (HJ 533 ; BC 1918, 132-136) and of the circular temple near it have been exposed to view.



Fundanio (*sic*) Ti. Claudius Habitus libens votum solvit) which is reported to have been found in the city. Others (RE viii. 585 ; Rosch. i. 3007) place it in Fundi (cf. HERCULES TIBURTINUS). The literary references (Hist. Aug. Tac. 17. 2 : vinum quo libaturus Tacitus fuerat in templo Herculis Fundani subito purpureum factum est, taken (SHA 1916, 7 A, 13) from Porphy. ad Hor. Ep. i. 1. 4 : Veian*(i)*us nobilis gladiator post multas palmas consecratis Herculi Fundano armis suis in agellum se contulit) can be explained on either hypothesis, but it seems reasonable to assume a shrine in Rome.

HERCULIS INVICTI ARA MAXIMA : the earliest cult-centre of Hercules in Rome, in the forum Boarium, erected, according to tradition, when Hercules had slain Cacus, and his divinity had been recognised by Evander (Liv. i. 7. 10-11 ; ix. 29. 9 ; Dionys. i. 40. 6 ; Fest. 237 ; Serv. Aen. viii. 269-271). The dedication of this altar was ascribed by one form of tradition—probably the earliest—to Evander (Dionys. loc. cit. ; cf. Macrob. iii. 11. 7 ; 12. 4 ; Tac. Ann. xv. 41 ; Myth. Vat. ii. 153 ; Strabo v. 3. 3), by another to Hercules himself (Liv. loc. cit. ; Ov. Fast. i. 581 ; Prop. iv. 9. 67 ; Solin. i. 10 ; Verg. Aen. viii. 271<sup>1</sup>), and by a third to the companions whom Hercules left behind in Italy (Macrob. iii. 6. 17). In the forum Boarium, its site is also described as post ianuas circi Maximi (Serv. loc. cit.), iuxta circum (Schol. Iuv. viii. 13 ; cf. Schol. Veron. Aen. viii. 104), and within the line of the Palatine pomerium at one corner (Tac. Ann. xii. 24). It stood, therefore, in the eastern part of the forum Boarium, near the carceres of the circus, and probably very near to the temple of HERCULES VICTOR (q.v.), that is, at the north-east corner of the Piazza di Bocca della Verità, north of S. Maria in Cosmedin (LS iii. 41-42 ; DAP 2. vi. 274).

This altar was burned in the fire of Nero (Tac. Ann. xv. 41), but was restored, and was standing in the fourth century (Fest. Serv. locc. citt.). To the second, third, and fourth centuries belong several inscriptions, dedicated by praetors to Hercules Invictus (CIL vi. 312-315, 317-318 ; 316 Alcide ; 319 Hercules Victor), which were found near by when the ruins of the round temple, identified with that of HERCULES VICTOR (q.v.), were destroyed during the pontificate of Sixtus IV, and it is not certain whether these inscriptions belonged to the temple or ara, or both. No traces of the altar itself have ever been found (cf. an unsuccessful attempt to identify it with the early structure under S. Maria in Cosmedin, Mél. 1909, 107-117<sup>2</sup>). By Tacitus and Juvenal (loc. cit.) the altar is called *magna* instead of *maxima*.

It would be natural to enclose the altar, and some kind of a sacred precinct may be indicated by certain passages in literature rather than the aedes Herculis Invicti (Strabo v. 3. 3 : τέμενος ; Solin. i. 10 : consaepum sacellum ; Plut. q. Rom. 90 : ἐντὸς τῶν περιβόλων). A statue

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chron. 143.

<sup>2</sup> See also Boll. Ass. Arch. Rom. v. (1915) 109-120 ; ZA 257.

of Hercules triumphalis (Rosch. i. 2911) in the forum Boarium, ascribed by tradition to Evander (Plin. NH xxxiv. 33) and probably referred to by Macrobius (iii. 6. 17) and Servius (Aen. iii. 407 ; viii. 288<sup>1</sup>), may have been in this ancient precinct of the ara rather than in the temple (Jord. i. 2. 481 ; Ann. d. Inst. 1854, 28-38 ; Arch. Zeit. 1877, 107 ff. ; Gilb. i. 78-82 ; RE viii. 552-554 ; Rosch. i. 2901-2903, 2904-2920 passim ; Wissowa, Ges. Abhandl. 260 ; WR 273-284). An inscription recently acquired by the Lateran Museum mentions an aedes dedicated to Hercules Invictus Esychianus (cf. CIL vi. 280, 322 ; BPW 1889, 683). Its provenance is unknown, but Hülsen conjectures that it belonged to a chapel situated in the vicinity of the forum Boarium, in which the cult of Hercules was centred (RPA i. 89-94, and esp. 93, n. 10 ; cf. NS 1924, 67. For a Pompeian painting believed to represent Hercules at the ara Maxima see Mem. Acc. Napoli 1911, 169-180). Like the first of the two inscriptions cited, it was dedicated to Hercules by Hierus and Asylus (cf. Mart. ix. 103), slaves of Tiberius Claudius Livianus, praefectus praetorio under Trajan (Pros. i. 384, 753 ; cf. CIL vi. 1604 ; xv. 932, 2317, 7882). The name Esychianus is explained by the fact that the second inscription is a dedication (also to Hercules) by one M. Claudius Hesychus, probably a freedman of Livianus.

HERCULES INVICTUS (Fast. Allif. cit.), Victor (al., Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 106), aedes : a temple of Hercules near the porta Trigemina (ad portam Trigeminam, Macrobius iii. 6. 10 ; Serv. Aen. viii. 36. 3). Its day of dedication was 13th August (Fast. Allif. ad Id. Aug., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 217, 325 ; Fast. Ant. cit.). It was probably close to the altar of IUPPITER INVENTOR (q.v.), which Hercules was said to have built after slaying Cacus (Dionys. i. 32). Whether this was the temple built by the merchant Marcus Octavius Herrenus<sup>2</sup> (Masurius Sabinus ap. Macrobius iii. 6. 11 ; cf. Serv. Aen. viii. 363 ; Panegyri. Maxim. 13), and whether it is alluded to on a coin of Antoninus Pius (Froehner, Med. p. 56 ; Cohen, Anton. 454 ; Rosch. i. 2289 ; Jord. i. 2. 482) is entirely uncertain. (For this temple and the considerable literature relating thereto, see Rosch. i. 2903, 2905, 2916-2917 ; DAP 2. vi. 244 ; Altm. 32 ; RE viii. 554, 556, 557, 558, 560 ; WR 275). Another coin (Cohen, Anton. 213) has a strong claim to represent the temple and the altar of Iuppiter ; the former has eight columns, and so has a coin of Maximian (Boll. Mus. Civ. Padova, 1910, 131 ; Gneccchi, Medaglioni, ii. 128. 5 ; Boll. Ass. Arch. Rom. v. (1915) 109 sqq. (esp. 126-129), where the temple built by Herrenus is identified with that of Hercules Victor in the forum Boarium).

<sup>1</sup> We are here told that the statue was 'operto capite,' i.e. wearing the lionskin (Boll. Ass. Arch. Rom. v. (1915), 126).

<sup>2</sup> The form Hersennus is preferred by Wissowa. He is to be identified with one Octavius Hersennius, who wrote a work 'de sacris saliaribus Tiburtium' (Macrobius iii. 12. 7), and it was probably at Tibur that he built the temple (WR 278).

**HERCULES MUSARUM, AEDES** (*βωμός* Plut. q. Rom. 59): a temple of Hercules and the Muses, erected by M. Fulvius Nobilior after his capture of Ambracia in 189 B.C., and probably after his triumph in 187. Fulvius is said to have done this because he learned in Greece that Hercules was a *musagetes* (Eumen. pro rest. Schol. 7. 8 (c. 297 A.D.); Cic. pro Arch. 27). In this temple Fulvius set up a copy of the *Fasti* with notes, probably the first of this kind (Macrob. Sat. i. 12. 16; for a possible reference to this, see Varro, LL vi. 33), and also the statues from Ambracia of the nine Muses by an unknown artist, and that of Hercules playing the lyre (Plin. NH xxxv. 66; Ov. Fast. vi. 812; cf. Ars Am. iii. 168); and a bronze shrine of the Muses that was attributed to the time of Numa and had been in the temple of *Honos et Virtus* until this was built (Serv. Aen. i. 8). The statue of Hercules and those of the nine Muses are represented on denarii of Q. Pomponius Musa, about 64 B.C. (Babelon ii. 361; Cohen, Med. Cons. 266, pl. 34, 4; BM. Rep. i. 441, 3602-3632). In 29 B.C. L. Marcius Philippus restored this temple and built a porticus, the **PORTICUS PHILIPPI** (q.v.) around it (Suet. Aug. 29). The day of dedication was 30th June (Ov. Fast. vi. 797; Mart. iv. 49. 13).

This temple is mentioned in Not. (Reg. IX, om. Cur.), and its site is ascertained from a fragment (33) of the Marble Plan. It was in *circo Flaminio* (Eum. loc. cit.), that is, close to the south-west part of the circus itself, and north-west of the porticus Octaviae, where some remains have been found that probably belonged to this temple (Rosa, Relazione 75; NS 1890, 31; BC 1890, 66-68; Mitt. 1891, 126). An inscription found near by (CIL vi. 1307 = i<sup>2</sup>. 615: M. Fulvius M. f. Ser. n. Nobilior cos. Ambracia cepit) may have been on the pedestal of one of the statues. The regular form of the name was *Herculis Musarum aedes*, but *Herculis et Musarum* in Servius (loc. cit.) and Plutarch (HJ 544-545; Bull. d. Inst. 1869, 3-12; Comm. in hon. Mommsen 262-266; RE viii. 574-578; Rosch. i. 2970-2976; DE iii. 703-704).

**HERCULES OLIVARIUS**: a monument of Hercules in Region XI (Not.), which may have been either a shrine or a statue<sup>1</sup> (cf. **HERCULES CUBANS**). Some evidence for the latter view is a marble base found near the round temple in the forum Boarium, with an inscription (CIL vi. 33936: [Hercules invictus . . . .] o Olivarius opus Scopae minoris; NS 1895, 459; Mitt. 1896, 99-102; 1897, 56-70; BC 1897, 55; 1917, 184). The epithet *olivarius* may well indicate the presence in that district of dealers in oil who regarded Hercules as their tutelary deity (HJ 145-146; DAP 2. vi. 261; RE viii. 580; Rosch. i. 2960, for literature and other explanations).

**HERCULES POMPEIANUS, AEDES**:\* a temple of Hercules near the circus Maximus, described as *araeostyle* and decorated in the Tuscan manner (Vitr. iii. 3. 5: *ornanturque signis fictilibus aut aereis inauratis earum*

<sup>1</sup> The type is represented on a larger scale by the recumbent Hercules in the Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican (No. 733; v. Amelung. Sculpt. Vat. i. p. 812).



fastigia Tuscanico more uti est ad circum maximum Cereris et Herculis Pompeiani, item Capitolii). It contained a statue of Hercules by Myron (Plin. NH xxxiv. 57: *Herculem qui est apud circum maximum in aede Pompei Magni*). The epithet would indicate either an original building or a restoration by Pompeius, but in any case this temple could not be identified with the round temple of Hercules in the forum Boarium (Liv. x. 23. 3). The notice in the calendar (Fast. Amit. ad pr. Id. Aug., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 244, 324—and probably Fast. Allif. ib. 217—*Herculi Invicto ad circum Maximum*) probably refers to this temple, as it alone has the designation *ad circum maximum* in literature (see above). If so, it was dedicated on 12th August to Hercules Invictus.

Under the eastern part of S. Maria in Cosmedin are remains of the tufa foundations and walls of a temple of the republican period, which appears to have existed, although in a ruined state, until the time of Hadrian I, when it was entirely destroyed (DAP 2. vi. 236, 237, 271; HCh 327-328). The position of this temple could properly be described as *ad circum maximum*, and its identification with the aedes Herculis Pompeiani is reasonable, but by no means certain. It is possible that some of the references to a temple of Hercules in foro Boario may belong to this temple, but it seems certain that it cannot be identified with the round temple in the forum Boarium, or with the temple *ad portam Trigeminam*. This distinction, however, involves a contradiction of Macrobius' statement (iii. 6. 10: *Romae autem Victoris Herculis aedes duae sunt, una ad portam Trigeminam altera in foro Boario*), and no satisfactory reconciliation has yet been suggested (HJ 147-148; Gilb. iii. 434; Jord. i. 2. 482; Rosch. i. 2904, 2918-2920; RE viii. 554, 559, 560; WR 275; Altm. 30).

**HERCULES PRIMIGENIUS**: apparently a shrine or altar of Hercules, which was also used as an indication of locality, if we may accept that interpretation of two inscriptions (CIL vi. 7655: *Sex. Clodius Sex. l. Amoenus eborarius ab Hercule Primigenio*; 9645: *P. Saenius P. O. l. Arsaces monestator. ab Hercul. Primig.*; cf. Bull. d. Inst. 1861, 19 ff.). The epithet is of uncertain significance, and nothing is known of this cult or of the location of the shrine (Rosch. i. 2968-2969).

**HERCULES SULLANUS**: a statue or shrine of Hercules on the Esquiline, mentioned only in Reg. (Reg. V). It was probably near the *NYMPHAEUM* (q.v.), now called the temple of Minerva Medica, east of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele. Whether it was a statue or shrine, and whether erected by Sulla in memory of his victory over Marius on the Esquiline or not, is wholly uncertain. (For various explanations, and the relevant literature of the discussion, see RE viii. 579; Rosch. i. 2921; DE iii. 704; LS iii. 161; BPW 1913, 1494.)

**HERCULES VICTOR, AEDES**: a temple vowed by Lucius Mummius in 145 B.C., and dedicated in 142 by Mummius when censor, if we may accept the



evidence of an inscription found on the Caelian behind the Lateran hospital (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 626 = vi. 331 : L. Mummi(us) L. f. Cos. duct[u] auspicio imperioque eius Achaia capt[a] Corinto deleto Romam redieit triumphans ob hasce res bene gestas quod in bello voverat hanc aedem et signu[m] Herculis Victoris imperator dedicat). Another inscription (CIL vi. 30888) found near SS. Quattro Coronati may refer to this temple which was probably on the Caelian in this vicinity (HJ 227 ; DE iii. 701 ; RE viii. 578 ; Rosch. i. 2920).

HERCULES VICTOR (INVICTUS), AEDES : a round temple of Hercules in the forum Boarium (Liv. x. 23. 3 : in sacello Pudicitiae patriciae quae in foro Boario est ad aedem rotundam Herculis ; Fest. 242 ; Macrob. iii. 6. 10 : Romae autem Victoris Herculis aedes duae sunt, una ad portam Trigeminam altera in foro Boario). It was decorated with frescoes<sup>1</sup> by the poet Pacuvius (Plin. NH xxxv. 19), and is probably the temple into which neither flies nor dogs were said to enter (ibid. x. 79 : Romae in aedem Herculis in foro Boario nec muscae nec canes intrant). The fact that this same story is found in Solinus (i. 10), who speaks of a consaeptum sacellum, and in Plutarch (q. Rom. 90 : ἐντὸς τῶν περιβόλων), makes it somewhat uncertain whether it was told originally of the precinct of the ARA MAXIMA (q.v.), or of this temple.

The passage in Festus (242 : Pudicitiae signum in foro bovario est ubi familiana aedisset Herculis) has occasioned much discussion. If Scaliger's emendation—ubi Aemiliana aedis est Herculis—is accepted, the natural inference would be that the round temple of Hercules was restored by L. Aemilius Paullus (Jord. i. 2. 483, n. 58 ; WR 275, n. 4 ; RE viii. 556, 557, 558, 560 ; Rosch. i. 2903, 2904, 2905, 2909). This emendation, however, is purely conjectural (see PUDICITIA PATRICIA). If Tacitus (Ann. xv. 41 : et magna ara fanumque quae praesenti Herculi Arcas Evander sacraverat) is referring to this temple, as some believe, it was injured in the fire under Nero, but it must have been restored very soon, and Pacuvius' frescoes must have been preserved (Plin. loc. cit.).

During the pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-1484) the remains of a round temple near S. Maria in Cosmedin were destroyed, but the building is referred to by archaeologists of the period (e.g. Pomponius Laetus, Albertinus). A drawing made a little later (1503-1513) by Baldassare Peruzzi,<sup>2</sup> of the plan and fragments (Vat. Lat. 3439, f. 32 ; De Rossi, Ann. d. Inst. 1854, pl. 3 ; Altm. 33-36), shows a structure not unlike the existing round temple which is the church of S. Maria del Sole. This temple stood just north of the Piazza di Bocca della Verità, between it and the Piazza dei Cerchi, north-west of the probable site of the ara Maxima (DAP 2. vi. 241, 242 sq.). The discovery of the gilded bronze statue of Hercules, of the second century A.D. (HF 1005 ; Cons. 282),

<sup>1</sup> Ulrichs, Malerei vor Caesar, 17, prefers to explain 'pictura' as a panel.

<sup>2</sup> It is from the St. Germain MS. of Ligorio that we learn this : Panvinio (Vat. Lat. cit.) does not mention the fact (Altm. cit.).

caused it to be identified with the aedes rotunda of Livy, an identification assisted by the further discovery in the immediate vicinity of a series of dedicatory inscriptions to Hercules Invictus (CIL vi. 312-319). These inscriptions, however, might belong to the ARA MAXIMA (q.v.).

The relations, topographical and historical, between the different shrines of Hercules in and near the forum Boarium, are by no means clear, and the problems involved have given rise to a considerable literature. (For this temple and for the general subject, see especially De Rossi, Ann. d. Inst. 1854, 28-38; RE viii. 552-563; Rosch. i. 2901-2920; also Jord. i. 2. 479-483; Gilb. iii. 433-434; JRS 1919, 180; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 150, 505; Boll. Ass. Arch. Rom. v. (1915) 108-129.)

HERMAEUM: an apartment (*diaeta*) on the Palatine in which Claudius took refuge (Suet. Claud. 10), and perhaps the same that occurs on two inscriptions (CIL vi. 8663, 9949).

HIPPODROMUS PALATII: see DOMUS AUGUSTIANA (p. 162).

HOLOVITREUM: the palace (*palatium*) of Chromatius, probably Agrestius Chromatius, praef. urbi about 248 A.D. The building took its name from its decoration of glass mosaics representing the heavenly bodies (Acta S. Sebastiani 20 Jan. p. 629; Mirab. 29), and traces of it were found in 1741 when the church of S. Stefano in Piscinula in the Via dei Banchi vecchi was destroyed (Mon. L. i. 548; Jord. ii. 535; HJ 597-8).

HONOS, AEDES: the oldest temple of Honos in Rome, just outside the porta Collina, dating from republican times but probably not earlier than the third century. All that is known of it is stated by Cicero (de leg. ii. 58: *nostis extra portam Collinam aedem Honoris: aram in eo loco fuisse proditum est. Ad eam cum lamina esset inventa et in ea scriptura DOMINA HONORIS, ea causa fuit huius aedis dedicandae. Sed cum multa in eo loco sepulcra fuissent, exarata sunt; statuit enim collegium locum publicum non potuisse privata religione teneri*<sup>1</sup>), but an archaic inscription (CIL vi. 3692=30913: <sup>2</sup> M (?) Bicoleio V. 1. *Honore donum dede(t) mereto*), found under the east wing of the Ministero delle Finanze, probably belongs to it, and had not been removed from its original site. A dedication to Virtus (CIL vi. 31061) may also have been set up in it (HJ 414; RE viii. 2293; Rosch. i. 2707; DE iii. 964).

HONOS ET VIRTUS, AEDES; (templum Cic.; *ναὸς Δόξης καὶ Ἀρετῆς* Plut.), a double temple, of which the original part was built by Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus in 234 B.C. after his war with the Ligurians, and dedicated to Honos (Cic. de nat. deor. ii. 61) on 17th July (Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 102). In 222 B.C., after the battle of Clastidium, M. Claudius Marcellus vowed a temple to Honos et Virtus, a vow which he renewed after the capture of Syracuse, and which he attempted to discharge by re-dedicating

<sup>1</sup> The text is as given by Hülsen: Vahlen reads 'memoriae proditum est; in ea scriptum lamina HONORIS; dedicare; obligari (for teneri).'

<sup>2</sup> = i<sup>2</sup>. 31; ILS 3794.

the existing temple of Honos to both gods in 208. This was forbidden by the pontiffs, and therefore Marcellus restored the temple of Honos, and built a new part for Virtus, making a double shrine (Sym. Ep. i. 20 : *gemella facie*). This was dedicated by his son in 205 (Liv. xxv. 40. 1-3 ; xxvii. 25. 7-9 ; xxix. 11. 13 ; Val. Max. i. 1. 8 ; Plut. Marcell. 28). It contained many treasures brought by Marcellus from Syracuse (Cic. de rep. i. 21 ; Verr. iv. 121 ; Liv. xxvi. 32. 4 ; Asc. in Pison. 44), a large part of which had disappeared in Livy's time (Liv. xxv. 40. 3 : *quorum perexigua pars comparet*). It also contained the ancient bronze shrine, supposed to date from the time of Numa, the *aedicula Camenarum*, which was afterwards placed in the temple of Hercules and the Muses (Serv. Aen. i. 8).

This temple was restored by Vespasian and decorated by two Roman artists, Cornelius Pinus and Attius Priscus (Plin. NH xxxv. 120).<sup>1</sup> It is last mentioned in the fourth century (Not. Reg. I). It stood *ad portam Capenam* (Liv. xxv. 40. 3 ; xxix. 11. 13 ; Mon. Anc. 2. 29), evidently outside the gate but very near to it (Not. Reg. I ; Liv. xxvi. 32. 4 : *Hiero . . . cum ingrediens Romam in vestibulo urbis prope in porta spolia patriae suae visurus*), and probably on the north side of the *via Appia* ; cf. *supra*, 19.

The statement that Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, censor in 304 B.C. when he established the *transvectio equitum*, caused the procession of equites to start at the temple of Honos et Virtus (de vir. ill. 32), is certainly incorrect in assuming the existence of this temple at that date ; nor can its proximity to the temple of *MARS EXTRA PORTAM CAPENAM* (q.v.) be inferred from the statement of Dionysius (vi. 13. 4) that this review of the equites was established in 496 B.C. and began at the temple of Mars (Momms. Staatsr. iii. 493 ; RE vi. 1806 ; for the temple and literature, see HJ 202-203 ; WR 149-151 ; RE viii. 2292-2293 ; Rosch. i. 2707-2708 ; DE iii. 964).

**HONOS ET VIRTUS** (*MARIANA*, Vit. Val. Max.), **AEDES** (*templum*, Schol. Bob., Cic. pro Sest., Eumenius) : a temple built by C. Marius from the spoil taken from the Cimbri and Teutones (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 195, n. xviii ; Fest. 344 ; but cf. JRS 1916, 183). The architect was C. Mucius, whose work on this temple is praised by Vitruvius (vii. praef. 17), who also uses this temple to illustrate the proper kind of *ambulatio* around the *cella* (iii. 2. 5). According to Festus (344 : *summissiorem aliis aedem Honoris et Virtutis C. Marius fecit ne si forte officeret auspiciis publicis augures eam demoliri cogere*) it was on the slope of one of the hills, generally assumed to be the Capitoline. In this temple the senate met to vote on the recall of Cicero from exile (Cic. pro Sest. 116 ; pro Planc. 78 ; de div. i. 59 ; Val. Max. i. 7. 5 ;<sup>2</sup> Schol. Bob. in Cic. pp. 269, 305 Or. ; Eumenius, pro rest.

<sup>1</sup> For these names cf. CIL vi. 12745, 16239.

<sup>2</sup> The text has 'in aede Iovis Mariana,' but this is an error, according to Jordan, who would correct 'Iovis' to 'Honoris,' or omit the word altogether.



schol. 7). In these passages the temple is called monumentum Marii, which has led some to identify it with the monumenta Mariana of Valerius Maximus (ii. 5. 6; iv. 4. 8) (Jord. i. 2. 44-45; WR 150; RE viii. 2293; Rosch. i. 2708; see TROPAEA MARI).

HORA QUIRINI: see HORTA.

HORREA AGRIPPIANA: warehouses, presumably built by Agrippa, in Region VIII (h. Agrippiana: Cur.; CIL vi. 9972, 10026; xiv. 3958 (?); h. Germanicana et Agrippiana: Not.). Two fragments of the Marble Plan (37, 86) represent the three cohortes of these horrea between the clivus Victoriae and the vicus Tuscus, where excavations since 1904 have disclosed the remains of the largest; and the identification is made certain by the discovery of an altar in situ with an inscription recording the erection of the statue of the Genius Horreorum Agrippianorum. The excavated portion consists of a trapezoidal court surrounded with rectangular chambers of opus quadratum (above which are later upper stories of brickwork) decorated with engaged columns of the Corinthian order of Augustan date.<sup>1</sup> The back wall on the north-east side, originally of opus quadratum, was reconstructed in brickwork by Domitian when he erected the building known as the templum Divi Augusti; and the triangular space between served to conceal the divergent orientation which he introduced into the latter, the horrea having been constructed on the same orientation as the domus Tiberiana. (HC 192; Mitt. 1905, 84; 1925, 213, 214; BC 1911, 158-172; 1914, 25-33; YW 1915, 1-2; RE viii. 2461; Mon. L. xxvii. 373; DE iii. 986-7; CIL vi. 39417.)

HORREA AGRIPPINIANA: known only from an inscription (CIL xiv. 3958) found at Nomentum, but supposed to belong to Rome. It is quite likely (DE iii. 987) that the name is simply a mistake for Agrippiana. It has also been supposed that they were erected by one of the two Agrippinas (BC 1876, 45). See authorities quoted above.

HORREA ANICIANA: mentioned in Not. in Region XIII, but Cur. reads *Anicetiana*, which is probably correct, though HJ 176 prefers Aniciana. Nothing is known of either.

HORREA CAESARIS: warehouses referred to under this name twice (Dig. xx. 4. 21. 1; CIL vi. 33747), but probably to be identified with the horrea Galbae (BC 1885, 112-117).

HORREA CANDELARIA: apparently a warehouse for wax tapers and similar goods, known only from a fragment of the Marble Plan (53).

<sup>1</sup> Remains of similar chambers (which should not be identified with the porticus Catuli: LR 127; HJ 57, 58) are visible on the south-east side of the clivus Victoriae, higher up on the side of the hill: while at the level of and behind the horrea may be seen scanty traces of a Republican house (traces of wall decoration with stucco and seashells) and a cistern or quarry cut in the rock, with a shaft leading down into it from the level of the clivus Victoriae. The trapezoidal court has at a later date been filled with buildings of various periods. First of all brick pillars were built to support awnings; the chapel containing the statue was erected in the second century A.D.; the rest are still later.



**HORREA CHARTARIA** : a paper warehouse near the temple of Tellus on the Esquiline (Reg. Cat. Reg. IV ; HJ 329).

**HORREA FAENIANA** : known only from one inscription (AJP 1909, 158),<sup>1</sup> but perhaps named after L. Faenius Rufus, praef. ann. in 55 A.D.

**HORREA GALBAE** : warehouses in the district known as **PRAEDIA GALBANA** (q.v.) between the south-west side of the Aventine and the Tiber. Here was the tomb of Ser. Sulpicius Galba, consul in 144 or 108 B.C. (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 695=vi. 31617 ; cf. NS 1885, 527 ; BC 1885, 165 ; Mitt. 1886, 62), and about that time, or before the end of the republic, the horrea were built and called Sulpicia (Hor. Carm. iv. 12. 18) or Galbae (Porphyr. ad loc. ; Chron. p. 146 ; CIL vi. 9801, 33743 ; xiv. 20 ; cf. Galbeses, vi. 30901 ; Galbienses, vi. 710=30817 ; Not. Reg. XIII : Galbes, 33886 ; IG xiv. 956 A. 29 : ἐπι τῇ Γάλβῃ). Other forms of the name are horrea Galbana (Not. dign. occ. iv. 15 Seeck ; CIL vi. 338=30740) and Galbiana (vi. 236, 30855, 33906). They were enlarged or restored by the Emperor Galba and therefore, in later times, their erection seems to have been ascribed to him (Chron. 146 : (Galba) domum suam deposuit et horrea Galbae instituit (cf. CIL vi. 8680=33743 [Bonae Deae<sup>2</sup> vel Tutelae] horriorum (sic) [S]er(vii) Galbae Imp. Aug.). These warehouses were not only the earliest of the many in this and other parts of the city, but apparently always the most important (cf. Not. Reg. XIII ; Not. dign. loc. cit. : curator horreorum Galbae), and were depots not only for grain, but for goods of all kinds (Porphyr. loc. cit. : Sulpicii Galbae horrea dicit hodieque autem Galbae horrea vino et oleo et similibus aliis referta sunt ; CIL vi. 9801 : piscatrix de horreis Galbae, 33906 : sagarius ; 33886 : negotiator marmorarius ; cf. BC 1885, 110-112 ; DE iii. 967-986).

These horrea came under imperial control at the beginning of the principate and provided space for the storage of the annona publica. Their staff of officials was organised in cohortes,<sup>3</sup> and sodalicia (CIL cit. ; Gilb. iii. 285 ; BC 1885, 51-53). In the sixteenth century excavations were made on this site (LS iii. 175), and since 1880 the whole district has been laid out with new streets. During this process a large part of the walls and foundations of the horrea were uncovered. Before 1911 the principal part excavated was a rectangle on each side of the present Via Bodoni, about 200 metres long and 155 wide, enclosed by a wall and divided symmetrically into sections separated by courts. These courts, three in number, were surrounded by travertine colonnades, through which opened the chambers of the warehouses (see LF 40 ; BC 1885, 110-129 ; LR 525-526 ; HJ 175-176). More recent excavations<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See CIL vi. 37796.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ib. 30855, a dedication to the Bona Dea Galbilla by a vilicus horreorum Galbianorum coh(ortium) trium.

<sup>3</sup> Gatti (Mitt. 1886, 71) held that 'cohors' meant a courtyard (Italian 'corte') ; cf. CIL viii. 16368 ; DE iii. 979.

<sup>4</sup> For still later discoveries see BC 1925, 279, 280 ; 1926, 267, 268.

at various points indicate that the horrea were much larger, extending north-west beyond the present Via Giovanni Branca and as far as the river to the south-west (BC 1911, 206-208, 246-260; 1912, 152; 1914, 206; NS 1911, 205, 317, 340, 443; 1912, 121-122; AA 1913, 144). The construction was mostly in opus reticulatum. Lead pipes with an inscription of Hadrian were found, and a hoard of coins (149-268 A.D.). More recently remains of horrea were found just upstream of the new Ponte Aventino (see EMPORIUM). The descriptions of these horrea by earlier writers, such as Benjamin of Tudela of the twelfth century (Jord. ii. 68) and Fabretti (de aquis, 1680, 165; RE viii. 2461) are of doubtful value, as they probably did not distinguish accurately between the horrea and surrounding buildings, like the EMPORIUM (q.v.). The remains of the 'horrea publica populi Romani' were sufficiently conspicuous to give their name to a mediaeval region; and we have records of three churches called 'in horrea' (HCh 266, 272, 416).

HORREA GERMANICIANA: see HORREA AGRIPPIANA.

HORREA LEONIANA: known only from the dedication of one inscription—genio horreorum Leonianorum (CIL vi. 237)—without indication of exact site.

HORREA LOLLIANA: a warehouse on the bank of the Tiber (FUR frag. 51; CIL vi. 4226, 4226a, 4239, 9467), and probably in Region XIII with the others rather than on the right bank (HJ 177; but cf. NS 1913, 117; DE iii. 986).

HORREA NERVAE: possibly on the via Ardeatina, mentioned only in one inscription (CIL vi. 8681=33744; Mon. L. xiii. 139; DE iii. 987-8; cf. also CIL vi. 33747, which may belong to the period of Nerva, and was found outside porta Salaria, but not in situ; see HORREA CAESARIS).

HORREA PEDUCEIANA: only known from one inscription (CIL vi. 33745... pus Caesaeris (sic)... arius ex... is Peduceianis, etc.) which Henzen (Mitt. 1886, 127) and Dessau (ILS 1626) restore as horrearius ex horreis Peduceianis, while Hülsen (loc. cit.) and others restore it topiarius ex HORTIS PEDUCEIANIS (q.v.).

HORREA PETRONIANA: known from two sepulchral inscriptions, one (CIL vi. 3971) of a slave of Nero, the other erected by one M. Aurelius Xenonianus Aquila, a Bithynian, who had a 'statio' in these horrea; as he calls himself *πρώτος λιθενπόρων*, they must have been among the marble warehouses (RAP iii. 191-196; see EMPORIUM, MARMORATA).

HORREA PIPERATARIA: a storehouse and bazaar for the sale of pepper and spices from Egypt and Arabia (Cass. Dio lxxii. 24), built by Domitian, burned during the reign of Commodus, and obliterated by the basilica of Maxentius (Chron. p. 146). Some of the brickwork that has been found at various times beneath the basilica and just north of it, may

possibly belong to these horrea<sup>1</sup> (cf. Fea, *Varietà di Notizie* 24; LR 204; BC 1876, 50; NS 1880, 227; HJ 7; BC 1900, 8-13; AJA 1923, 386, 400).

**HORREA POSTUMIANA**: known only from the inscription on two bricks (CIL xv. 4), one of which was found at Ostia, so that it is uncertain whether the horrea were there or in Rome.

**HORREA SEIANA**: known from inscriptions (CIL vi. 238, 9471; NS 1911, 317, 444; AJA 1913, 117; 1916, 106; PT 71), and from remains of walls found between the Via Giovanni Branca, the Via Beniamino Franklin and the Tiber. The horrea were therefore south of the Emporium and near the river (BC 1885, 115; 1911, 255 sqq.; NS loc. cit.; BA 1915, Cr. 39; DE iii. 981, 986).

**HORREA SEMPRONIA**: mentioned only in Festus (290), where the inference seems to be that these warehouses were established by the Gracchan legislation. If so, they were as old as the horrea Galbae.

**HORREA SEVERIANA** (?): some horrea (?) were found in the south-west corner of the site of the Ministero della Guerra on the Quirinal; on the neck of an amphora was a painted inscription, in which the words *usibus cellari Severi* (?) occur (LF 16; BC 1885, 3; CIL xv. 4807; DE iii. 988).

**HORREA SULPICIA**: see **HORREA GALBAE**.

**HORREA Q. TINEI SACERDOTIS**: known only from one inscription (CIL vi. 33860; cf. DE iii. 982) from the church of S. Martino ai Monti on the Esquiline. Tineus was consul in 158 A.D.

**HORREA UMMID(IANA)**: known only from one inscription (NS 1910, 90) that was found during excavations at S. Saba on the Aventine. They belonged to the Ummidii, and were probably near the *DOMUS CORNIFICIAE* (q.v.), which was the property of the younger sister of Marcus Aurelius, who married M. Ummidius Quadratus (BC 1891, 211; 1911, 120-128; RL 1911, 79 ff.; DE iii. 987).

**HORREA VESPASIANI**: mentioned only once (Chron. 146) among the buildings of Domitian.

**HORREA VOLUSIANA**: mentioned only in one inscription (CIL vi. 9973; cf. ib. 7289; DE iii. 988); see **HORTI VOLUSIANI**.

**HORTA** (*"Ὀρτας ναός"*): a temple of a goddess otherwise unknown, which Plutarch says was always kept open (q. Rom. 46). It is not certain that this temple was in Rome, or that Plutarch had not confused the goddess with Hora Quirini (WR 156; Rosch. i. 2749; cf. NS 1921, 109, under date Aug. 23). It is also possible that her temple is referred to in the

<sup>1</sup> From the character of the brickwork and the orientation of the walls, it seems clear that the remains on the south side of the basilica (which are undoubtedly those of horrea) are to be connected with the pre-Neronian *Sacra via*, and were destroyed when its level was raised by Nero (see BC cit. pls. i, ii; AJA cit. 421), while those under the basilica come after the Neronian period (Nibby, *Roma Antica*, ii. 243, 247; CR 1906, 239).



corrupt passage (Hist. Aug. Elag. 1), as Rose, Plutarch, Roman Questions, in loc., conjectures.

**HORTI ACILIORUM:** gardens on the Pincian hill which belonged to the Acilii Glabriones in the second century A.D. (CIL vi. 623); their exact limits are not known, but the remains that have been found are held to indicate that they may have extended from the Trinità de' Monti 'beyond the slopes of the hill into the Villa Borghese, and on the east as far as the Porta Pinciana' (LS ii. 131; iii. 101-3; iv. 14; BC 1891, 132-155; 1914, 376; LR 421-429; NA 1904 (May 1); HJ 446; Pl. 481-482). These horti belonged to the gens Pincia in the fourth century, and then to Anicia Faltonia Proba and her husband Petronius Probus (CIL vi. 1751),<sup>1</sup> but became imperial property afterwards (cf. DOMUS PINCIANA). They were enclosed on the north, west and east by supporting walls, built along the slope of the hill (Homo, Aurélien 240 ff.); the wall on the east and north was incorporated by Aurelian in his line of defence, and partially rebuilt. The original structure was of opus reticulatum, in a series of lofty arcades with massive intervening piers. The famous Muro Torto is a lower buttress at the north angle in the same material, with tufa quoins.<sup>2</sup> Just north of the Trinità was a great hemicycle, opening towards the west, with flights of steps leading down to the plain below (JRS 1919, 174; Mem. L. 5. xvii. 535-537). Beneath the modern casino was a piscina, divided into two sections and connected with a reservoir, consisting of a labyrinth of small galleries hewn in the rock, by tunnels 80 metres long. The mound in the present Villa Medici is built on the ruins of an octagonal nymphaeum (called Parnassus), and ruins have been found all along the brow of the hill from the Trinità to S. Maria del Popolo. See Town Planning Review, xi. (1924) 81, 82; Mon. L. i. 456-459. Remains found a little to the south of the Trinità (BC 1925, 276) may belong either to these horti or to the HORTI LUCULLANI (q.v.).

**HORTI AGRIPPAE:** gardens in the campus Martius, near the THERMAE AGRIPPAE (q.v.), which he left by will to the Roman people in 12 B.C. (Cass. Dio liv. 29. 4; cf. Ov. ex Ponto i. 8. 37-8 and CIL vi. 29781; NS 1885, 343).

**HORTI AGRIPPINAE:** the gardens of the elder Agrippina, on the right bank of the Tiber, which afterwards (33 A.D.) belonged to Caligula (Sen. de ira iii. 18; Philo Iud. de legat. ad Gaium ii. 572). They occupied the present site of S. Peter's, and extended to the Tiber, from which they were separated by a porticus and terrace. Within them Caligula built the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also ib. 1754; an inscription set up to her as 'Amnios Pincios Aniciosque decoranti'; see Mitt. 1889, 269; 1892, 314.

<sup>2</sup> See the description of Procopius, BG i. 23. 4, which ends *περίβολον διερρωγόντα . . . καλοῦσι τὸν χώρον*: for an attempt to identify it with the LAPIS PERTUSUS (q.v.) see Eranos, 1923, 40-42: it seems doubtful, however, if it can be made to bear this sense, for the 'pertunsa petra' on the Via Flaminia is a tunnel for the passage of the road (see JRS xi. 186; cf. BG ii. 11. 10-14; Aur. Victor, Caes. 9. 8; Epit. 9. 10).



circus Gai et Neronis, and it was probably in these gardens, under the name horti Neronis (Tac. Ann. xv. 39, 44; cf. xiv. 14), that the martyrdom of many Christians took place.

**HORTI ALLI FALETIANI**: known only from the bare mention in one inscription (CIL vi. 9240).

**HORTI ANNIANI**: known only from a fifteenth century copy of one inscription (CIL vi. 8666; RE i. 2257; vii. 834).

**HORTI ANTONII**: see **HORTI POMPEIANI**.

**HORTI ANTONIANI**: gardens on the right bank of the Tiber, near the **HORTI CAESARIS** (q.v.). Their exact location is unknown (Cass. Dio xlvii. 40; CIL vi. 9990 (?), 9991; HJ 644; RE vii. 834; viii. 2482).

**HORTI AQUILII REGULI**: the gardens of the advocate and legacy-hunter, Regulus, on the right bank of the Tiber, which he had adorned with very extensive porticus and his own statues (Plin. Ep. iv. 2. 5).

**HORTI ARONIANI**: somewhere on the right bank of the Tiber, known only from an inscription (NS 1901, 356, superseding CIL vi. 671, 30808).

**HORTI ASIATICI**: see **HORTI LUCULL(I)ANI**.

**HORTI ASINIANI**: gardens at the end of the specus Octavianus (Frontin. de aq. 21), the branch of the Anio Vetus built by Augustus. As this specus has been traced only to the porta Latina, and the regio viae novae of Frontinus, who wrote in the time of Trajan (loc. cit.), cannot refer to the via Nova constructed by Caracalla in front of his thermae, the exact location of the gardens is as uncertain as that of the via Nova (cf. RE vii. 833; viii. 2483; LA 265; DS iii. 279; HJ 189). Nor should the monumenta Asinii Pollionis be identified with these gardens (see **BIBLIOTHECA ASINII POLLIONIS**).

**HORTI ATTICIANI**: mentioned in one inscription (CIL vi. 8667), otherwise unknown.

**HORTI CAESARIS (1)**: the gardens of Julius Caesar that were probably just outside the porta Collina. They are mentioned in the fourth century (Obseq. 71) under date of 17 B.C., and probably by Cassius Dio (xlii. 26. 3) under date of 47 B.C. They appear to have fallen into the possession of Sallust (Ps. Cic. resp. in Sall. 19), and may have formed part of the horti Sallustiani (HJ 430; RE viii. 2483).

**HORTI CAESARIS (2)**: the gardens of Julius Caesar, on the right bank of the Tiber (Hor. Sat. i. 9. 18). Their exact limits are unknown, but they extended from a point near the porta Portuensis southwards along the via Portuensis, and contained the temple of **FORS FORTUNA** (q.v.), which was one mile from the gate (Tac. Ann. ii. 41; Plut. Brut. 20; HJ 643; RE iii. 1297). Caesar entertained Cleopatra in these gardens in 44 B.C. (Cic. ad Att. xv. 15. 2), and left them by will to the Roman people (Cic. Phil. ii. 109; Suet. Caes. 83; Appian, BC ii. 143; Cass. Dio xlv. 35).

For remains of works of art and buildings found within the area of these gardens, cf. *Ann. d. Inst.* 1860, 415-450; *BC* 1884, 25-30; 1887, 90-95; *Mitt.* 1890, 149; 1892, 331; *PT* 181.

**HORTI CALYCLANI**: gardens on the Esquiline, known only from the inscriptions (*CIL* vi. 29771) on two cippi: cippi hi finiunt hortos Calyclan(os) et Taurianos. These cippi were found in situ in 1873-4, just outside the line of the Servian agger, a little north of the Via Principe Amedeo (*BC* 1874, 57; 1875, 153; *HJ* 368), and the horti Calyclani may have extended from this point eastward towards the porta Tiburtina. There is no explanation known of the name.

**HORTI CASSIANI**: mentioned only once (*Cic. ad Att.* xii. 21. 2) with those of Lamia and Drusus. They were probably on the right bank of the Tiber.

**HORTI CILONIAE FABIAE**: so marked on fragments (58, 80, 81) of the Marble Plan. Cilonia Fabia was the wife of Fabius Cilo, consul in 204 A.D., to whom the *DOMUS CILONIS* (q.v.), on the Aventine near S. Balbina, belonged. The horti were probably adjacent to the domus (*HJ* 188).

**HORTI CLODIAE**: gardens which Clodia owned ad Tiberim (*Cic. pro Cael.* 36), on the right bank of the river. They are mentioned frequently by Cicero (*ad Att.* xii. 38. 4, 41. 3, 43. 2, 44. 2, 47. 1, 52. 2).

**HORTI COMMODIANI**: the gardens of the Emperor Commodus (*Hist. Aug. Pesc.* 6. 8), of unknown location, if indeed they ever existed (cf. *Comm.* 4. 5).

**HORTI COPONIANI**: probably on the right bank of the Tiber, spoken of by Cicero (*ad Att.* xii. 31. 2) as villam et veterem et non magnam silvam nobilem, and therefore in the same class as the estates which he usually calls horti. Wesenberg alters 'silvam' to 'Silianam' (see **HORTI SILIANI**).

**HORTI COTTAE**: small gardens situated on the Via Ostiensis (*Cic. ad Att.* xii. 23. 3, 27. 1).

**HORTI CRASSIPEDIS**: gardens belonging to Furius Crassipes, the son-in-law of Cicero. They were situated near the temple of Mars on the via Appia, just outside the line of the later Aurelian wall, probably in the valley of the Almo (*Cic. ad Att.* iv. 12; *ad Q. fr.* iii. 7. 1; *ad Fam.* i. 9. 20).

**HORTI CUSINII**: probably on the right bank of the Tiber, mentioned twice by Cicero (*ad Att.* xii. 38. 4, 41. 3: Cusinii et Trebonii).

**HORTI DAMASIPPI**: gardens that were probably on the right bank of the Tiber, as Cicero speaks of them as containing several iugera 'in ripa' (*ad Att.* xii. 29. 2, 33. 1).

**HORTI DOLABELLAE**: the gardens of Gnaeus Dolabella, near the barracks of the imperial bodyguard of German troops (*Suet. Galba* 12). Neither site is known.

**HORTI DOMITIAE** : gardens of Domitia, the wife of Domitian (CIL vi. 16983, cf. 34106 c ; HJ 662 ; DAP 2. viii. 378), on the right bank of the Tiber. They contained within their limits the mausoleum of Hadrian (Hist. Aug. Pius 5 ; Not. Reg. XIV), and probably extended eastwards to about the middle of the new Palazzo di Giustizia (BC 1889, 173-174). They continued to be called horti Domitiae as late as the time of Aurelian (Hist. Aug. Aurel. 49).

**HORTI DOMITIAE CALVILLAE** : the gardens of Domitia Lucilla, the mother of Marcus Aurelius, on the Caelian (Hist. Aug. Marc. 1. 5). *Calvilla* is probably simply a wrong reading for *Lucilla* (CIL xv. p. 267 ; RE v. 1518).

**HORTI DOMITIORUM** : see **SEPULCRUM DOMITIORUM**.

**HORTI DRUSI** : somewhere on the right bank of the Tiber, frequently mentioned by Cicero (ad Att. xii. 21. 2, 22. 3, 23. 3, 25. 2, 31. 2, 33. 1, 37. 2, 38. 4, 41. 3, 44. 2).

**HORTI EPAPHRODITIANI** : \* gardens on the Esquiline, of which Frontinus says (de aq. ii. 68) that they were situated at the point where the Tepula received a supply of water from the Anio novus. This branch conduit probably left the Anio novus at its terminal distributing station, 100 metres south-east of Le Galluzze, and ran directly east to the Tepula, a distance of about 100 metres. The gardens, therefore, probably extended beyond the line of the Tepula (cf. however, LA 248 ; HJ 358 ; RE v. 2710 ; BC 1874, 53-4). They may have belonged to the freedman Epaphroditus, who was procurator a libellis under Nero and Domitian (NS 1913, 466 ; Mél. 1914, 383-387 ; DE iii. 1002). See **HORTI TORQUATIANI**.

**HORTI FRONTONIS** : gardens of Fronto which he calls Maecenatiani (Ep. i. 8), but in what precise sense is a matter of conjecture (cf. RE iv. 1316 ; vii. 832 ; DS iii. 282).

**HORTI GALBAE** : the private gardens of the Emperor Galba on the via Aurelia, on the right bank of the Tiber (Suet. Galba 20 ; Tac. Hist. i. 49 ; Eutrop. vii. 16).

**HORTI GETAE** : somewhere in Region XII (Not., Cur.). The fact that the district of the Lungara, between the Porta Settimiana and the Porta S. Spirito, was known in the Middle Ages as Septimiana, suggests that possibly Septimus Severus had his gardens here (Hist. Aug. Sev. 4) on the slope of the Janiculum, and that these were afterwards called horti Getae (HJ 656).

**HORTI LAMIANI** (1) : gardens near those of Maecenas and the city, i.e. just outside its limits (Phil. Iud. de leg. ad Gaium ii. 597). They became imperial property (CIL vi. 8668), and Caligula's ashes were deposited here before they were carried to the mausoleum of Augustus (Suet. Cal. 59). It is quite probable that they were laid out by L. Aelius Lamia, consul in 3 A.D., and left by him to Tiberius. There was a house of the

Aelii (v. *DOMUS AELIORUM*) on the Esquiline, near the gardens of Maecenas, and these horti may have had some connection with that. They seem to have been close to the horti Maiani (CIL vi. 8668: *proc(urator) hortorum Maianorum et Lamianor(um)*). These horti Maiani are mentioned in other inscriptions (CIL vi. 6152, 8669) and in Pliny (NH xxxv. 51), who tells of the destruction of a colossal painting of Nero, 120 feet high, which had been placed in some building within their limits. The fact that its height was the same as that of the *COLOSSUS NERONIS* (q.v.) can hardly be fortuitous, and it may have been a representation of the latter.

There are no further indications of the exact site of these gardens, but they are usually located just south-east of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, principally because of the discovery here of numerous works of art and a few structural remains (LR 408-411 and literature cited; BC 1907, 34; HJ 347, 354 and literature cited; LS iii. 111, 168; Cons. 126 ff.; RE viii. 2485).

**HORTI LAMIANI** (2): somewhere on the right bank of the Tiber, near those of Drusus (Cic. ad Att. xii. 21. 2, 22. 3; cf. 19. 1).

**HORTI LARGIANI**: in Region VII (Not.), but whether on the slope of the Pincian or in the campus Martius, is uncertain.

**HORTI LICINIANI**: gardens belonging to the Emperor Gallienus (Hist. Aug. Gall. 17). There is no indication of their location unless they bore some relation to the colossus erected by Gallienus (ib. 18) in *summo Esquilium monte*, or to the *PALATIUM LICINIANUM* (q.v.), near S. Balbina, or to the *arcus Gallieni* at the *porta Esquilina* (BC 1874, 55; LR 402-406; HJ 358-9). The *nymphaeum* on the Esquiline, wrongly called the temple of Minerva Medica, is by some supposed to have belonged to these horti; see *NYMPHAEUM*. It is conceivable that they were previously called **HORTI VOLUSIANI** (q.v.), and acquired their name from Ferox Licinianus (AJP 1927, 28).

**HORTI LOLLIANI**: gardens on the Esquiline, on the boundary between Regions IV and VI, as is shown by a terminal cippus that was found at the corner of the Via Principe Amedeo and the Piazza della Terme (CIL vi. 31284; NS 1883, 339; BC 1883, 220; Civiltà Cattolica 1883, 210). These gardens may have belonged to M. Lollius, consul in 21 B.C., or to his daughter, Lollia Paulina, the rival of Agrippina.

**HORTI LUCULL(I)ANI**: the earliest gardens on the Pincian, laid out by L. Licinius Lucullus about 60 B.C. (Tac. Ann. xi. 1). In 46 A.D. they belonged to Valerius Asiaticus and were called *horti Asiatici* (Cass. Dio lx. 27. 3). Messalina coveted them, forced Valerius to commit suicide, and seized the gardens, and was herself killed in them (Cass. Dio loc. cit.; Tac. Ann. xi. 1, 32, 37). Thereafter they were regarded as among the richest of the imperial properties (Plut. Luc. 39). They were situated immediately above the point where the *aqua Virgo* emerged from its underground



passage through the hill (Frontin. de aq. i. 22), close to the junction of the present Vie due Macelli and Capo le Case. Their eastern boundary was probably the ancient road that crossed the Pincian from the porta Salutaris, corresponding in general with the via Porta Pinciana; their western boundary was on the slope of the hill above the Due Macelli; while their extent towards the north is unknown. From remarks of ancient writers it is known that these horti were very beautiful, and one of its halls was apparently known as Apollo (Plut. Luc. 41). Few traces of these buildings have been found (BC 1891, 153-155; LS ii. 64; NA 1901, 16 Aug.; Mél. 1899, 118-119; Homo, Aurélien 241; see HORTI ACILIORUM.

**HORTI MAECENATIS**: gardens which Maecenas laid out on the Esquiline, on the Servian agger and the adjacent necropolis, thus transforming this unsavoury region into a beautiful promenade (Hor. Sat. i. 8. 14; Acro, Porphyrio, and Comm. Cruq. ad loc.). They became imperial property after the death of Maecenas, and Tiberius lived here after his return to Rome in 2 A.D. (Suet. Tib. 15). Nero connected them with the Palatine by his **DOMUS TRANSITORIA** (q.v.) (Tac. Ann. xv. 39), and viewed the burning of Rome from the *turris Maecenatiana* (Suet. Nero 38). This *turris* was probably the *molem propinquam nubibus arduis* of Horace (Carm. iii. 29. 10). These gardens were near those of Lamia, but it is not easy to reconcile the indications of the ancient literature or to determine their exact location. Topographers are not agreed as to whether they lay on both sides of the agger and both north and south of the porta Esquilina. Maecenas is said to have been the first to construct a swimming bath of hot water in Rome (Cass. Dio lv. 7), which may have been in the gardens. Whether the horti Maecenatiani of Fronto (Ep. i. 8) were the former gardens of Maecenas, or called so for some other reason, is unknown. The *domus Frontoniana* mentioned in the twelfth century by Magister Gregorius may refer to them (JRS 1919, 35, 53).<sup>1</sup> For the description of a building, often thought to be within these horti, see **AUDITORIUM MAECENATIS**. Many of the *puticuli* of the ancient necropolis have been found near the north-west corner of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, that is, outside the porta Esquilina and agger, and north of the via Tiburtina vetus, and probably the horti extended north from this gate and road on both sides of the agger (HJ 345-7; BC 1874, 166-171; Richter, 313; LR 411-413; Cons. 155 ff. for works of art found here).

**HORTI MAIANI**: see **HORTI LAMIANI**.

**HORTI MARSIANI**: only known from one inscription (now in the possession of the American Academy in Rome), which was the boundary stone between them and the **HORTI VOLUSIANI** (q.v.). At the time it was set up (circa 80-120 A.D.), the Horti Marsiani belonged to one Aithalis Aug(usti) lib(erta); see *AJP* 1927, 27, 28.

<sup>1</sup> Hülsen suggests that it is probably an invention, like the *Domus Aquilea* (ib.).

**HORTI MESSALAE CORVINI**: known only from an inscription (CIL vi. 29789) found in the villa Medici (cf. a brick stamp: Calpurniac Corvini BC 1889, 208).

**HORTI NERONIS**: see **HORTI AGRIPPINAE**.

**HORTI OTHONIS**: gardens somewhere on the right bank of the Tiber, but otherwise unknown (Cic. ad Att. xii. 43. 2, 44. 2).

**HORTI PALLANTIANI**: gardens on the Esquiline mentioned three times by Frontinus (de aq. 19, 20, 69), existing in the fourth century (Not. Reg. V; cf. FUR 57 ?), and supposed to have been laid out by Pallas, the rich freedman of Claudius. According to Frontinus the point where the rivus Herculaneus branched off from the aqua Marcia, about 175 metres south of the porta Tiburtina, and the end of the Claudia and Anio novus, about 250 metres north of the porta Praenestina, were behind these gardens. They must, therefore, have occupied a site very near the middle of the triangle formed by the via Tiburtina vetus, the via Praenestina-Labicana, and the line of the aqua Marcia, i.e. somewhat south of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele (cf. BC 1874, 53-54; LA 248; HJ 358).

**HORTI C. PASSIENI CRISPI**. A lead pipe bearing his name was found east of the Mausoleum of Hadrian under the Palazzo di Giustizia. He was consul for the second time in 44 A.D. (BC 1889, 212; CIL xv. 7508 (cf. 6100; Pros. iii. 14. 109; PBS v. 302; Cons. 348).

**HORTI PEDUCEIANI**: gardens of unknown location, but perhaps on the Via Latina (CIL x. 6706, which mentions an ager Peduceianus), and in that case probably outside the city. They may have belonged to M. Peduceius Stloga Priscianus, consul in 163 A.D. (Pros. iii. 21, 163); and later they became imperial property (CIL vi. 276, 33745). See also **HORREA PEDUCEIANA**.

**HORTI POMPEIANI**: gardens of Pompeius Magnus in the campus Martius (Plut. Pomp. 44; Vell. ii. 60. 3; Asc. in Mil. arg. 34). They were given to Antonius by Caesar after Pompeius' death (App. B.C. iii. 14; Cic. Phil. ii. 109), and were still called Pompeiani in the early empire (CIL vi. 6299). Twice (Asc. in Mil. pp. 37, 51 Or.)<sup>1</sup> in connection with these gardens, horti superiores are spoken of in a way to imply that there were upper and lower parts, and the inference has been drawn that these parts lay at the foot and on the slope of the Pincian respectively. In this case, they must have been entirely on the east side of the via Lata (RE viii. 2486; HJ 492-3).

**HORTI POMPONII SECUNDI**: gardens of unknown location belonging to P. Pomponius Secundus, consul in 44 A.D. (Tac. Ann. vi. 3 (v. 8)).

**HORTI REGULI** :\* on the right bank of the Tiber, the property of M. Regulus, the infamous captator and lawyer (Plin. Ep. iv. 2). They were adorned with very long porticus and many statues of the owner.

<sup>1</sup> Arg. 37, Orat. 50; pp. 32, 45, ed. Kiessling and Schoell.

HORTI SALLUSTIANI: the gardens of the historian Sallust in Region VI. It is possible that the nucleus of these gardens was the horti that Caesar had owned ad portam Collinam (Ps. Cic. resp. in Sall. 19). Sallust spent on them much of the wealth that he had amassed in Numidia, and they probably remained in the family until the time of Tiberius (supra, p. 216, n. 1; CIL vi. 9005), when they became imperial property (Tac. Ann. xiii. 47; CIL vi. 5863, 8670-8672; xv. 7249-7250; Dig. xxx. 39. 8), but they seem to have been open to some, if not to the general public (Ps. Sen. ad Paul. 1). They were a favourite resort of Vespasian (Cass. Dio lxxv. 10. 4) and Aurelian (Hist. Aug. Aurel. 49). Nerva died here (Chron. 146), and they were still a resort in the fourth century (Incert. auct. Panegyr. in Const. 14 (ed. Teubn. 300, 26)). In 410 they were sacked by the Goths under Alaric (Procop. B. Vand. i. 2).

In these gardens was a *conditorium*, or sepulchral vault (Plin. NH vii. 75), and a porticus Miliarensis (Hist. Aug. Aurel. 49), built by Aurelian, in which he exercised himself and his horses. *Miliarensis* should mean a thousand paces long, and a porticus of that length must have run about the gardens in various directions. v. Domaszewski (SHA 1916, 7. A, 13) regards this as a mere invention from the similar portico in the domus Aurea. There was also a temple to VENUS HORTORUM SALLUSTIANORUM (CIL vi. 122, 32451, 32468; BC 1885, 162), of which nothing more is known. In the Acta martyrum (cf. Jord. ii. 124-5, 185, 410 for literature) there are references to *thermae*, *palatium*, *forum*, *tribunal* and *pyramis Sallustii*, names which were probably attached more or less correctly to some of the buildings in these gardens. Of them the *pyramis*, identical with that of Eins. (2. 7; Jord. ii. 344; DAP. 2. ix. 396; cf. however, Mon. L. i. 460; BC 1914, 373), is the obeliscus that was erected in the post-Augustan age (Amm. Marcell. xvii. 4. 16). (For history and description of this obelisk, see OBELISCUS HORTORUM SALLUSTIANORUM.)

The eastern boundary of these horti was probably the *via Salaria vetus*, and the northern the line afterwards followed by the Aurelian wall from the *porta Salaria* westward (Tac. Hist. iii. 82; CIL vi. 35243; Jord. ii. 123; Mitt. 1891, 268; BC 1888, 9; HJ 433). On the south the boundary must have run along the ridge of the Quirinal, close to the FORTUNAE TRES (q.v.; cf. Anth. Pal. app. iv. 40), between the Servian wall and the *vicus portae Collinae* (Via Venti Settembre). How far the gardens stretched to the west is uncertain, but probably not beyond the Piazza Barberini. This district was called *Sallustricum* in the Middle Ages (Andreas Fulvius, *Antiquitates*, f. 24).

Within this area many works of art and remains of various structures have been found—a hippodromus<sup>1</sup> in the valley between the Pincian and Quirinal with walls and terraces extending up the slope of the latter

<sup>1</sup> For the use of the name to denote a garden, cf. supra, 162. Renaissance antiquarians called it *circus Florae*: see Hülsen, *Röm. Antikengärten*, 85-89; and cf. *Cose Maravigliose dell' Alma Città di Roma*, 1563, 37<sup>v</sup>.



hill, a nymphaeum in the north-east part, and three piscinae (Mél. 1891, 167-170; LS *passim*; Schreiber, Villa Ludovisi, *passim*; BC 1888, 3-11; 1902, 69; 1906, 159-185; Mitt. 1889, 270-274; 1892, 313; HJ 434-5 and literature cited; Gilbert, iii. 376 and literature cited; Homo, Aurélien 241; LR 415-421; PT 78-108, 158-159). The only ruins now visible are those of a nymphaeum at the end of the via Sallustiana, with an adjacent four-story building (Middleton, ii. 243-5, Rivoira, RA 96-99, who attributes it to the reign of Vespasian).

**HORTI SCAPULANI**: somewhere on the right bank of the Tiber (Cic. ad Att. xii. 37. 2, 38. 4, 40. 4, 41. 3, 52. 2; xiii. 12. 4, 33. 4).

**HORTI SCATONIANI**: known only from one inscription (CIL vi. 6281). Scato was a cognomen of some of the Vettii, and these gardens may have had some relation to the **DOMUS VETTIORUM** (q.v.).

**HORTI SCIPIONIS**: gardens of Scipio Africanus, somewhere in the campus Martius (Cic. de nat. deor. ii. 4. 11). They are perhaps the same as the villa Scipionis (Cic. Phil. ii. 109).

**HORTI SENECAE**: gardens of the philosopher (Tac. Ann. xiv. 52, 53, 55), of unknown location, but of considerable extent, for Juvenal calls them 'magnum Senecae praedivitis hortos' (x. 16).

**HORTI SERVILIANI**: gardens that were probably in the southern part of Region XII (Tac. Ann. xv. 55; Hist. iii. 38; Suet. Nero 47; CIL vi. 8673, 8674; Berl. Papyr. 511; see HJ 199, n. 42). They contained some famous works of art (Plin. NH xxxvi. 23, 25, 36).

**HORTI SILIANI**: somewhere on the right bank of the Tiber (Cic. Att. xii. 22. 3, 25. 1, 26. 1, 27. 1, 30. 1, 31. 2,<sup>1</sup> 33. 1, 35. 1, 41. 3, 44. 2, 52. 2).

**HORTI SPEI VETERIS**: gardens that are mentioned only once (Hist. Aug. Elag. 13). They were on the Esquiline, near the temple of SPES VETUS (q.v.), but are otherwise unknown (cf., however, LR 397-400; HJ 364; LS iii. 163-4; Homo, Aurélien 250; Mél. 1899, 125; NS 1922, 137).

**HORTI TAURIANI**: gardens of M. Statilius Taurus, consul in 44 A.D., who was forced to commit suicide in 53 by Agrippina because she coveted them (Tac. Ann. xii. 59). They were on the Esquiline adjacent to the horti Calyclani (CIL vi. 29771; cf. **HORTI CALYCLANI** and **FORUM TAURI**).

**HORTI TERENCEI**: the gardens of the poet Terence, on the via Appia, near the temple of Mars, of twenty iugera in extent (Suet. Terent. 5).

**HORTI THRASEAE PAETI**: mentioned only once (Tac. Ann. xvi. 34), of unknown location.

**HORTI TORQUATIANI**: gardens on the Esquiline, of unknown ownership. They are mentioned only once (Frontin. de aq. i. 5), where the junction of the aqua Appia and the aqua Augusta is said to be 'ad spem veterem' on

<sup>1</sup> See also **HORTI COPONIANI**.



the boundary between them and other gardens, the name of which cannot be made out.<sup>1</sup> This place is also called *AD GEMELLOS* (q.v.), and the *horti Torquatiani*, therefore, were south of the *via Praenestina* and west of *Spes vetus* (BC 1874, 53-4; LA 248-249; HJ 364).

**HORTI TREBONII**: mentioned three times by Cicero (*ad Att.* xii. 38. 4, 41. 3, 43. 2: twice *Trebonii et Cusinii*), with no indication of situation. They were probably on the right bank of the Tiber.

**HORTI VARIANI**: gardens that are mentioned only once (*Hist. Aug. Aurel.* 1), where the context points to a location on the Pincian hill or beyond—unless indeed their invention is due to a misunderstanding of *Hist. Aug. Heliogab.* 14. 5; SHA 1916, 7. A, 13. See NS 1922, 137; LR 397, where they are treated as identical with the *HORTI SPEI VETERIS* (q.v.), but wrongly (*Mél.* 1899, 125), for a proposed site, partly inside, partly outside the *porta Praenestina*; and cf. *OBELISCUS ANTINOI*.

**HORTI VETTIANI**: see *VETTIUS AGORIUS PRAETEXTATUS*, *DOMUS*.

**HORTI VOLUSIANI**: known only from an inscription now in the possession of the American Academy in Rome, a boundary stone between them and the *HORTI MARSIANI* (q.v.). From it we learn that they belonged to one *Ferox Licinianus*; and if he is to be identified with (*Cn. Pompeius Ferox Licinianus* (*Pros.* iii. 66. 461), who in turn may be the *Pompeius* mentioned as one of *Domitian's* courtiers who was invited to the famous conclave on the great fish (*Juv.* iv. 109 sqq.) and the 'Licinus' mentioned by *Sidonius Apollinaris* (*Ep.* v. 7), the inscription would belong to the period circa 80-120 A.D. It is, further, possible that *CIL* vi. 9973 refers to these *hor(ti)*, and not to the *hor(rea) Volusiana* (*AJP* 1927, 27, 28). On the other hand a 'vestiarius' is more appropriate in the latter, and *ib.* 7289 certainly seems to imply the existence of such *horrea*.

<sup>1</sup> The supplement [*Epaphroditia*] *norum* is due to Lanciani, and is accepted by Bennett in the Loeb edition. See *HORTI EPAPHRODITIANI*. *Carcopino* (*Basilique Pythagoricienne*, 67-72) proposes to read *Tauria*] *norum*, placing the *BASILICA* (q.v.) within the limits of these gardens, and pointing out that neither the *Horti Epaphroditiani* nor the *Horti Pallantiani* need have come into existence until after the death of *Statilius Taurus* (53 A.D.), so that the *Horti Tauriani* may have included the area which they afterwards occupied. He attributes the *Horti Torquatiani* to *D. Iunius Silanus Torquatus*, a great-grandson of *Augustus*, who was forced to commit suicide in 64 A.D.

# I

IANICULUM : the long ridge on the right bank of the Tiber, running almost due north from a point opposite the Aventine to what is now called Monte Mario (Mart. iv. 64 ; Dionys. ix. 14. 8), a distance of about 5 kilometres. This was in the AGER VATICANUS (q.v.), and was sometimes called Mons Vaticanus (Hor. Carm. i. 20. 7). It is separated from the plateau behind by a long depression, and is itself not entirely continuous, being partially broken on the south, west and north-west of the Vatican by natural and artificial valleys (BC 1892, 288). The term Ianiculum is now limited to the part of the ridge immediately opposite the city, from the point where it approaches within 100 metres of the river near S. Spirito southwards, a distance of 2 kilometres. The highest point of the ridge in its larger sense is the northern end, Monte Mario, 146 metres above sea-level, and the highest point within the line of the Aurelian wall is west of the present church of S. Pietro in Montorio, 69 metres. At the porta Aurelia (porta S. Pancrazio) it is about 82 metres high, and a short distance farther west about 81. The average height of the ridge above the campus Martius is 60-70 metres (cf. Cic. de leg. agr. i. 16 ; ii. 74). This ridge is a marine formation belonging to the Older Pliocene period, and consisting mainly of a bluish grey marl, much used for making bricks and pottery, and of yellow sea sand, of great value for building purposes.

The name was usually explained by the ancients as meaning ' the city of Janus ' (Serv. Aen. viii. 357 ; Varro ap. August. civ. Dei vii. 4 ; Solin. ii. 5 ; Macrob. i. 7. 19 ; Ov. Fast. i. 245) ; sometimes, apparently, as the ' gate ' (Fest. 104). The connection between the hill and Janus was doubtless due to the presence here of a cult of the god, who was afterwards explained as an early king of the district (cf. WR 103 ff.). No trace of this cult existed in historical times, but it may be inferred from that of FONS or FONTUS (q.v.), the reputed son of Janus. According to Pliny (NH iii. 68), the original name of this settlement was Antipolis (v. PAGUS IANICULENSIS).

Ancus Martius was said to have fortified the Janiculum in order that it might not be occupied by a hostile force (Liv. i. 33 ; Dionys. iii. 45), and during the republic a guard was always posted on the hill while the comitia centuriata was meeting in the campus Martius (Liv. xxxix. 15 ; Cass. Dio xxxvii. 28) ; but there is no evidence of any fortification until the completion of the first permanent bridge over the Tiber, the pons

Aemilius, in 142 B.C. Whatever was built then was probably at the top of the ridge, near the porta Aurelia in the line of the later wall of Aurelian, which was brought up to this point from the river for this very reason (Richter, 51, 120). It was the first point of attack for Marius and Cinna in the Civil Wars (Liv. Ep. 80; Appian, BC i. 67; Flor. iii. 21, 23).

For a discussion of the derivation and meaning of Janiculum and of the hill and its fortifications, see Richter, *Die Befestigung des Ianiculums*, Berlin 1882; Elter, *Vaticanum*, RhM 1891, 111-138; Mayerhofer, *Gesch.-topographische Studien*, Munich 1887, 7-21; RE ix. 691; Jord. i. 1. 197, 242-243; HJ 623-5; Nissen, *Landeskunde* ii. 489-490; DE iv. 3-5.

IANUS: an arch or gate, intended for a passage way (Cic. de nat. deor. ii. 67: Ianum . . . ab eundo . . . ex quo transitiones perviae iani . . . nominantur), sometimes surmounted with statues (Suet. Aug. 31: Pompei quoque statuam . . . marmoreo Iano superposuit), of which there were many in Rome (Suet. Dom. 13: ianos arcusque . . . tantos ac tot extruxit; Ov. Fast. i. 257: cum tot sis iani cur stas sacratus in uno). The word was also used of one of the passage ways through a double gate (Liv. ii. 49. 7: infelici via dextro iano portae Carmentalis profecti ad Cremeram flumen perveniunt). Of these iani in Rome one, Ianus Primus, is mentioned only in one inscription (CIL vi. 12816: L. Aufidius L. l. Eperastus ab Iano primo, cf. Comm. in hon. Momms. 642), and its site is unknown, although often supposed to have been in the forum.

The second is the well-known Ianus medius which, wherever it occurs in literature, designates the place in the forum where bankers and speculators gathered for business (Cic. de off. ii. 87: de collocanda pecunia . . . commodius a quibusdam optimis viris ad Ianum medium sedentibus . . . disputatur; Phil. 6. 15: L. Antonio a Iano medio patrono; 7. 16: patronus Iani medii; CIL vi. 5845: a Iano medio; 10027; Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 18: postquam omnis res mea Ianum ad medium fracta est; and without doubt Ov. Rem. Am. 561: qui puteal Ianumque timet celeresque Kalendas torqueat hunc aeris mutua summa sui). The scholia on the passage in Horace (Porphyry: hoc ideo qui omnes ad Ianum in basilica consistebant; Acron: Iani statuæ tres erant; ad unam illarum solebant convenire creditores et feneratores, alii ad reddendum, alii ad locandum fenus. Ianum ad medium ideo, quoniam in Rostris simulacrum Iani erat, ubi res pecuniariae agebantur per feneratores. Aliter: Ianus medius locus dictus est prope basilicam Pauli ubi vasa aenea venundabantur; similarly Comm. Cruq.) seem to agree in placing the ianus medius near the basilica Aemilia, although they confuse statues with arches. With this position of the Ianus subsequent topographers have agreed, although they differed as to which end of the basilica should be understood.

A second passage in Horace (Ep. i. 1. 53-54: o cives cives quaerenda pecunia primum est; virtus post nummos: haec Ianus summus ab imo

prodocet) has complicated the matter. *Summus* and *imus* have been brought into connection with *medius*, and in support of the theory of three iani in the forum at different points, *summus*, *medius* and *imus*, some scholars cite a passage in Livy (xli. 27 : forum porticibus tabernisque claudendum et Ianos tres faciendos) which states that in the year 174 B.C. the magistrates erected three iani in some colony, presumably in imitation of conditions in the forum at Rome. No hint of any such connection of *summus* and *imus* with *medius* is given by the scholiasts (Porphyr. : ad ianos eos qui sunt in regione basilicae Pauli feneratores consistunt . . . Unus enim illic ianus in summo alius in imo est quos haec inducit monere ; Acron : duo Iani ante basilicam Pauli steterunt ubi locus erat faeneratorum. Ianus dicebatur locus in quo solebant convenire feneratores), who agree, however, in placing the two iani in front of the basilica Aemilia, as they did the *medius*. The Commentator Cruquii gives another explanation of *summus ab imo*—hoc est omnes Romani a maximo ad minimum qui ad Ianum conveniunt hoc prodocent, i.e. aperte dicunt.

There is still a third passage in Horace (Ep. i. 20. 1 : Vortumnus Ianumque liber spectare videris, scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus) on which the scholiast (Porphyr.) remarks : Vortumnus . . . in vico Turario sacellum habuit ; Ianus quoque similiter vicus est ab Iano gemino sic appellatus qui in eo arcum habet sibi consecratum (cf. Acron and Comm. Cruq., which, however, do not mention any vicus). This is the only mention of a vicus Ianus, and is evidently due to confusion and an error of interpretation on the part of the scholiast, but nevertheless a theory has been constructed on this basis which identifies this vicus Ianus with a supposed street in front of the basilica Aemilia, on the north side of the area of the forum, corresponding with the continuation of the Sacra via on the south side, and spans this with three arches, Ianus *summus* *medius* and *imus*, from west to east (Bentley, Hor. Ep. i. 1. 54 ; Lanciani, BC 1890, 99 ; LR 253-254 ; BPW 1913, 981 ; Théd. 176, who identifies Ianus *medius* with Ianus Geminus ; and many edd. of Horace). If there were any sufficient evidence for a vicus Ianus, Ianus *summus ab imo* might easily be explained as referring to this street, but it is altogether probable that the phrase is a poetical expression meaning 'from one end of the Forum to the other' (Jord.), and cannot be taken as authority for a Ianus *summus* and a Ianus *imus*.

It is probable that at the beginning of the Augustan period, Ianus *medius* was a small single arch, near the basilica Aemilia, but it is not possible to decide whether *medius* refers to its position in the forum or with respect to other arches. There may have been other iani in the forum, but there are no certain references to them. Those who suppose that such iani stood where other streets entered the forum, look for evidence to the two cases of possible iani on the Rostra relief (see *ROSTRA*), the remains of an arch of later date across the vicus Iugarius, the presence of such a Ianus near the statue of Vortumnus (see above) in the vicus



Tusculus, where traces of an arch are alleged to have been found (BPW 1903, 1117), and some indications in the scholia. The inconsistencies and errors of the scholia may be due to the changes of the later empire. (Jord. i. 2. 214-218; Richter, 106-107; Théd. 175-176; DS iii. 615; Burchett, Janus in Roman Life and Cult, Menasha, Wis. 1918, 42-47).

IANUS, AEDES\* (templum, Tac.): a temple in the forum Holitorium, built by C. Duilius after the victory at Mylae (Tac. Ann. ii. 49). Its position is defined as ad theatrum Marcelli (Fast. Allif. et Vall. ad xvi Kal. Sept., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 217, 240; Fast. Amit. ad xv Kal. Nov., CIL i.<sup>2</sup> p. 245, 325, 332), iuxta theatrum Marcelli (Serv. Aen. vii. 607, which is an interpolation),<sup>1</sup> and extra portam Carmentalem (Fest. 285). The day of dedication was the Portunalia, 17th August (see Fast. Allif. et Vallens.; and for the significance of the fact, Pais, Fasti Triumphales Capitolini, ii. 474-478). The restoration of this temple was begun by Augustus and completed by Tiberius in 17 A.D. (Tac. loc. cit.), but the dedication day of the restored structure was 18th October (Fast. Amit.). According to Pliny (NH xxxvi. 28) Augustus dedicated in this temple a statue to Janus which was brought from Egypt, the work either of Scopas or Praxiteles. It was probably the Ἐρμῆς δικέφαλος of the former (WR 106; Jahr. d. Inst. 1890, 148-149). The statement is made (Fest. 285) that the senate was forbidden to meet in this temple because their decree that the Fabii should go forth to the siege of Veii was made in aede Iani; but this is probably apocryphal, for there is no evidence of an earlier temple of Janus in Rome in which a meeting of the senate could have been held. The structure of Duilius, however, was probably on the site of an earlier shrine (HJ 508; Rosch. ii. 26; Gilb. i. 260-265; iii. 380; Jord. i. 2. 347).

Under the present church of S. Nicola in Carcere are the ruins of three temples, standing side by side with the same orientation and facing the forum Holitorium. The architectural fragments are of travertine, tufa and peperino (all of which were covered with stucco), except some of marble of the later restorations, and belong to the period of the republic. The central and largest is Ionic, that on the north is next in size and also Ionic, while that on the south is smallest and Doric. The second, on the north, is generally assumed to be the temple of Janus. It is dated by Frank to about 90 B.C. It is hexastyle, peripteral except at the back, and six of its columns, 0.70 metre in diameter, are still standing, built into the wall of the church. The temple in the middle is assigned to Spes, and the smallest to Iuno Sospita (HJ 507-514; Mitt. 1906, 169-192; LR 513-514; Delbrück, Die drei Tempel am Forum Holitorium, Rome, 1903; for divergent views see ZA 238-248; TF 126-130). It may be remarked, in regard to the latter's theory, that the order of the last two

<sup>1</sup> This is Jordan's view, but is not warranted by Thilo's apparatus criticus. It is much more likely that a scholiast confused this temple with the Janus at the bottom of the Argiletum, and accordingly wrote 'sacrarium hoc, id est belli portas, Numa Pompilius fecit circa inum Argiletum iuxta theatrum Marcelli' (cf. Liv. i. 19. 2). This is the second of the alternatives suggested by Wissowa in Gött. Gel. Anz. 1904, 562.

temples should be reversed, and that, while it may require some explanation that the temple of Janus was not also damaged by the fire of 213, it is even more difficult to suppose that the central temple was fitted in the space between two smaller temples already in existence. In pursuance of this theory, Frank assigns the southern temple in its present form to a restoration of 31 B.C. The central temple he dates about 90 B.C. See Gött. Gel. Anz. 1903, 556; 1904, 561; Delbrück, *Hellenistische Bauten*, ii. 43; *RE Suppl.* iii. 1183; and cf. *PORTA CARMENTALIS*.

For restorations, see D'Esp. *Mon.* ii. 128-129.

It should be noted that the name of the church (in Carcere) was only changed to in Carcere Tulliano in the fourteenth century, owing to an erroneous identification. The carcer was really that of Byzantine times (*LPD* i. 515, n. 13; ii. 295, n. 12).

IANUS, CONCORDIA, SALUS, PAX, STATUAE: statues of these four divinities which were worshipped together on 30th March, according to Ovid (*Fast.* iii. 881-882: *Ianus adorandus cumque hoc Concordia mitis / Et Romana Salus araque Pacis erit*). Augustus set up silver statues of Ὑγίεια δημοσία, Ὁμόνοια and Εἰρήνη in 11-10 B.C. (*Cass. Dio* liv. 35. 2), probably those to which Ovid refers with the addition of Janus (*CLL* 12. p. 320). This ara Pacis is not the famous ara Pacis of Augustus.

IANUS CURIATIUS, ARA: one of the two altars near the Tigillum Sororium (*Fest.* 297; *Dionys.* iii. 22. 7: βωμὸς Ἰανοῦ Κορατίων. The other was dedicated to Iuno Sororia (Ἥρα ἀδελφή), and on them expiatory sacrifices had been offered from very early times. These altars belonged originally, in all probability, to the common cult of Janus and Juno at the beginning of the month (*WR* 104), but afterwards they were connected with the legend of Horatius and the murder of his sister (see *TIGILLUM SORORIUM*, and *HJ* 322; *Gilb.* i. 178-179; ii. 55-56; *Rosch.* ii. 21; *RE Suppl.* iii. 1178-1179).

IANUS GEMINUS: a shrine of Janus on the north side of the forum, usually referred to simply as Janus Geminus or Janus Quirinus (*Hor. Carm.* iv. 15. 9; *Mon. Anc.* ii. 42; *Suet. Aug.* 22), but also as sacellum (*Ov. Fast.* i. 275); sacrarium (*Serv. Aen.* vii. 607; cf. Warde Fowler, *The Gathering of the Clans*, Oxford, 137-38), νεὸς δίθυρος (*Plut. Numa* 20), ναός (*Procop. B.G.* i. 25), and aedes (*Macro. Sat.* i. 9. 18), although it was probably not an aedes. It was also called geminae belli portae (*Verg. Aen.* vi. 707), Iani gemini portae (*de vir. ill.* 79. 6; *August. civ. Dei* iii. 10), πύλη ἐννάλιος (*Mon. Anc.* vii. 5), πύλη πολέμου (*Plut. Numa* 20), porta Ianualis (*Varro, LL* v. 165), porta Iani (*Flor.* i. 19. 1), and πύλαι τοῦ Ἰανοῦ (*Cass. Dio* li. 20).

Tradition varied as to the date and origin of this shrine. According to one form of the story (*Macro. i.* 9. 17-18) it was already in existence when the victorious Sabines under Titus Tatius were stopped and driven back by floods of hot water which Janus caused to gush forth from his

temple and through the gate of the city sub radicibus collis Viminalis.<sup>1</sup> This gate was called the porta Ianualis from this event, and apparently identified or confused with the temple (cf. Jord. Hermes 1869, 252 ; Top. i. 1. 177 ; Pl. 191). A variant of this legend made the erection of the shrine a result of the intervention of the god (Ov. Fast. i. 263-276 ; cf. Serv. Aen. i. 291 ; viii. 361 ; Varro, LL v. 156, 165 ; Ter. Maurus, frg. i. 5). Another tradition was that Romulus and Tatius built the temple as a sign of the union of the two communities (Serv. Aen. i. 291 : alii dicunt Tatium et Romulum facto foedere hoc templum aedificasse unde et Ianus ipse duas facies habet, quasi ut ostendat duorum regum coitionem ; xii. 168), and still another that it was erected by Numa as an index pacis bellique (Liv. i. 19 ; Plin. NH xxxiv. 33 ; Varro, LL v. 165) in order that when open it might indicate that Rome was at war, and when closed that she was at peace. This became the accepted signification of the temple, and after the reign of Numa its doors were closed in 235 after the first Punic war (Varro, Liv. locc. citt.), in 30 B.C. after the battle of Actium (Liv. loc. cit. ; Hor. Carm. iv. 15. 9), and twice besides by Augustus (Mon. Anc. ii. 42-46 ; Suet. Aug. 22 ; cf. Cohen, Aug. 385 = BM. Aug. 126) ;<sup>2</sup> and afterwards at more frequent intervals down to the fifth century (Hist. Aug. Comm. 16 ; Gord. 26 ; Claudian. de cons. Stil. ii. 287 ; Amm. Marc. xvi. 10, 1).

There is no mention of any rebuilding of this temple, and therefore it was probably never moved from its original site, which, according to the practically unanimous testimony of all forms of the tradition, was near the point where the ARGILETUM (q.v.) entered the forum close to the curia (ad infimum Argiletum, Liv. i. 19 ; circa imum Argiletum Serv. Aen. vii. 607 ; *πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ὀλίγον ὑπερβάντι τὰ τρία φάτα*, Procop. BG i. 25 ; *πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτοῦ (τοῦ συνεδρίου)*, Cass. Dio lxxiii. 13 ; in foro, Sen. Apoc. 9 ; Hic ubi iuncta foris templa duobus habes, Ov. Fast. i. 258, i.e. the forum and the forum Iulium). It has generally been supposed that it lay between the curia and the west end of the basilica Aemilia, but the excavations have as yet shown hardly any room here for even so small a building (Mitt. 1902, 47). Varro (LL v. 165) says that the porta Ianualis was the third gate in the wall of the Palatine city—dicta ab Iano et ideo positum Iani signum et ius institutum a Pompilio, but it is difficult to see how a gate in the wall of the Palatine city could have been on the north side of the forum valley.

Procopius' description (B.G. i. 25) and coins of Nero (Cohen, Nero 114, 115, 132-177 ; BM. Nero 64, 111-113, 156-167, 198-204, 225-233, 319-322, 374, 375 and pp. clxxiv, 267, 398) agree in representing this temple as a small rectangular structure of bronze, with two side walls and double doors at each end. The walls were not so high as the doors,

<sup>1</sup> See LAUTOLAE.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. H. Mattingly informs me that Cohen, Aug. 110, is best disregarded, as being probably false.



and were surmounted by a grating. These gratings and the arches over the doors supported an entablature of two members extending all around the building, but there was no roof. The ancient bronze statue of the two-faced god (bifrons, Verg. Aen. xii. 198; biformis, Ov. Fast. i. 89) stood in the centre of the temple, which was no temple in the ordinary sense but a passage (*ianus*). No traces of the structure have ever been found, and there is no reference to it after Procopius. (For this temple and the various theories about it, see, besides literature cited, Jord. i. 2. 345-352; WR 103-106; Rosch. ii. 15-20; Théd. 71-74; Mitt. 1895, 172-178; 1921-22, 14-17; HC 134-136; Mél. 1908, 258-261; Binder, Die Plebs, 1909, 61-72; Burchett, Janus in Roman Life and Cult, Menasha, Wis. 1918, 37-44; CR 1918, 14-16; DR 145-150; RE Suppl. iii. 1178-1182; Suppl. iv. 506.)

IANUS QUADRIFRONS: the name ordinarily given to a four-way arch of marble, which stands directly over the cloaca Maxima, and probably marked the line of separation between the forum Boarium and the Velabrum. It consists of four piers connected by quadripartite vaulting, and is 12 metres square and 16 high. The arches themselves are 10.60 metres high and 5.70 wide. Round all four sides run two rows of niches for statues, forty-eight in all, of which sixteen are unfinished. The keystones of the arches were sculptured, and the figures of Minerva and Roma are still visible on the north and east sides. The structure is of late date, third or fourth century,<sup>1</sup> and may perhaps be identified with the arcus divi Constantini in Region XI (Not., om. Cur.; DAP 2. vi. 261; Jord. i. 2. 471). For a detailed description of this arch, see PAS ii. 80; Toeb. i. 131-135; ZA 258-261; for illustrations, Baumeister, Denkm. iii. pl. lxxx. 6, lxxxi. 8; Canina, Edifici, iv. 253. Cf. ASA 119.

HülSEN points out (Toeb. cit.) that the superstructure, which was removed in 1827 as mediaeval, probably belonged to the attic (DuP. pl. 23, fig. 38 and pp. 74, 75); and reconstructs it with a pyramid on top.

IANUS QUADRIFRONS, TEMPLUM: erected by Domitian in the forum Transitorium (Mart. x. 28. 3-6; xi. 4. 5-6; Serv. Aen. vii. 607; Lydus, de mens. iv. 1; Macrob. i. 9. 13), in which he placed the four-faced statue that was said to have been brought to Rome from Falerii in 241 B.C. The shrine was square with doors on each side, and the statue of the god was said to look out on four forums (Mart. loc. cit.), i.e. the fora Romanum, Augustum, Pacis, Transitorium. It is not known whether this four-faced statue from Falerii had anything to do with the Roman Janus or not, or whether it had been housed in a shrine before Domitian's time. It was standing in the sixth century (Lydus, loc. cit.; Jord. i. 2. 347, 450; WR 106; Rosch. ii. 25-26; Mem. L. 3. xi. 26-32; Burchett, Janus in Roman Life and Cult, Menasha, Wis. 1918, 40).

<sup>1</sup> It is attributed to a period a little before Diocletian in Zeitschr. f. Gesch. d. Archit. viii. (1924), 74, as against the attribution to the second third of the fourth century in Toeb.



IANUS QUIRINUS : see IANUS GEMINUS.

ILICIUM : see ARA IOVIS ELICII.

INDULGENTIA (?) : a temple (ναός) of *Εὐεργεσία* on the Capitoline, built by M. Aurelius in 180 A.D. (Cass. Dio lxxi. 34. 3 : *πλείστον δὲ ἐν εὐεργεσίᾳ διήγεν, ὅθεν πού καὶ νεὼν αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἰδρύσατο, ὀνόματί τινι ἰδιωτάτῳ καὶ μήπω ἀκουσθέντι προσκαλέσας αὐτήν*). *Εὐεργεσία* is probably to be identified with Indulgentia, i.e. Indulgentia Augusti, whose name appears on coins, and to whom at least one shrine in Africa (Cirta) was dedicated (Jord. i. 2. 47 ; WR 336 ; Rosch. ii. 233 ; CIL viii. 7095, 8813-8814).

INSULA : a house containing a number of apartments (see De Marchi in Mem. Ist. Lombardo, 1891, 252 sqq. ; Calza in Mon. L. xiii. 541-608 ; RL 1917, 60-87 ; and contrast Hermes, 1885, 91-100 ; Mem. Acad. Inscr. B.-L. 1915, 279-335). Assigning to one-third of the 44,300<sup>1</sup> insulae enumerated in Reg. (Brev. gives 46,602) an area of 400 square metres each, and 100 each to the rest, we get an average area of 200 square metres per insula, or a total of 8,860,000 square metres ; and, adding 500 square metres for each of the 1790 domus, we get a further 895,000 square metres, giving a total of 9,755,000 square metres, out of the total area of 13,868,750 square metres within the area of the Aurelian walls. Calza computes the approximate population of Rome at the time of Constantine at 40 per insula, or roughly 1,800,000.

INSULA AESCULAPII : see INSULA TIBERINA.

INSULA BOLANI : a lodging house belonging to M. Vettius Bolanus (CIL vi. 67), consul before 69 A.D. It was in Region XIV, west of the pons Aemilius, and a little north of the church of S. Cecilia (cf. *AEDES BONAE DEAE, BALINEUM BOLANI* ; and see LA 218).

INSULA CUMINIANA : a lodging house on the Caelian, mentioned only in a late source (acta S. Pancratii, 12th May, p. 21), but perhaps belonging to the classical period.

INSULA FELICLES : a lodging house in Region IX (Not.), and famous for its height (Tert. adv. Valent. 7 ; cf. Pr. Reg. 91, 179). It was probably near the east end of the circus Flaminius (HJ 556).

INSULA SERPENTIS EPIDAUURI : see INSULA TIBERINA.

INSULA SERTORIANA : a lodging house known only from one inscription (CIL vi. 29791), found in the forum Boarium.

INSULA TIBERINA : the island in the Tiber, included in the fourteenth region of Augustus, and now called isola di S. Bartolomeo (Ill. 32 ; cf. also Ill. 37). It seems to be the end of the ridge of which the Capitoline hill is a part, and owing perhaps to the harder character of its tufa, the river did not cut it away entirely but divided and flowed on either side.

<sup>1</sup> For the figures see Richter 371-375.

It was often called simply *insula*, but was also spoken of by different names—*insula Tiberina* (Vitr. iii. 2. 3 ; Acro Schol. in Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 36), *inter duos pontes* (Plut. Popl. 8 ; Justin. Martyr. apol. i. 26 ; Aeth. 83, Riese ; Chron. 145 ; inscr. BCr 1905, 231 ; FUR 42), *insula Aesculapii* (Suct. Claud. 25 ; Dionys. v. 13), *insula serpentis Epidaurii* (Sidon. Apoll. Ep. i. 7. 12) ; and in the Middle Ages, *insula Lycaonia* (HJ 632, note 21 ; and esp. Besnier, 76-87). It was also called simply *insula* (CIL vi. 9824, 33864 ; Fest. 110).

The present length of the island is 269 metres, and its greatest width 67 metres. Tradition held that its nucleus was formed by the grain from the fields of the Tarquins, which was thrown into the Tiber in great quantities after the expulsion of the kings (Liv. ii. 5 ; Dionys. v. 13 ; see GAIA). In 292 B.C. the serpent of Aesculapius, which, with the statue of that god, was being brought to Rome, left the ship and swam ashore on the island. A temple was erected to the god and the island was consecrated as its *temenos*, although shrines to other divinities (e.g. IUPITER, FAUNUS, TIBERINUS, SEMO SANCUS, q.v.) were afterwards built on it.<sup>1</sup> In consequence of this legend of the serpent the island itself was made to resemble a ship. A stone platform was built round it, and upon this a wall was erected which in shape reproduced exactly the sides of a Roman ship (Ann. d. Inst. 1867, 389 ff. ; Durm, Baukunst, fig. 537). A considerable part of the travertine stern can still be seen at the east end of the island (LR 19). An obelisk, fragments of which are in the museum at Naples, is thought to have represented the mast. We are not informed as to the time when this was done, but the remains of the walls point to the same period as that of the construction of the pons Fabricius (62 B.C.) and pons Cestius (70-42 B.C.), and it is possible that the erection of these two bridges was part of the same plan as the building of the ship. Before the building of these stone bridges, the island was doubtless connected with the left bank by a wooden structure at least as early as the time when the cult of Aesculapius was established (cf. Liv. xxxv. 21. 5, where the flood of 193 B.C. is said to have destroyed 'duos pontes').

For a complete discussion of the history, topography, and antiquities of the island, see Besnier, *L'île Tibérine dans l'Antiquité*, Paris 1902 (Bibl. Éc. Franç. fasc. 87) ; see also HJ 630-638 ; Jord. i. 1. 402 ; DuP 59-69 ; and for the discovery of remains, also LS iii. 246 ; iv. 79, 164. For a restoration, D'Esp. Mon. ii. 144-148 ; Fr. ii. 97, 98 ; and for a medallion of Antoninus Pius (Cohen, Antonin, 17-19) which perhaps represents it, see JRS 1911, 187-195 ; but cf. NAVALIA.

INSULA VITALIANA : a lodging house on the Esquiline, known only from an inscription (CIL vi. 33893) painted on a wall (BC 1895, 129).

<sup>1</sup> For a terra-cotta acroterion which probably came from an archaic temple on the island—it is too early in style to be attributable to that of Aesculapius—see HF 1510 ; JRS 1914, 189 ; Van Buren, *Figurative Terracotta Revetments*, 24.



31 MATER MATUTA, TEMPLUM (p. 330)



32 INSULA TIBERINA (p. 281)





INTER FALCARIOS : probably a district in Rome, mentioned twice in Cicero (in Cat. i. 8 ; pro Sulla 52), where the scythe-makers had their headquarters, although *falcarius* is defined in a late gloss (CGL v. 599) as *gladiator falcem gerens*.

INTER FIGULOS : perhaps the common designation of a district close to the circus Maximus (Varro, LL v. 154).

INTER DUOS LUCOS (1) : a district or street on the Caelian, where the DOMUS TETRICORUM (q.v.) was situated, mentioned only in one passage (Hist. Aug. Trig. Tyr. 25). This probably corresponded pretty closely with the site of the present SS. Quattro Coronati and the space between it and the via S. Stefano Rotondo (HJ 242 ; Rev. Ét. Anc. xvii. (1914), 213-214)—unless the domus Tetricorum itself is an invention.

INTER DUOS LUCOS (2) : the name sometimes given to the depression, a *locus saeptus*, between the Capitolium and the Arx, where Romulus is said to have established the asylum, and where the temple of Veiovis was erected (Vitr. iv. 8. 4 ; Liv. i. 8. 5 ; Dionys. ii. 15 ; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 233 ; Vell. i. 8. 5). It seems to have been quite an open area in Cicero's time (de Div. ii. 40). Twice only one lucus is spoken of as the site of the asylum (Flor. i. 1. 9 ; Schol. Iuv. viii. 273 ; cf. BC 1905, 211-214).

INTER DUOS PONTES : see INSULA TIBERINA.

INTER VITORES : see CIRCUUS MAXIMUS (p. 116, n. 1).

IOVIS COENATIO : see SICILIA.

ISIS, AEDES : the principal temple of Isis in Rome, situated in the campus Martius, adjoining the temple of Serapis in the same precinct (see below). It is also referred to as *fanum* (Iuv.), *templum*, *templa* (Apul., Mart., Chron. min., Ovid, Tib.) *ἱερὸν* (Joseph.), *ναός* (Cass. Dio, Lydus), and with the temple of Serapis as *Iseum et Serapeum* (Eutrop., Hier., Hist. Aug. Alex., Chronog., Not.), and *τὸ Σεραπείων καὶ τὸ Ἰσείων* (Cass. Dio). It stood outside the pomerium in the campus Martius (Apul. Met. xi. 26 : *reginae Isidis quae de templi situ sumpto nomine Campensis propitiatur* ; Not. Reg. IX), near the Saepta (Iuv. vi. 528-529 : *in aedem Isidis antiquo quae proxima surgit ovili* ; Mart. ii. 14. 7), and the evidence of fragments of the Marble Plan and sculpture (see below) makes it reasonably certain that it was just west of the Saepta, between it and the temple of Minerva, in the space between the Vie del Seminario, S. Ignazio, del Gesù, and the Palazzo Altieri.

In 43 B.C. the triumvirs voted to erect a temple to Isis and Serapis (Cass. Dio xlvii. 15. 4), but it is not known whether this temple was actually built or not. Tibullus (i. 3. 27-30 : *picta docet templis multa tabella tuis . . . ante sacras fores*) and Ovid (A.A. i. 77 : *nec fuge linigeræ Memphitica templa iuvencae* ; Am. ii. 13. 7) speak of a temple or temples of Isis as a conspicuous resort of women, especially of prostitutes, a characteristic also of the later temple (Iuv. ix. 22 ; Mart. ii. 14. 7 ; x. 48. 1). On the other hand, repressive measures against Egyptian cults

were carried out by Augustus in 28 B.C. (Cass. Dio liii. 2. 4), by Agrippa in 21 (ib. liv. 6. 6), and by Tiberius in 9 A.D. (Tac. Ann. ii. 85; Suet. Tib. 36), who is even said to have destroyed a temple of Isis and thrown her statue into the Tiber (Joseph. Ant. xviii. 3. 4). Between the reign of Tiberius and 65 A.D. (Lucan viii. 831) the cult of Isis had been officially received in Rome, and this temple in the campus Martius, if not built in the previous century, must have been built then, perhaps by Caligula. It was burned in 80 A.D. (Cass. Dio lxvi. 24. 2), restored by Domitian (Eutrop. vii. 23. 5; Chron. 146; Hier. a. Abr. 2110), and by Alexander Severus<sup>1</sup> who added to its treasures of art (Hist. Aug. Alex. xxvi. 8: *Isium et Serapium decenter ornavit additis signis et Deliacis et omnibus mysticis*; cf. Iuv. xii. 27: *pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci?*). In 219-220 the statue of Isis in this temple is said to have turned its face inwards (Cass. Dio lxxix. 10. 1), and there are two other references to it in later literature (Porphyry. vit. Plotin. 10; Lydus, de mens. iv. 148). Certain inscriptions of the empire also refer without doubt to this temple (CIL vi. 344-347, cf. 30744; IG xiv. i. 961, 1031) and it is represented on a coin of Vespasian (Cohen, Vesp. 484-485) struck to commemorate the fact that Vespasian and Titus spent the night before the celebration of their triumph for the taking of Jerusalem in<sup>2</sup> this temple (Joseph. b. Iud. vii. 5. 4). This coin shows the façade of a narrow peribolos with four Corinthian columns and a round pediment containing the figure of Isis on a dog. Inside the peribolos, and entirely detached from it, is the temple proper (Berl. Sitz.-Ber. 1909, 640-648; SHA 1910, A. 7, 9 sqq.; cf. also Cohen, Faustina iunior 300; Gneecchi, Med. ii. 68. 9; PT 226-227).

It is probable that the temple of Isis was north of that of Serapis, and that it was long and narrow and stood at one end of a long and narrow enclosure, resembling in form and architecture the forum Transitorium. Six of its columns have been found in situ. It is not clear whether the entrance was on the north, or on the south toward the Serapeum. The two small obelisks (Marucchi, Ob. eg. 91, 96, 115; BC 1896, 260, 265, 284), now in the Viale delle Terme and the Piazza della Minerva, and probably that of the Piazza della Rotonda, were found on the site of the Iseum and may have stood in front of it. The obelisk of the Piazza Navona was probably first set up in the precinct (see OBELISCI ISEI CAMPENSIS).

The Serapeum, although it is not mentioned alone, was a separate building of wholly different style, as is shown by fragments of the Marble Plan (32, 59). Its south end was formed by a large semi-circular apse,

<sup>1</sup> An inscription which was seen (it was impossible to copy it) on a large architrave belonging to an entrance to the Serapeum appeared to be a dedication by Septimus Severus and Caracalla (NS 1925, 239).

<sup>2</sup> Or better, in the VILLA PUBLICA (q.v.) near it (HJ 494; JRS 1921, 26). They did not spend the night in the porticus Octaviae (contrast HJ 542, n. 95), but only met the Senate there.

about 60 metres in diameter, in the outer wall of which were several small exedrae. The inner side of this apse was adorned with columns, and a colonnade formed its diameter. Immediately north of the apse was a rectangular area, of the same width as the apse, and about 20 metres deep, with an entrance in the middle of the front and on each side. The plan closely resembled that of the 'Canopus' at Hadrian's Villa (Lanciani, BC 1883, 33-131; 1887, 377; Hülsen, Mitt. 1903, 17-57, pl. i., ii.; for the Arco di Camigliano, probably the eastern entrance to the precinct, cf. also NS 1882, 349; HCh 243-245).

Numerous works of art were gathered together in this precinct, many of which have been recovered, among them the statues of the Tiber (Louvre), the Nile (Vatican), the Ocean (Naples), and the lions (BC 1890, 321-324; Mitt. 1891, 125) in the Vatican. For statues, columns decorated with reliefs, etc., found here, see Cap. 357-360; RAP ii. 107-116, 271; Mél. 1920, 279. Besides the literature already cited, see HJ 567-571; Gilb. iii. 110-111; WR 353, 358; Rosch. ii. 401-404; LS iii. 242-243; PT 146-147, 149; Mem. L. 5. xvii. 572; NS 1925, 237-239).

ISIS: a temple to which there is only one reference in ancient literature (Hist. Aug. Trig. Tyr. 25: Tetricorum domus hodieque extat in monte Caelio inter duos lucos contra Isium Metellinum pulcherrima). The third region in the Regionary Catalogue is called Isis et Serapis, and on the Haterii relief (Mon. d. Inst. v. pl. 7) is an arch with the inscription ARCUS AD ISIS (q.v.). This arch is evidently on the via Labicana. From this evidence it is clear that a temple of Isis and Serapis stood in Region III, near the via Labicana, important enough to give its name to the region. It was also called Isium, and was built or restored by some Metellus. There is no indication of the date, but it was probably after the beginning of the empire, and perhaps as late as the second century. In the time of Constantine the name continued (Not. Reg. III). The name of this Isis appears on one inscription that was found in the via Labicana near the baths of Trajan (CIL vi. 30915; Isidi Lydiae educatrici valvas cum Anubi et ara Mucianus Aug. lib. proc.; PT 134).

The temple was in the south-east part of the region, but its exact site is difficult to determine, for architectural and sculptural remains which may well have belonged to such a shrine have been found scattered over a considerable area of this section, from the via Labicana north to beyond the via Macchiavelli (BC 1875, 245; 1886, 208; 1887, 132-136; 1889, 37-39; NS 1887, 140; 1888, 626; Athenaeum, 1888, 855; Mitt. 1889, 279-280). The most probable site, however, is between S. Clemente and SS. Pietro e Marcellino, near the western end of the latter, where credible authorities state that in 1653 ruins of a temple decorated in Egyptian style were found (for references, see HJ 304, n. 49).<sup>1</sup> This point

<sup>1</sup> See Add. p. xxii (the treatise is probably by G. P. Bellori). The drawings are at Windsor, in the volume marked Bassirilievi Antichi, vi. 60 sqq.—now Inv. 8614, 8617-8622. Cf. Vat. Lat. 9027, f. 96 (Schreiber in Sächsische Berichte, 1885, 123).



must then have been just inside the boundary of Region III (HJ 304 ; LR 360 ; BC 1915, 115-122 ; DAP 2. xiii. 295-296).

ISIS ATHENODORIA : mentioned only in the Notitia (Reg. XII), and presumably a statue of Isis by the Greek artist Athenodorus (c. 100 B.C.), which may perhaps have given its name to a shrine in which it was placed. The site of the monument was probably near the baths of Caracalla and the via Appia, but fragments of sculpture found in this vicinity cannot be identified with certainty (HJ 197 ; Gilb. iii. 112 ; BC 1914, 351-352 ; RE ii. 2047 ; ix. 2132, and literature there cited).

ISIS CURIANA : a possible shrine of Isis built by Q. Curius, the existence of which depends on a conjectural emendation of a corrupt reading—phocis Curiana—in Cicero ad Att. ii. 17. 2 (Hermes 1898, 341 ; 1908, 642 ; WR 351). If there was a temple of Isis Curiana, it may be referred to in Arnobius (ii. 73) and Tertullian (Apol. 6 ; ad nat. i. 10).

ISIUM METELLINUM : see ISIS (2) in Reg. III.

ISIS PATRICIA : a shrine or statue of Isis in Region V, known only from Not. If it stood in the VICUS PATRICIUS (q.v.) and was in Region V, which is supposed to have been wholly outside the Servian wall, it must have been not far from the porta Viminalis. This would imply that the vicus Patricius extended beyond the line of that wall (HJ 371).

ISIS PELAGIA : a shrine (*aedes* ?) of Isis, the protectress of sailors, known only from one inscription (CIL vi. 8707 : *aedituus ab Isem Pelagiam* ; WR 354).

AB ISIS ET SERAPIS : probably the name of a street leading to the temple of Isis and Serapis in Region III (CIL vi. 2234, 32462 ; Rostowzew, Syll. tess. No. 494).

ISIS ET SERAPIS IN CAPITOLIO : shrines (τεμενίσματα) of these two divinities, said to have been destroyed by order of the senate in 48 B.C. (Cass. Dio xlii. 26. 2). Earlier action of a similar kind is recorded (Arnob. ii. 73 ; Tert. Apol. 6 ; ad nat. i. 10 ; Cass. Dio xl. 47 ; Val. Max. ep. i. 3. 4 ; cf. ISIS CURIANA), but whether it concerned these particular shrines is uncertain. That temples of Isis were again built on the Capitoline is certain (CIL vi. 351, 2247 (=i<sup>2</sup>. 1263), 2248 (=i<sup>2</sup>. 986) ; Suet. Dom. 1 ; see Jord. i. 2. 47 ; Gilb. iii. 110 ; Rosch. ii. 401 ; WR 351-353 ; BC 1896, 272). See OBELISCUS CAPITOLINUS.

ISIS ET SERAPIS IN CAMPO : see ISIS.

IULIUS, DIVUS, AEDES (delubrum, Pl. ; ἱερῶν, Cass. Dio ; νεώς, App.) : the temple of the deified Julius Caesar, authorised by the triumvirs in 42 B.C. (Cass. Dio xlvii. 18), but apparently built by Augustus alone (Mon. Anc. iv. 2 : *aedem divi Iuli . . . feci*), and dedicated 18th August, 29 B.C. (Cass. Dio li. 22 ; Hemerol. Amit. Antiat. ad xv Kal. Sept.). The body of Caesar was burnt at the east end of the forum, in front of the Regia (Liv. ep. 116 ; Plut. Caes. 68), and here an altar was at once



erected (*βωμός*, App. BC i. 4; ii. 148; iii. 2), and a column of Numidian marble twenty feet high inscribed *Parenti Patriae* (Suet. Caes. 85). Column and altar were soon removed by Dolabella<sup>1</sup> (Cic. ad Att. xiv. 15; Phil. i. 5), and it was on this site that the temple was afterwards built (App. locc. citt.; Cass. Dio xlvii. 18). From the evidence of coins,<sup>2</sup> the temple was restored by Hadrian (Cohen, Hadrien 416-419, 1388), but the existing architectural fragments belong entirely to the original structure (Toeb. i. 5). It had the right of asylum (Cass. Dio xlvii. 19), and the Arval Brethren met there in 69 A.D. (Act. Arv. a. 69, Febr. 26, CIL vi. 2051, 55).

A considerable part of the foundations, already uncovered (LS ii. 197), and the evidence of the coins of Hadrian, enabled Richter in 1889 to reconstruct the temple in its main lines (Jahr. d. Inst. 1889, 137-162; Ant. Denkmäler i. 27, 28), and additional information was given by the excavations of 1898-1899 (CR 1899, 185, 466; Mitt. 1902, 61-62; 1905, 75-76; BC 1903, 81-83; Atti 563-566). The temple consisted of two parts, a rectangular platform 3.5 metres high, 26 wide, and about 30 long; and on this the stylobate proper which rose 2.36 metres above the platform, making the cella floor very high (Ov. ex Ponto ii. 84: *divus ab excelsa Iulius aede videt*; Met. xv. 842), and was about 17 metres in width. In the middle of the front of the platform is a semi-circular niche 8.3 metres in diameter, of which some of the peperino wall has been left in place, and in this niche is a portion of the concrete core of a round altar standing on the travertine slabs which formed the pavement of the forum when the temple was built. The first altar therefore, which Dolabella destroyed, must have been restored, and preserved in the niche of this platform when the temple itself was built. This platform projected beyond the stylobate on both sides for a distance of 7 metres, and the projection was called *rostra aedis divi Iuli* (Frontin. de aq. 129; Cass. Dio lvi. 34: *ἔμβολα τὰ Ἰουλίεια*) because the wall on both sides of the niche was decorated with the beaks of the ships captured at Actium (Cass. Dio li. 19) in a style similar to that of the old rostra. From this rostra the emperors seem to have spoken frequently (Cass. Dio locc. citt.; liv. 35; Suet. Aug. 100). There is some evidence in support of the view, probable in itself, that Caesar had himself erected a second rostra at the east end of the forum, which was represented by the *rostra aedis divi Iuli* after the building of the temple (Liv. Ep. 116; Richter, Gesch. d. Rednerbühne 52-53; Gilb. iii. 167-168, 171-172).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Cass. Dio xlv. 50. Caesar's veterans had some idea of replacing the altar (Cic. ad Fam. xi. 2, *veteranos de reponenda ara cogitare*), which may be identical with the 'bustum' of Cic. Phil. i. 5, though in Jord. i. 2. 407, it is interpreted as a cenotaph behind the altar. Cf. CR 1899, 186; and for the statue base in front of the temple, see *EQUUS TREMULI*; *STATUA (LORICATA) DIVI IULII*.

<sup>2</sup> A coin (Cohen, Aug. 122; BM. Rep. ii. p. 14, 4356-7; Aug. 63) which Hülsen (HC 61) refers to the curia, is thought to represent this temple by Mattingly (BM. p. cxiii, n. 4) but without good reason.

The temple was Ionic, hexastyle, probably with antae, and pycnostyle, that is, with intercolumnar spaces equal to one and a half diameters (Vitr. iii. 3. 2 ; Stat. Silv. i. 1. 22-24). The columns were 1.18 metres in diameter at the base, and their height was nine times the diameter. The cella occupied the whole width of the temple, about 17 metres. The space between the two middle columns of the pronaos was wider than that between the others, and within the cella, opposite its entrance and this wide intercolumniation, stood a colossal statue<sup>1</sup> of Caesar with a comet or star on its head, perhaps that referred to by Pliny (NH ii. 93-94 ; cf. Suet. Caes. 88, Ov. Met. xv. 841-842 and Cass. Dio xlv. 7. 1). In this temple Augustus placed treasures from the spoil that he had taken (Mon. Anc. iv. 24), and paintings of the Dioscuri, Victoria (Plin. NH xxxv. 27), and of Venus Anadyomene by Apelles (ib. 91). As this had been injured by dampness, Nero replaced it by one by Dorotheus. Remains of the concrete podium and of the architectural decoration still exist ; but the concrete core has been almost entirely stripped of the stone walls by which it was originally enclosed (Jord. i. 2. 406-409 ; Théd. 153-156, 269-273 ; HC 155-159, Toeb. cit. ; Fiechter in Zeitschr. f. Gesch. d. Archit. viii. (1924), 62-72 ; Mitt. 1906, 276 ; DR 191-201 ; RE Suppl. iv. 508-510 ; ASA 72 ; HFP 14, 15).

IUNO CURITIS : a shrine of some kind in the campus Martius, of which the day of dedication was 7th October (Hemer. Arv. ad Non. Oct., CIL vi. 32482 ; xi. 3126 ; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 214 ; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 115). This was probably the Iuno Curitis of Falerii (WR 187 ; Fowler, Roman Festivals 239 ; Rosch. ii. 596-597, 603 ; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 331 ; RE x. 1118, 1123).

IUNO IUGA : an altar in the VICUS IUGARIUS (q.v.), mentioned only in Festus (104 : iugarius vicus dictus Romae quia ibi fuerat ara lunonis Iugae quam putabant matrimonia iungere) and Placidus (58, Deuerl.) : Iugi lunoni a qua 'vicus Iugarius.' ara ibi sita est). Despite these statements, it is generally held that the altar was erected there because of a fancied connection (Jord. i. 2. 468 ; Gilb. i. 257 ; iii. 416 ; WR 186 ; Rosch. ii. 603).<sup>2</sup>

IUNO LUCINA, LUCUS : see IUNO LUCINA, AEDES.

IUNO LUCINA (Θησαυρός, Dionys.), AEDES : a temple built in 375 B.C. (Plin. NH xvi. 235) in a grove (*lucus*) that had been consecrated to the goddess from very early times (Varro, LL v. 49, 74, who assigns the introduction of the cult to Titus Tatius ; Dionys. iv. 15). It was on the Cispius, near the sixth shrine of the Argei (Varro, LL v. 50 ; Ov. Fast. ii. 435-436 ; iii. 245-246), probably not far west of S. Prassede and

<sup>1</sup> See Hermes, 1875, 342-359, and supra, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Hülsen, however, is in favour of the connection with Iuno Iuga ; for we hear of no guild of 'iugarii' (Jord. i. 1. 515), and yokes were probably made by the peasants at home rather than in any particular place. Cf. HFP 13.

just north-west of the Torre Cantarelli, in which neighbourhood inscriptions relating to the cult have been found (CIL vi. 356-361, 3694-3695, 30199; BC 1888, 394; 1889, 40; Mitt. 1889, 281). The grove probably extended down the slope southwards from the temple (BC 1905, 204-209), and in 41 B.C. a quaestor, Q. Pedius, either built or restored a wall (CIL vi. 358: *locavit... murum Iunoni Lucinae... eidemque probavit*), which seems to have surrounded both. Servius Tullius is said to have ordered the gifts for new-born children to be placed in the treasury of this temple (Dionys. iv. 15: *ἐς τὸν τῆς Εἰλειθυίας θησαυρὸν ἣν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἡραν Φωσφόρον*), so that there may have been a shrine of some sort before that built in 375. In 190 B.C. the temple was struck by lightning, and its gable and doors injured (Liv. xxxvii. 3. 2). The annual festival of the Matronalia was celebrated here on 1st March (Fest. 147; Ov. Fast. iii. 247; Hemer. Praenest. ad Kal. Mart., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 310), the day of dedication of the temple. It continued to exist during the empire, as is shown by inscriptions (HJ 333-334; Gilb. i. 174, 228; iii. 357; Rosch. ii. 602; WR 183; DE ii. 2161-2162; RE x. 1116).

IUNO MATUTA: see IUNO SOSPITA (1).

IUNO MONETA—Iuno Moneta Regina in one inscription (CIL vi. 362)—*AEDES* (templa, Ovid; *ναός*, Plut.; *ἱερὸν Ἡρας Μονήτης*, Suidas), a temple vowed by M. Furius Camillus during the war with the Aurunci in 345 B.C., erected by duoviri appointed by the senate pro amplitudine populi Romani, and dedicated in 344 (Liv. vii. 28. 4-6). It was on the arx, on the site formerly occupied by the house of M. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS (q.v.), which had been destroyed in 384 B.C. (Liv. vi. 20. 13; Val. Max. vi. 3. 1; Ov. Fast. i. 638; vi. 34, 183). Titus Tatius is also said to have lived on this site (Plut. Rom. 20; Solin. i. 21). The temple was dedicated on 1st June (Ov. Fast. vi. 183; Macrob. i. 12. 30; Hemer. Venus. ad Kal. Iun.; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 97, which also mentions a festival on 10th October<sup>1</sup> (cf. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 331). In it were kept the libri lintei (Liv. iv. 7. 12, 20. 8), and it is mentioned in connection with the prodigia for 196 B.C. (Liv. xxxiii. 26. 8: *ad Monetam duarum hastarum spicula arserant*). It is altogether probable that this temple of Camillus replaced an earlier cult centre of Iuno Moneta, to which reference is made by Plutarch (Cam. 27), when speaking of the sacred geese that were kept around her temple in 390 B.C.

Various explanations were given by the Roman antiquarians of the epithet *Moneta*. Cicero (de Div. i. 101) says that it was derived from the warning voice of the goddess, heard in the temple on the occasion of an earthquake, 'ut sue plena procuratio fieret.' Suidas (s.v. *Μονήτα*) states that during the war with Tarentum the Romans, needing money, obtained it by following the advice of Juno; and that in gratitude they gave her the epithet *Moneta* and decided to establish the mint in her

<sup>1</sup> Mancini conjectures that a primitive altar in her honour was dedicated on 1st June, and the temple on 10th October.



temple. None of the explanations yet suggested is satisfactory, and even the usual derivation of the word *Moneta* from *moneo* is open to doubt (Walde, Etym. Wörterb. 2nd ed. 493). The mint was in the temple during the last centuries of the republic, perhaps established there in 269 when silver coinage was introduced into Rome (Liv. vi. 20. 13; Cic. ad Att. viii. 7. 3), and was called *Moneta* or *ad Monetam*. It seems to have been removed at the end of the first century (see *Moneta*), and nothing further is heard of the temple (Jord. i. 2. 108-111; WR 190; Rosch. ii. 592-594, 603, 612; RE x. 1118).

Not a trace of it has been found in the works for the erection of the monument to Victor Emmanuel, and it may have occupied the site of the transepts of the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli (Hülsen, *Bilder aus der Geschichte des Kapitols* (Rome, 1899), 31). For an antefix from an earlier temple on the site see Cons. 323, No. 103 and reff.

IUNO REGINA, TEMPLUM (aedes, Liv. bis; *νέως*, Dionys.; *ἱερὸν*, Mon. Anc., Plut.): a temple on the Aventine vowed by Camillus just before the taking of Veii in 396 B.C. to the Iuno Regina of Veii (quae nunc Veios colis), and dedicated by him in 392 (Liv. v. 21. 3, 22. 6-7, 23. 7, 31. 3, 52. 10). In this temple was the wooden statue of the goddess brought by Camillus from Veii (Dionys. xiii. 3; Plut. Cam. 6; Val. Max. i. 8. 3; Rosch. ii. 609-610), and it is mentioned several times in connection with gifts and sacrifices offered in atonement for prodigia (Liv. xxi. 62. 8; xxii. 1. 17; xxxi. 12. 9; cf. xxvii. 37. 7). It was restored by Augustus (Mon. Anc. iv. 6), but is not mentioned afterwards. Two dedicatory inscriptions (CIL vi. 364-365) found near the church of S. Sabina indicate the approximate site of the temple, which corresponds (not with the church itself, which stands on the site of a private house, as recent discoveries have shown; see SR ii. 329-342; DAP 2. xiii. 119-126; Muñoz, *Chiesa di S. Sabina* 1924; HC 430-431) with its place in the lustral procession of 207 B.C. (Liv. xxvii. 37. 7; WR 426), near the upper end of the clivus Publicius (HJ 165-167; Merlin 106, 196-201, 301; WR 187-190; Gilb. iii. 77-78, 444; Rosch. ii. 600-601, 603; RE x. 1119). The day of dedication was 1st September (Hemer. Arv. ad Kal. Sept., CIL vi. 2295=32482).

IUNO REGINA, AEDES (templum, Liv. xl. 52): a temple near the circus Flaminius, vowed by the consul M. Aemilius Lepidus in 187 B.C., in his last battle with the Ligures (Liv. xxxix. 2. 11), and dedicated by Aemilius while censor in 179 (Liv. xl. 52. 1) on 23rd December (Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 121). A porticus connected this temple with one of Fortuna (Obseq. 16), perhaps that of FORTUNA EQUESTRIS (q.v.). A probable site for the temple of Juno is just south of the porticus Pompeiana at the west end of the circus Flaminius (AR 1909, 76; HJ 487; Gilb. iii. 81-82; Rosch. ii. 601; for identification with one of the two temples of S. Nicola ai Cesarini, see BC 1918, 135-136).



IUNO REGINA IN PORTICU OCTAVIAE: see IUPPITER STATOR IN PORTICU OCTAVIAE.

IUNO SORORIA, ARA: see IANUS CURIATIUS.

IUNO SOSPITA, AEDES (1) (templum, Cicero): a temple vowed in 197 B.C. by the consul C. Cornelius Cethegus during the Insubrian war (Liv. xxxii. 30. 10), and dedicated in 194<sup>1</sup> (Liv. xxxiv. 53. 3) on 1st February (Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 86). It is said (Cic. de Div. i. 4. 99; Obseq. 75) that L. Julius, consul in 90 B.C., restored a temple of Iuno Sospita, in consequence of a dream of Caecilia, the daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Balearicus, and it is probable that it is this temple of Iuno Sospita in Rome that is meant rather than the more famous one at Lanuvium (HJ 509-510; Gilb. iii. 82, 430; WR 188; Rosch. ii. 596). It was in the forum Holitorium, and is generally identified with the smallest of the three temples (though Frank prefers the central one—TF 126-130) that lie side by side beneath the present church of S. Nicola in Carcere. These temples have the same orientation, and the other two are those of SPES and IANUS (qq.v.). The smallest is of the Doric order, hexastyle, amphiprostyle and peripteral, and built of travertine. Five of its columns with portions of the entablature remain, built into the south wall of the church (HJ 511-514; Delbrück, Die drei Tempel am Forum Holitorium, Rome 1903<sup>2</sup>; Hülsen, Mitt. 1906, 169-192).

IUNO SOSPITA (2): a temple which stood on the Palatine, if the traditional reading of Ovid (Fast. ii. 55-59) be preserved:

Principio mensis Phrygiae contermina Matris  
Sospita delubris dicitur aucta novis.  
Nunc ubi sint illis quae sunt sacrata Kalendis  
Templa deae? longa procubere die.

Nothing further is known of such a temple, and there is some difficulty in explaining why a cult from Lanuvium was admitted within the pomerium at a fairly early date. Ovid may have confused the Magna Mater with the MATER MATUTA (q.v.), and may be referring in this passage to Iuno Sospita in the forum Holitorium. If this be so, however, that temple could hardly have been restored in 90 B.C., or be that of which the ruins are beneath S. Nicola in Carcere, if it had vanished so completely in Ovid's time (WR 188; BC 1914, 97; Rosch. ii. 596; HJ 46; Gilb. i. 229; iii. 430).

IUPPITER IUNO MINERVA, SACELLUM: see CAPITOLIUM VETUS.

IUPPITER AFRICUS: a statue on the Capitol, within the area Capitolina, known only from two military diplomas of 76 and 85 A.D., which were fastened to its pedestal (Dipl. miss. XII, XVII, CIL iii. 853, 855, Supp. 2034; Festschrift an H. Kiepert 213; Jord. i. 2. 47, 56).

<sup>1</sup> Here it is referred to under the name Iuno Matuta: Sigonius reads 'sospitae.' Hülsen says that it was dedicated four years later, i.e. in 193: but the Latin is *post quadrennium* (AJP 1907, 328; WR cit. agrees).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Hellenistische Bauten, ii. 43.

**IUPPITER ARBORATOR**: a shrine of some sort of Jupiter, apparently as a protector of trees. It is mentioned only in Not. in Region XI (om. Cur.), and the correctness of the reading has been disputed, but it seems more reasonable to accept it, and to suppose (with Hülsen) that the shrine stood in the circus Maximus (HJ 141; DAP 2. vi. 267; Rosch. ii. 661; Pr. Reg. 191; Jord. ii. 558-559; Gilb. iii. 436).

**IUPPITER CONSERVATOR, SACELLUM**: a shrine built by Domitian on the Capitoline, on the site of the house of the porter who had rescued him when the Vitellians stormed the Capitol in 69 A.D. (Tac. Hist. iii. 74). This sacellum contained a marble altar with reliefs representing the rescue, and was built while Vespasian was still emperor. After Domitian became emperor, he erected a large temple to Iuppiter Custos which may have replaced the earlier shrine (Tac. loc. cit. templum; Suet. Dom. 5 aedes). In it was a statue of the deity holding the emperor himself in his arms (Jord. i. 2. 50; Rosch. ii. 749; Rodocanachi, Capitole 41). The temple may be represented in a relief of the period of M. Aurelius, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Cons. Cat. Scala ii. 7; PBS iii. 265); and in a relief on the arch of Trajan at Benevento (OJ 1899, 179; SScR 194); and the concrete foundation in the Via di Monte Tarpeo may belong to it (ZA 29; but see JUPITER TONANS, TEMPLUM; Hülsen in Festschr. f. Kiepert, 216-219; NS 1921, 44-47).

**IUPPITER CUSTOS**: see IUPPITER CONSERVATOR.

**IUPPITER DEPULSOR** (Zeὺς ἀλεξίκακος): an altar (βωμός) said to have been erected by Claudius on the Capitol (Phlegon, mirab. 6; Jord. i. 2. 51; Gilb. iii. 384).

**IUPPITER DOLICHENUS, TEMPLUM**: a temple of the Syrian Baal, who was introduced into Rome under the name of Jupiter, and called Dolichenus because the cult came from the city of Doliche in Commagene. It was also called Dolocenum (Not. Reg. XIII). Its site is indicated very clearly as close to the church of S. Alessio, at the western corner of the Aventine, by the discovery of several inscriptions (CIL vi. 366, 406-413 = 30758-30761) relating to the building itself (409: in fabrica templi, 406: curator templi) and to votive offerings. The date of its erection is uncertain, but probably not earlier than the Antonines (HJ 167-168; Gilb. iii. 113-114; BC 1893, 5-7; 1914, 345-346; RE v. 1277; Rosch. i. 1192; DE ii. 1930-1931, 1934; A. B. Cook, Zeus, Cambridge 1914, 608-611; Merlin 317-318, 373-374; WR 362, and literature here cited).

**IUPPITER DOLICHENUS**: a shrine of some sort on the Esquiline, known only from four inscriptions found in the neighbourhood of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele (CIL vi. 414, 30942, 30946), which indicate that, after being enlarged and re-decorated, it was dedicated on 1st August, 191 A.D. (DE ii. 1935; Gilb. iii. 113-114; IJ 357; RE v. 1277; Rosch. i. 1192).

**IUPPITER DOLICHENUS**: a shrine in Region XIV, known only from two inscriptions (CIL vi. 415, 418).

IUPPITER ELICIUS, ARA : an altar on the Aventine, said to have been built by Numa for the purpose of drawing (*elicere*) information from Jupiter concerning the proper atonement to be made for prodigia of thunder and lightning (Liv. i. 20. 7 ; 31. 8 ; Varro, LL vi. 94 ; Plut. Numa 15 ; Arnob. v. 1 ; Ov. Fast. iii. 327-330 ; Plin. NH ii. 140). Probably, however, this epithet indicates the god who brings rain from the sky after a drought, a cult connected with the *aquaelicium* and *lapis manalis*. If so, the altar may very probably have stood near the REMORIA (q.v.), and the present S. Balbina (Gilb. ii. 153-158 ; Rosch. ii. 656-658 ; WR 120, 121 ; Merlin, 110, 227 ; RE x. 1130-1131) ; see MANALIS LAPIS (2).

IUPPITER FAGUTALIS : see FAGUTAL, VICUS IOVIS FAGUTALIS.

IUPPITER FERETRIUS, AEDES (templum, Liv. i. 10 ; Prop., Fest. 92 ; νεώς, Dionys., Cass. Dio) : a temple, said to have been the first in Rome, on the Capitoline hill, erected and dedicated by Romulus to commemorate his winning of the spolia opima from Acron, king of the Caeninenses, and to serve as a repository for them (Liv. i. 10. 5-6 ; iv. 20. 3 ; Plut. Rom. 16 ; Dionys. ii. 34 ; Val. Max. iii. 2. 3 ; Flor. i. 1. 11 ; Serv. Aen. vi. 859 ; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 283, Elog. 22=x. 809). Twice afterwards these spoils were said to have been won and placed in this temple—in 428 B.C. when A. Cornelius Cossus slew Lar Tolumnius, the king of Veii, and brought his spoils to Rome (Liv. iv. 20 ; Fest. 189 ; Plut. Rom. 16 ; Serv. Aen. vi. 859 ; Val. Max. iii. 2. 4 ; Diodor. xii. 80 ; Dionys. xii. 5 ; Flor. i. 11. 9 ; de vir. ill. 25), and in 221 by C. Claudius Marcellus, who killed Viridomarus, the Insubrian king (Liv. Ep. 20 ; Serv. Aen. vi. 859 ; Prop. iv. 10. 45 ; Plut. Marc. 8 ; Rom. 16). This temple was probably within the later limits of the area Capitolina, and was said to have been enlarged by Ancus (Liv. i. 33. 8 : amplificata), but was very small, for according to Dionysius (ii. 34) it measured not more than 15 feet on the longest sides. A denarius (Babelon, Claudia 11 ; BM. Rep. i. 567, 4206-8) struck by P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus (RE iv. 1390) about 44 B.C., represents Marcellus, the conqueror of Viridomarus and Syracuse, standing on the high stylobate of a rectangular tetrastyle temple with the spolia opima in his hand. The columns support an entablature with plain pediment. This undoubtedly represents the actual structure before Augustus, but it had been sadly neglected and had even lost its roof. At the suggestion of Atticus, Augustus restored it, probably about 31 B.C. (Nep. Att. 20. 3 : ex quo accidit, cum aedes Iovis Feretri in Capitolio ab Romulo constituta vetustate atque incuria detecta prolaberetur, ut Attici admonitu Caesar eam reficiendam curaret ; Mon. Anc. iv. 5 ; Liv. iv. 20. 7). To Augustus it seems that the right of depositing spoils that should be regarded as spolia opima was then granted (Cass. Dio. xlv. 4. 3).

Dionysius, writing almost certainly after Augustus' restoration, says (ii. 34) : ἐτι γὰρ αὐτοῦ σφῆζεται τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱχνηος, a statement that seems open to three interpretations, either that the dimensions of the



restored temple were the same as those of the original (Gilb. iii. 399), or that the second was larger and enclosed the earlier (Jord. i. 2. 47), or that the lines of the earlier were simply marked on the floor of the later. The statement of Cassius Dio (liv. 8) that Augustus built on the Capitol a temple of MARS ULTOR (q.v.) κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς Φερετρίου ζήλωμα, refers only to the use of the new temple, not to its form, for it was round (Altm. 50).

There is no mention of any statue of the god in this temple but only of a sceptre and flint (Fest. 92 : ex cuius templo sumebant sceptrum per quod iurarent et lapidem silicem quo foedus ferirent, see below), an evidence of its early date. Within the temple was an altar (Prop. iv. 10. 48 : hinc Feretri dictast ara superba Iovis), unless this passage may be interpreted as referring simply to the very first shrine.

Various explanations of the epithet *feretrius* were given by the ancients, who derived it from *fero*, *feretrum*, the frame on which the spolia were fixed, or from *ferre pacem*, or from *ferire*, either in the sense of striking in battle or striking a victim in making a treaty—foedus ferire (Liv. i. 10. 5 ; Prop. iv. 10. 46 ; Fest. 92 ; Dionys. ii. 34 ; Plut. Marc. 8, Rom. 16), or they regarded it as equivalent to ὑπερφερέτης (Dionys. loc. cit. : ὅτι πάντων ὑπερέχει). It is probably connected with *ferire*, the stroke of ritual as illustrated in *foedus ferire*, of which the silex in the temple is evidence, and Iuppiter Feretrius was therefore equivalent to Iuppiter Lapis, the latter used as a specially solemn oath—Cic. ep. vii. 12. 2 ; Gell. i. 21. 4 (Jord. i. 2. 47 ; Gilb. i. 253-254 ; ii. 225-226 ; iii. 399 ; Rosch. ii. 670-674 ; WR 117-119, 551, 552 ; BC 1914, 84-85 ; RE x. 1128-1129 ; RL 1907, 504-516).

**IUPPITER FULGUR :** a shrine of some sort in the campus Martius, open to the sky (Vitr. i. 2. 5 : cum Iovi Fulguri...aedificia sub diuo hypaethraque constituentur), and evidently of early date. Its day of dedication was 7th October (Fast. Arv. Paul. ad Non. Oct., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 214, 242, 331 ; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 115 ; Rosch. ii. 656 ; WR 121, 122).

**IUPPITER HELIOPOLITANUS, TEMPLUM.** This sanctuary was erected on the Janiculum, on the site of the LUCUS FURRINAE (q.v.), probably in the latter half of the first century A.D. Scanty traces of it have been found. More considerable remains of an edifice erected in 176 A.D. were also discovered, but only about one quarter of it has been cleared. It consisted, like the first, of an open square temenos, oriented on the points of the compass, and divided into four equal compartments by two transverse lines of amphorae ; the enclosure wall of the temenos was also formed, in part, of rows of amphorae which had, as it appears, some unknown ritual significance. Two small rooms (one with arrangements for ritual washing) were also found. Below was a large fish-pond. Interesting objects were found in a boundary ditch, which soon served as a favissa. The date is given by the inscriptions. Besides the two



cited s.v. *LUCUS FURRINAE*, there is another altar (of uncertain provenance) dedicated to Iuppiter Heliopolitanus and the Emperor Commodus on 29th November, 186 A.D., by one M. Antonius Gaionas, who is called *Cistiber Augustorum* (?), i.e. *quinque vir cis Tiberim* (CIL vi. 420=30764; cf. Mitt. 1907, 244). He also erected an altar found at Porto (CIL xiv. 24) *I.O.M. Angelo Heliopolitano pro salute Imperatorum Antonini et Commodi*.

This Gaionas was already known from his sepulchral inscription (IG xiv. 1512; CIL vi. 32316), where he is mentioned as *κίστιβερ* and as *δείπνοις κρέινας πολλὰ μετ' εὐφροσύνης*.

A slab (*mensa*) with a dedication to Iuppiter Heliopolitanus *pro salute et reditu, et Victoria* of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (176 A.D., contemporary with the Antonine column and recording the same victories) erected by the same Gaionas, was found used as building material in the fourth century temple, as well as another undated dedication.

And, agreeably to this, one of the recently discovered inscriptions speaks of him as *δειπνοκρίτης*; see Cumont in CRA 1917, 275-284, who interprets the difficult text *δεσμός ὅπως κρατερὸς θῦμα θεοῖς παρέχοι, ὃν δὴ Γαιωνῶς δειπνοκρίτης ἔθετο*, which is carved on a marble slab (with a hole in the centre communicating with a cavity which extends behind the whole slab), by supposing that the slab was placed vertically at the end of a basin, which contained fish to be consumed at the sacred banquets at which he was a steward. Gauckler had indeed already supposed the existence of a large fish-pond below the sanctuary even before the time of Gaionas. The presence of a fine statue of Bacchus and a fragment of a statuette is explained by Cumont to presume the use of wine to the point of intoxication at the sacred banquets (op. cit. 281). A dedication to Iuppiter Maleciabruditanus (i.e. the protecting deity of the city of Jabrud in the Antilebanon) also came to light. Hülsen, on the other hand, points out that, had the slab stood vertically for a considerable period, the calcareous deposit would have been heavier on the lower half of the slab, instead of being, as it is, equally distributed: and he therefore still explains it as the top of a treasure chest, with a hole for offerings, supposing that it was used in a water tank after the destruction of the sanctuary.

It would appear that the edifice of Gaionas was destroyed in or about 341, in consequence of the edicts of Constans and Constantius II, and that a building consisting of porticos surrounding a fountain was erected on its site. The most recent temple was thus, no doubt, erected in the time of Julian the Apostate. The rectangular portico became the court in the centre of the new temple. (For the plan of the three superposed temples, see Gauckler, *Sanctuaire Syrien*, pls. xxxv., l., li.; CRA 1909, 617, pl. i.; 1910, 378, pls. i., ii).

On the east of it a smaller octagonal enclosure was built, in the centre of which was a triangular mass of masonry—an altar which contained

a bronze statuette of a male deity, possibly Chronos, enveloped by a serpent and surrounded by seven hen's eggs. On either side of the enclosure were two smaller chapels.

At the west end of the court was a sanctuary with a plan like that of a basilica—narthex, nave and two aisles. In the apse was the statue of Iuppiter Heliopolitanus, and in the cavity beneath, the upper part of a human cranium, the relic of a dedicatory sacrifice. It has further been noticed by Gauckler that the head of the statue of Bacchus and two other heads had been 'segmented,' i.e. sliced at the crown; but whether this has any ritualistic significance, as Gauckler believed, is doubted by Crawford (Mem. Amer. Acad. i. 103-119). Several tombs were also found in the sanctuary, which may have been those of individuals who had been sacrificed.

The objects found have been removed to the Museo delle Terme (PT 120-122), but no further work has been undertaken by the Italian Government.

See Gauckler in CRA 1907, 135-159; 1908, 510-529; 1909, 424-435, 617-647; 1910, 378-408; BC 1907, 45-81; Mél. 1908, 283-336; 1909, 242-268; Nicole and Darier, *ib.* 1909, 1-86 (all these are reprinted in Gauckler, *Le Sanctuaire Syrien au Janicule*, Paris 1912); Hülsen, *Mitt.* 1907, 225-254; *Geogr. Jahrb.* 1911, 215-217; Cumont in CRA 1917, 275-284; Lanciani, *Wanderings in the Roman Campagna*, 170-179. A complete bibliography is given by Darier, *Les Fouilles du Janicule à Rome*, Genève, 1920.

**IUPPITER INVENTOR, ARA**: an altar at the foot of the Aventine, near the porta Trigemina, said to have been built by Hercules after he had found his stolen cattle and slain Cacus (Ov. *Fast.* i. 579-580, where Jupiter has no cognomen; Solin. i. 7: *patri inventori*; origo gentis Rom. vi. 5: sub Aventino Inventori patri; Dionys. i. 39: *Διὸς Εὐρεσίῳ Βωμός*; Jord. i. 2. 482; HJ 148; WR 275; Rosch. ii. 668-670).

**IUPPITER INVICTUS**: see **IUPPITER VICTOR**.

**IUPPITER IURARIUS**: apparently a shrine, known only from a dedicatory inscription made of white stones in a pavement of opus signinum that was found in 1854 under the cloister of S. Giovanni Calibita in the northern part of the island in the Tiber (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 990=vi. 379; C. Volcaci(us) C. f. har(us)pex) de stipe Iovi iurario . . . onimentom; cf. v. *Suppl. ital.* 1272; ILS 3037). Iuppiter iurarius seems to be a translation of *Ζεὺς πίστιος* or *ὄρκιος*, but whether this was an independent shrine or to be identified with that of some other deity, e.g. SEMO SANCUS (q.v.), is uncertain (HJ 636; Rosch. ii. 678; iv. 319; WR 131; Besnier, 255-271).

**IUPPITER LAPIS**: see **IUPPITER FERETRIUS**.

**IUPPITER LIBERATOR**: see **IUPPITER SOTER**.

**IUPPITER LIBERTAS, AEDES**: a temple on the Aventine, perhaps near that of Iuno Regina and the present church of S. Sabina, originally dedicated

on 13th April (Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 92 : Iov(i) Leibert(ati)),<sup>1</sup> restored by Augustus (Mon. Anc. iv. 6 : Iovis Libertatis in Aventino=ib. Graec. x. 11 : ναὸς . . . Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου ἐν Ἀουεντίνῳ ; Babelon, Egnatia 3 =BM. Rep. i. 400. 3276-84), and re-dedicated on 1st September (Fast. Arv. ad Kal. Sept., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 214, 328, where the name appears as Iuppiter Liber). Ti. Sempronius, consul in 238 B.C., had built and dedicated a temple of Libertas on the Aventine, out of the proceeds of fines, in which his son placed a painting of the celebration of the victory of Beneventum in 214 (Liv. xxiv. 16. 19 : digna res visa ut simulacrum celebrati eius diei Gracchus postquam Romam rediit pingi iuberet in aede Libertatis quam pater eius in Aventino ex multatitia pecunia faciendam curavit dedicavitque ; Fest. 121 : Libertatis templum in Aventino fuerat constructum). Whether this temple is to be identified with that of Iuppiter Libertas is uncertain, but has given rise to much discussion (WR 105-106, 126-127 ; HJ 167 ; Gilb. ii. 209-210 ; iii. 97, 444 ; Rosch. ii. 663-664, 2031-2034 ; Merlin 107, 227-228, 301-302 ; BC 1914, 349-350 ; FUR 28-29 ; RE x. 1132 ; xiii. 101-102).

IUPPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS CAPITOLINUS, AEDES, \* templum, νεώς, also called aedes Capitolina (Plin. NH xxxiii. 16, 19 ; xxxv. 14 ; xxxvi. 45) : the great temple on the Capitol, dedicated to Jupiter and his companion deities, Juno and Minerva, the Capitoline Triad. Tarquinius Priscus vowed this temple while battling with the Sabines, and seems to have laid some of its foundations, but a large part of the work was done by Tarquinius Superbus, who is said to have nearly completed it. According to the tradition current in later times, there were shrines of other deities on the site intended for this temple, all of whom allowed themselves to be dispossessed in the proper way except TERMINUS (q.v.) and IUVENTAS (q.v.). These shrines were therefore incorporated in the new temple, and the action of Terminus was regarded as a prophecy of the permanence of the cult and of Rome itself (Cic. de rep. ii. 36 ; Liv. i. 38. 7, 55, 56 ; Plin. NH iii. 70 ; Dionys. iii. 69 ; iv. 61 ; Tac. Hist. iii. 72 ; Plut. Popl. 13-14). The dedication of the temple on 13th September was ascribed to the first year of the republic, when this honour fell to Horatius Pulvillus by lot (Liv. ii. 8 ; vii. 3. 8 ; Polyb. iii. 22 ; Tac. Hist. iii. 72 ; Plut. Popl. 14 ; cf. Plin. NH xxxiii. 19).

The original structure was probably built of the native tufa of the hill, which cropped out at the foot of the Capitoline on the forum side (AJA 1918, 185). During the digging for the foundations a caput humanum integra facie (Liv. i. 55. 5) was found, and this the Etruscan diviners interpreted as an omen of Rome's sovereignty of the world (Varro, LL v. 41 ; Plin. xxxiii. 15 ; Serv. Aen. viii. 345 ; Arnob. vi. 7 ; Isid. xv. 2. 31 ; Cass. Dio, frag. 11. 8).

There were three cellae side by side. That in the middle was

<sup>1</sup> This confirms the view (WR 138, n. 6) that Ovid (Fast. iv. 632) is wrong in giving this date as that of the founding of the Atrium Libertatis.



dedicated to Jupiter and contained a terra cotta statue of the god, with a thunderbolt in his right hand, said to have been the work of Vulca of Veii, the face of which was painted red on festival days (Ov. Fast. i. 201-202 ; Plin. NH xxxiii. 111-112 ; xxxv. 157). The character of this statue, and of the rest of the decoration of the temple, is clear from the life-size figures, recently discovered at Veii, belonging to a group representing the stealing by Heracles of a stag sacred to Apollo (NS 1919, 3).<sup>1</sup> The chamber on the right was dedicated to Minerva (Liv. vii. 3. 5), and that on the left to Juno.<sup>2</sup> Probably there were statues also in these two chambers, and each deity had her own altar (Varro ap. Serv. Aen. iii. 134). The statue of Jupiter was clothed with a tunic adorned with palm branches and Victories (*tunica palmata*), and a purple toga embroidered with gold (*toga picta, palmata*), the costume afterwards worn by Roman generals when celebrating a triumph (Liv. x. 7. 10 ; xxx. 15. 11-12 ; Iuv. x. 38 ; Hist. Aug. Alex. 40 ; Gord. 4 ; Prob. 7 ; Fest. 209 ; Serv. Aen. xi. 334 ; Marquardt, Privatl. 542-543 ; cf. SR ii. 1914, 254-256). The entablature was of wood, and on the apex of the pediment was a terra cotta group, Jupiter in a quadriga, by the same Etruscan artist as the statue in the cella (Plin. NH xxviii. 16 ; xxxv. 157 ; Fest. 274 ; Plut. Popl. 13). This was replaced in 296 B.C. by another, probably of bronze (Liv. x. 23. 12). There is no doubt that pediment and roof were decorated with terra cotta figures, among them a statue of Summanus 'in fastigio' (perhaps therefore an acroterion), the head of which was broken off by a thunderbolt in 275 B.C. (Cic. de Div. i. 10 ; Liv. Epit. xiv.). See BC 1923, 304 ; 1925, 161-169, 191-200 ; JRS 1914, 183 ; Van Buren, Terracotta Revetments, 47. In 193 B.C. the aediles M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus placed gilt shields on the pediment (Liv. xxxv. 10).

In 179 B.C. the walls and columns were covered anew with stucco (Liv. xl. 51. 3), and a copy of the dedicatory inscription of L. Aemilius Regillus, from the temple of the LARES PERMARINI (q.v.), was placed over the door (ib. 52). A little later a mosaic pavement was laid in the cella (Plin. NH xxxvi. 185), and in 142 the ceiling was gilded (Plin. NH xxxiii. 57). The temple stood in the AREA CAPITOLINA (q.v.), and in front of the steps was the great altar of Jupiter (ara Iovis), where solemn sacrifices were offered at the beginning of the year, at the celebration of triumphs, and on some other occasions (Suet. Aug. 94 ; Zonaras viii. 1 ; Fest. 285). This temple became a repository of works of art of many sorts, the gifts of Roman generals and foreigners, as well as of dedicatory offerings and trophies of victory (see Rosch. ii. 728-730 ; Jord. i. 2. 16-18), of which the earliest recorded was a golden crown presented by the Latins in 459 (Liv. ii. 22. 6). The number of these became so great that in 179 B.C. it was necessary to remove some of the statues and many of the shields affixed to the columns (Liv. xl. 51. 3).

<sup>1</sup> See also Ant. Denk. iii. 45-55.

<sup>2</sup> The cella Iunonis Reginae is mentioned in Act. Lud. Saec. Sev. (CIL vi. 32329. 9).



This first temple was burned to the ground on 6th July, 83 B.C. (Cic. Cat. iii. 9 ; Sall. Cat. 47. 2 ; Tac. Hist. iii. 72 ; App. BC i. 83, 86 ; Obseq. 57 ; Plut. Sulla 27 ; Cassiod. ad a. 671), with the statue of Jupiter (Plut. de Iside 71 ; cf. Ov. Fast. i. 201), and the Sibylline books that had been kept in a stone chest (Dionys. iv. 62), but the temple treasure was carried in safety to Praeneste by the younger Marius (Plin. NH xxxiii. 16). The rebuilding was taken in hand by Sulla (Val. Max. ix. 3. 8 ; Tac. Hist. iii. 72), who is said to have brought the white marble Corinthian columns of the Olympieion in Athens to Rome for this temple (Plin. NH xxxvi. 45). They do not seem to have been used, for coins of 43 B.C.<sup>1</sup> (Babelon, ii. 291, Pet. I-4 ; BM. Rep. i. 571. 4217-25) represent those standing as Doric. Most of the rebuilding fell to the lot of Q. Lutatius Catulus, being assigned to him by the senate (Cic. Verr. iv. 69 ; Varro ap. Gell. ii. 10 ; Lactant. de ira dei 22. 6 ; Suet. Caes. 15), and the new structure was dedicated by him in 69 (Liv. ep. 98 ; Plut. Popl. 15 ; cf. Plin. NH vii. 138 ; xix. 23 ; Suet. Aug. 94). Catulus' name was inscribed above the entrance (Tac. Hist. iii. 72) and remained there until 69 A.D., so that the vote of the senate to substitute Caesar's name, after the dictator's death (Cass. Dio xliii. 14 ; cf. xxxvii. 44), was not carried out. This temple was built on the original foundations (Tac. loc. cit.) and plan, except that it was higher (Val. Max. iv. 4. 11), more expensive (Dionys. iv. 61), and doubtless more splendid. The greater height of the temple was not in harmony with that of the stylobate, and Catulus wished to remedy this fault by lowering the level of the area Capitolina. This, however, could not be done because of the favissae, or underground passages which were entered from the cella of the temple, and in which were stored the old statues that had fallen from the roof, and various dedicatory gifts (Fest. 88 ; Gell. ii. 10 ; Gilb. ii. 419 ; Rosch. ii. 710). The kind of stone employed is not known. The roof was supported by eagles 'vetero ligno' (Tac. loc. cit.), and covered with plates of gilt bronze (Plin. NH xxxiii. 57 ; Sen. Contr. i. 6. 4 ; ii. 1. 1). The denarius referred to above shows Roma standing on shields between two birds, with the wolf and twins on the right (cf. Cass. Dio xlv. 1 ; Suet. Aug. 94), and on the apex a statue of Jupiter in a quadriga. The ancient terra cotta statue of Jupiter seems to have been replaced by one of gold and ivory, in sitting posture (Joseph. Ant. Iud. xix. 1. 2), made probably by some Greek artist, perhaps Apollonius, in imitation of that of Zeus at Olympia (Chalcid. in Plat. Tim. 338 c ; Brunn, Künstlergeschichte i<sup>1</sup>. 543=i<sup>2</sup>. 379). Catulus also dedicated a statue to Minerva, infra Capitolium (Plin. NH xxxiv. 77). Cf. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 725, 730-732=vi. 30920-4 for dedicatory

<sup>1</sup> Add a coin of the gens Volteia (Babelon, ii. 565 ; BM. Rep. i. 388. 1, where it is dated after 83 B.C.). The temple was areostyle, and its pediment was dedicated 'tuscanico more,' probably with statues of gilt bronze (Vitr. iii. 3. 5, quoted on p. 255). See BC 1925, 169-176. It is also represented, with its lofty podium, on one of the Boscoreale cups (Mon. Piot, v. (1899) pl. xxxvi. 2 ; Rostowzew, History of the Ancient World, ii. Rome, 186), where an eagle is clearly visible in the pediment.

inscriptions set up at this temple. Whether vi. 30928 (with which go 30921, 30923; cf. ib. i<sup>2</sup>. 732) belonged to it or to the *CAPITOLIUM VETUS* (q.v.) cannot be determined.

Lightning frequently struck on the Capitol and did much damage, probably to the temple itself (Cic. Cat. iii. 19; de Div. i. 20; ii. 45; Cass. Dio xli. 14; xlii. 26; xlv. 17; xlvii. 10), and Augustus restored it at great expense, probably about 26 B.C., but without placing his own name upon it (Mon. Anc. iv. 9). It is thrice mentioned in the *Acta Lud. Saec.* (CIL vi. 32323. 9, 29, 70). Further injury by lightning is recorded in 9 B.C. (Cass. Dio lv. 1) and 56 A.D. (Tac. Ann. xiii. 24).

In 69 A.D. the second temple, though ungarrisoned and unplundered, was burned when the Capitol was stormed by the Vitellians (Tac. Hist. iii. 71; Suet. Vit. 15; Cass. Dio lxiv. 17; Stat. Silv. v. 3. 195-200; Hier. a. Abr. 2089), and rebuilt by Vespasian on its original lines but with still greater height (Tac. Hist. iv. 4, 9, 53; Suet. Vesp. 8; Cass. Dio lxxv. 7. 10; Plut. Popl. 15; Aur. Vict. Caes. 9. 7; ep. de Caes. 9. 8; Zon. xi. 17). Coins of the period<sup>1</sup> agree in representing this temple as hexastyle, with Corinthian columns, and statues of Jupiter, Juno (left), and Minerva (right), in the three central intercolumniations, but they differ in the number and position of the figures surmounting the pediment—quadrigae, eagles, heads of horses, and objects of an uncertain character (Cohen, Vesp. 486-493; Titus 242-245; Dom. 533; for a list of coins representing the temple at different periods, see Arch. Zeit. 1872, 1-8; Jord. i. 2. 88-90).

This temple was again burned down in 80 A.D. (Cass. Dio lxvi. 24) and restored by Domitian (Suet. Dom. 5; Plut. Popl. 15; Eutrop. vii. 23; Chron. 146), although the actual work was apparently begun in 80 (Act. Arv. Henzen, cvi. 115-116). The dedication probably took place in 82 (Cohen, Dom. 230; Hier. a. Abr. 2105, wrongly). This structure surpassed the earlier in magnificence. It was hexastyle, of the Corinthian order, and its columns were of white Pentelic marble, a material used in no other Roman building (Plut. Popl. 15). The doors were plated with gold (Zos. v. 38), and the roof was covered with gilt tiles (Procop. b. Vand. i. 5). The four bronze columns made of the rostra of the ships captured at Antium, which Domitian set up 'in Capitolio' (Serv. Georg. iii. 29), perhaps stood in this temple. The pediment was adorned with reliefs, and its apex and gables with statues, as in the earlier temples, but for them we must depend on the evidence of coins (Cohen, Dom. 23, 174) and fragments of reliefs or drawings of the same, as e.g. one in the Louvre from the forum of Trajan, in which the part showing the pediment is lost (PBS iv. 230, 240-244; cf. Mél. 1889, 120-123; Mitt. 1888, 150 155; 1889, 250-252; and Jord. i. 2. 89-90; Rosch. ii. 718-719) and another in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Cons. 23). See BC 1925, 181-191; and cf. Bernhart, Handbuch zur Münzkunde der röm. Kaiserzeit, 125.

<sup>1</sup> See BC 1925, 176-181.

This temple is referred to in glowing terms by Ammianus (xvi. 10. 14 ; xxii. 16. 12) and Ausonius (Clar. urb. xix. 17 : aurea Capitoli culmina). Its destruction began in the fifth century when Stilicho carried off the gold plates of the doors (Zos. v. 38). The inscription said to have been found on this occasion was simply a graffito, carelessly read, which is restored by Reinach : Niger, Q. Regii ser(vus) (CRA 1914, 562).<sup>1</sup> Gaiseric removed half of the gilt tiles<sup>2</sup> (Procop. b. Vand. i. 5), but in the sixth century it was still one of the wonders of the world (Cassiod. Var. vii. 6). In 571, however, Narses appears to have removed the statues, or many of them : Chron. Min. i. 336 (571), p. c. Iustini Aug. iii anno. De Neapolim egressus Narsis ingressus Romam et deposuit palatii eius statuas et Capitolium (see BCr 1867, 22 ; Hülsen cit.) The bull of Anacletus II (1130-8) refers to it as templum maius quod respicit super Alafantum (v. ELEPHAS HERBARIUS). The history of its destruction is little known down to the sixteenth century (Nibby, Roma Antica i. 505 ff. ; cf. Jord. i. 2. 32-34) when the Caffarelli built their palace on its ruins (LS ii. 94-96).

Excavations and borings (Ann. d. Inst. 1865, 382 ; 1876, 145-172 ; Mon. d. Inst. viii. pl. 23. 2 ; x. pl. 30 a ; BC 1875, 165-189 ; 1876, 31-34 ; Bull. d. Inst. 1882, 276 ; NS 1896, 161 ; 1921, 38), with the information given by Vitruvius (iii. 3. 5) and Dionysius (iv. 61), have established the general plan of the temple, which remained the same for the successive rebuildings (cf. Delbrück, Der Apollotempel auf dem Marsfeld in Rom, Rome 1903, 12-13). The temple was rectangular, almost square, and fronted south, its main axis deviating about  $26\frac{1}{2}$  degrees to the east of the north and south line. The stylobate seems not to have been a solid mass, but it consisted of parallel walls, 5.60 metres wide, made of tufa blocks laid without mortar and set deep in the ground. Considerable remains of it are visible in the Museo Mussolini, which occupies the former Palazzo Caffarelli. Its height was apparently from 4 to 5 metres. The proportion in width between the central chamber of the cella and those on the sides was as four to three. The length of the shorter sides of the stylobate, derived from actual measurement, exclusive of its outer facing of which nothing is known, was about 55 metres, and that of the longer sides about 60 metres. (For a discussion of the evidence of the use of the Italic foot (0.278 m.) instead of the Roman (0.2977 m.) in these foundations, see Hermes, 1887, 17-28 ; 1888, 477-479 ; Richter, 122-123 ; Mitt. 1889, 249 ; CR 1902, 335-336 ; NS 1907, 362 ; AA 1914, 75-82.)

Paribeni (NS 1921, 38-49) gives a new plan based on recent excavations in which three angles<sup>3</sup> and parts of the sides were laid bare, and deduces

<sup>1</sup> As Hülsen points out, however, Niger is not a slave's name, nor is Regius a gentilicium.

<sup>2</sup> That Constans II removed the gilt bronze tiles in 665 A.D. is asserted by many modern authors ; but there is nothing said of it in LP lxxviii. (Hülsen, Bilder aus der Geschichte des Kapitols, Rome, 1899, p. 31, n. 7).

<sup>3</sup> The fourth angle is to be seen in the Piazzetta della Rupe Tarpea, off the Via Tor de' Specchi (see infra, p. 351).



the measurements given above.<sup>1</sup> He points out that if we can suppose that Dionysius (who tells us that the perimeter of the temple was 8 plethra (800 Greek feet), that each side was about 200 feet, and that the difference between length and breadth did not exceed 15 feet) was using the older Greek foot of 296 mm. or thereabouts, corresponding to the Roman foot (the Greek foot of 308 mm. being really the Ptolemaic foot; cf. Segré in *Aegyptus* i. 159), we get a measurement of 61.42 by 56.98 metres, which, allowing for the facing, agrees very closely with the measurements given above. If we supposed the Italic foot to have been used, we should get 59.77 by 55.60 metres, which is rather too small, as nothing is allowed for facing. The podium is that of the original temple (YW 1922-3, 98). No more of the parallel walls of the stylobate have been found.

The temple was hexastyle, with three rows of columns across the front and a single row on each side, and the intercolumnar spaces corresponded with the different widths of the three adjacent cellae. As the bases of the columns were about 8 feet (2.23 m.) in breadth, the wider intercolumniations measured 40 feet (11.12 m.) and the narrower 30 feet (8.9 m.). According to these measurements the cella was 100 feet (27.81 m.) square. Of the superstructure only fragments now exist, a drum of a fluted column of Pentelic marble, 2.10 metres in diameter, part of an Attic base of the same stone, 2.26 metres in breadth, the lower half of a Corinthian capital (NS 1897, 60), although fragments of cornice and frieze with sculptured reliefs are reported to have been found (LR 300-301; BC 1914, 88-89). Cf. DAP 2. xv. 372-3 for the removal, as it seems, of another column in 1544-6. It is very remarkable that so little of any of the subsequent temples has been found.

This temple was the centre of the religious system of the state during the republic and empire, and possessed great political importance. Here the consuls offered their first public sacrifices, the senate met in solemn assembly, it was the destination of the triumphal procession, and the repository of archives dealing with foreign relations. To the Romans it was the symbol of the sovereignty and power of Rome, and of her immortality. (For a catalogue of the uses of this temple, see Rosch. ii. 720-739; Jord. i. 2. 94-95; WR 125-129; see also AREA CAPITOLINA. Besides the references already given, see, for the temple in general and the voluminous literature relating to it, Richter, *Hermes* 1884, 322-324; Top. 121-130; BRT ii. 23-31; Jord. i. 2. 8-101; Gilb. ii. 416-423, 434-448; iii. 382-398; Rodocanachi, *Le Capitole romain*, 27-40; Hülsen, *Festschrift für H. Kiepert* 209-222; RE iii. 1531-1538; x. 1135-1137; Rosch. ii. 705-720; LR 298-301; ZA 22-28; ASA 12, 13.)

IUPPITER PISTOR, ARA: an altar of white marble (*candida*), erected to commemorate the trick which the besieged Romans played on the Gauls. They were warned in a dream to throw bread among the besiegers and thereby deceive them as to the amount of food in the hands of the Romans

<sup>1</sup> For another see *Capitolium*, i. 321-326.



(Ov. Fast. vi. 349-394; Lactant. i. 20. 33). This altar may have stood on the Capitol, but of that there is no conclusive evidence (Pr. Myth. i. 194; Jord. i. 2. 51; Rosch. ii. 731). Wissowa considers this to be a thunder-god (RE x. 1131).

IUPPITER PROPUGNATOR, AEDES: a temple on the Palatine, known only from the fragmentary fasti of some collegium (CIL vi. 2004-2009), which speak of the meeting-place of the members of this collegium, possibly the sodales Flaviales Titiales, in Palatio in aede Iovis Propugnatoris. These fragments date from 190 to 238 A.D. The identification of this temple with that of Iuppiter Victor is purely conjectural, nor is its exact site determinable by any known evidence (HJ 50; Rosch. ii. 751; AJP 1907, 327; BC 1917, 85).

IUPPITER REDUX: see CASTRA PEREGRINA.

IUPPITER SALUTARIS, AEDES: a temple that is mentioned on one inscription (CIL vi. 425: Iovi optimo maximo salutari aedem voto suscepto), and probably on another (vi. 82). It may have been the shrine of a collegium funeraticium, dedicated to its tutelary deity, and hence called *salutaris*.

IUPPITER SOTER, ARA: an altar on the Capitol, mentioned only once (Serv. Aen. viii. 652: hodieque ara in Capitolio est Iovis Soteris<sup>1</sup>). The direct translation of Ζεὺς σωτήρ is thought to be Iuppiter Liberator (Rosch. ii. 663, 731).

IUPPITER STATOR, AEDES (templum, ἱερόν): a temple vowed, according to tradition (BC 1917, 79-84), by Romulus at the critical moment in the battle between the Romans and the Sabines when the former had been driven across the forum valley to the porta Mugonia (Liv. i. 12. 3-6; ps. Cic. orat. pr. quam in exilium iret 24; Ov. Fast. vi. 794; Dionys. ii. 50; Flor. i. 1. 13; de vir. ill. 2. 8). The epithet *stator* appears in Greek as ὀρθώσιος (Dionys.) and στήσιος (App. Plut.). This temple was never built, but in 294 B.C. the consul, M. Atilius Regulus, made a similar vow under similar circumstances in a battle with the Samnites, and erected the temple immediately afterwards (Liv. x. 36. 11, 37. 15). Livy explains that no actual building had been put up by Romulus, but fanum tantum, id est locus templo effatus—an attempt to reconcile fact with what had evidently become the popular tradition (Cic. Cat. i. 33; ps. Cic. loc. cit.). Its site is variously indicated—in Palatii radice, ps. Cic.; ante Palatini ora iugi, Ov.; ad veterem portam Palatii, Liv.; παρὰ ταῖς καλουμέναις Μουγωνίσι πύλαις, Dionys.; ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀνιόντων, Plut. Cic. 16; cf. Ov. Trist. iii. 1. 32; Liv. i. 41. 4; Plin. NH xxxiv. 29; App. BC ii. 11), and Not. places it in Region IV. It is represented on the relief of the Haterii (Mon. d. Inst. v. 7) as hexastyle, of the Corinthian order, and facing the clivus Palatinus.

Cicero called the senate together in this temple (Cic. Cat. ii. 12; ps. Cic. loc. cit.; Plut. Cic. 16), which was probably not unusual; and in

<sup>1</sup> So Daniel: MSS. Sutoris; Thilo prefers Tutoris.

it was kept what was evidently a bit of liturgy composed by Livius Andronicus (Liv. xxvii. 37. 7). The day of dedication is given by Ovid (Fast. vi. 793) as 27th January, but this may perhaps be that of a later restoration, and not of Regulus' temple (WR 122-123). In fact, we learn from Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 111, that either this temple or that in the porticus Metelli was dedicated on 5th September; and, as Hemer. Urb. (cited below) associates that temple with that of Iuno Regina, the reference in Fast. Ant. may be taken to be to the temple now under discussion. Two inscriptions of the later empire (CIL vi. 434, 435) probably belong to this temple, and it is mentioned in the fourth century (Not.).

Just east of the arch of Titus, a site corresponding with the literary references, are ruins consisting of a large rectangular platform of concrete, on which are some enormous blocks of peperino and travertine (Hermes, 1885, 412). On this foundation the mediaeval turris Cartularia was built (for the explanation of this name, see Rend. dei Lincei 1912, 767-772; AJA 1913, 569),<sup>1</sup> which was not torn down until 1829. This foundation has generally been identified as that of the temple of Iuppiter Stator of the Flavian period (LR 200; HC 250-252; CR 1905, 75; BC 1903, 18; 1914, 93; 1917, 79-84; TF 89; DR 178-182; RE Suppl. iv. 480, 481). Some tufa walls, recently excavated close to the north-east side of the arch and beneath its foundations, may have belonged to the temple at an earlier date when its position was slightly different (YW 1908, 23; CR 1909, 61), but the supposition is very doubtful. Others have sought it on the area Palatina, but wrongly (HJ 22).

For a republican inscription on some blocks of tufa there (not on our site), see CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 1009=vi. 29842 (cf. 36615). It bears the names of two Greek artificers Philocrates and Diocles. See HJ 20-23; Rosch. ii. 682-684.

IUPPITER STATOR, AEDES (templum, Pliny): a temple which, with that of Iuno Regina and the enclosing PORTICUS METELLI (q.v.), was built by Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus after his triumph in 146 B.C. (Vell. i. 11. 3). It is referred to as aedes Iovis Metellina (Fest. 363) and aedes Metelli (Plin. NH xxxvi. 40; CIL vi. 8708). It was inside the porticus Metelli (Vitr. iii. 2. 5), close to the circus Flaminius (Macrobius. iii. 4. 2; Hemer. Urb., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 252, 339), and its exact site is known, beneath the church of S. Maria in Campitelli. The temple of Juno was just west of this, on the opposite side of the Via della Tribuna di Campitelli. It is not stated in so many words by Velleius (loc. cit.) that Metellus built both temples, but this is the natural inference from the passage. He is also said to have been the first to build a temple in Rome entirely of marble, and this statement probably applies to both structures. In front of the

<sup>1</sup> In brief, it derived its name not from the fact that it ever contained the papal archives, but from its proximity to the building in which they were kept, which was itself situated on the Palatine. Cf. also Roma vi. (1928) 97, 98.

temples Metellus placed Lysippus' equestrian statues of Alexander's generals, and in them were a number of famous works of art (Fest. 363 ; Plin. NH xxxvi. 24, 34, 40). According to Vitruvius (iii. 2. 5) the temple of Jupiter was the work of Hermodorus of Salamis (RE viii. 861-862), and was an example of a peripteros with six columns across the front and rear and eleven on the sides. The space between the columns was equal to that between the columns and the wall of the cella. As there were no inscriptions on the temples (Vell. loc. cit.) and evidently representations of a lizard and a frog among the decorations (*σαύρα*, *βάτραχος*), the legend arose that the architects were two Spartans, Saurus and Batrachus ; and further that, as the decorations in the temple of Jupiter belonged to that of Juno, and vice versa, the statues of the deities had been set up in the wrong cellae by the mistake of the workmen (Plin. NH xxxvi. 42-43 ; RE iii. 145). The idea that an Ionic capital now in S. Lorenzo fuori has anything to do with these temples has generally been abandoned (HJ 539, n. 87).

After 14 B.C. Augustus either rebuilt the porticus Metelli, or replaced it by the PORTICUS OCTAVIAE (q.v.), and presumably restored the enclosed temples at the same time. That of Jupiter is mentioned on an undated inscription of the empire (CIL vi. 8708 : aedituus de aede Iovis porticus Octaviae), and it is included under the rubric Aedes of Region IX in Not. (om. Cur.). The temples are also represented on a fragment (33) of the Marble Plan, that of Juno as hexastyle prostyle, and that of Jupiter as hexastyle and peripteral but with ten columns on a side instead of eleven, as Vitruvius says it had (see above). This discrepancy may perhaps be explained as due to some changes made by Augustus' restoration. Lugli (ZA 229) maintains that, like the porticus Octaviae, they were restored by Severus.

The existing ruins of both temples are concealed for the most part by modern houses in the Via di S. Angelo in Pescheria, and consist chiefly of substructures and walls of travertine and of brickwork, with fragments of marble columns and entablature. Three fluted columns of white marble belonging to the temple of Juno, 12.50 metres in height and 1.25 in diameter, with Corinthian capitals and entablature, are visible in No. 11 of that street. Of the history of these temples after the fourth century, nothing is known (HJ 538-540 ; Rosch. ii. 684-686. Cf. also Bull. d. Inst. 1861, 241-245 ; Ann. d. Inst. 1868, 108-132).

IUPPITER TONANS, AEDES (templa, Martial ; *ναός*, Cass. Dio cit.) : a temple on the Capitol, vowed by Augustus in 26 B.C. because of his narrow escape from being struck by lightning during his Cantabrian campaign, and dedicated 1st September, 22 B.C. (Mon. Anc. iv. 5 ; Suet. Aug. 29 ; Mart. vii. 60. 2 ; Cass. Dio liv. 4 ; Fast. Amit. Ant. Arv. ad Kal. Sept., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 244, 248 ; vi. 2295).<sup>1</sup> The name Iuppiter Tonans (cf. Ov. Fast. ii. 69 : Capitolinumque Tonantem ; Mart. v. 16. 5 : falcifer Tonans) was a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also CIL vi. 32323, l. 31.



translation of *Zeὺς Βροντῶν* (Cass. Dio loc. cit.), which form appears in a Latin transliteration in two inscriptions (CIL vi. 432, 2241). It was famous for its magnificence (Suet. Aug. 29: *inter opera praecipua*), with walls of solid marble (Plin. NH xxxvi. 50), and contained some notable works of art (Plin. NH xxxiv. 78, 79). Augustus visited this temple frequently, and on one occasion is said to have dreamed that Jupiter complained that the popularity of this new temple had sensibly diminished the number of worshippers in the great temple of the god. Whereupon Augustus replied that Jupiter Tonans was only the doorkeeper of Jupiter Capitolinus, and proceeded to hang bells on the gables of the former to indicate this relationship (Suet. Aug. 91; cf. Mart. vii. 60. 1: *Tarpeiae venerande rector aulae*). This shows that the temple must have stood quite close to the entrance of the area Capitolina, and therefore on the south-east edge of the hill overlooking the forum (cf. Claud. de sext. cons. Hon. 44-46, which probably refers to this temple; RhM 1872, 269-274).<sup>1</sup> It is represented on a coin of Augustus (Cohen 178, cf. 179-180, 184-186; BM. Rep. ii. 28. 4412-5; Aug. 362, cf. 363-365 and p. 57, n. (a)), as hexastyle, with a statue of the god standing erect with right hand supported by a sceptre, possibly a reproduction of the famous statue of Leochares (Plin. NH xxxiv. 79). The many other references in Latin poetry to Jupiter Tonans do not belong to this temple, but to that of Jupiter Capitolinus (Jord. i. 2. 47-48; Rosch. ii. 747-748; Gilb. iii. 399-400).

IUPPITER TRAGOEDUS, STATUA: specially mentioned with APOLLO SANDALARIUS (q.v.) among the 'pretiosissima deorum simulacra' which Augustus dedicated 'vicatim' (Suet. Aug. 57). Its position is unknown.

IUPPITER TUTOR: see IUPPITER CONSERVATOR, IUPPITER SOTER.

IUPPITER VICTOR. In the battle of Sentinum, 295 B.C., the dictator, Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, vowed a temple (*aedes*) to Iuppiter Victor, to whom he afterwards offered the spoils collected from the Samnites in sacrifice (Liv. x. 29. 14, 18). Livy's statement (x. 42. 7) that in 293 L. Papirius, at the battle of Aquilonia, vowed a cup of new wine to Iuppiter Victor, is sometimes interpreted as meaning that Fabius' temple had been dedicated by that time, but this is quite hypothetical. According to Ovid (Fast. iv. 621) and Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 92, the day of dedication of the temple (*templa*) was the Ides of April. Josephus states (Ant. Jud. xix. 4. 3) that after the murder of Caligula in 41 A.D. the consuls summoned the senate *εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ νικηφόρου Διὸς*; and Cassius Dio (lx. 35) mentions among the prodigies of 54 A.D. *ἡ αὐτόματος τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νικαίου ἄνοιξις*. These all seem to refer to the same temple, presumably the same aedes Iovis Victoris that is mentioned as standing

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the foundation found in 1896 belongs to it (see IUPPITER CONSERVATOR); (Festschr. f. Kiepert, 216-219; RE iii. 1537; BC 1896, 116-120; 187-190; NS 1896, 161, 185, 369, 466).



in Region X in the fourth century in the Notitia (Curiosum om. Victoris). If so, the temple was on the Palatine, but this depends solely on the Notitia (BC 1917, 84-92, where it is maintained to be of very early origin).

Among the prodigies of 42 B.C. the striking of lightning *ἐς τὸν τοῦ Νικαίου Διὸς βωμόν* is reported (Cass. Dio xlvii. 40. 2), evidently an altar outside a temple or quite by itself; and in a similar list for the preceding year the same author states (xlv. 17. 2) *κεραυνοὶ τε γὰρ παμπληθεῖς ἔπεσον καὶ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸν νεῶν τὸν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐν τῷ Νικαίῳ ὄντα κατέσκηψαν*. The interpretation of this last passage is not perfectly clear (Jord. i. 2. 50), but it is sometimes regarded as evidence for the existence of a shrine of Iuppiter Victor on the Capitoline, although probably wrongly. An inscription found on the Quirinal (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 638=vi. 438=30767 a, [D] Iovei victore T. Aebu[ti] M. f. iivir [resti]tuit) attributed<sup>1</sup> to T. Aebutius Carus, triumvir coloniae deducendae in 183 B.C., is also believed to prove the existence of a shrine of the same god on that hill, but the whole question of the temple or temples of Iuppiter Victor is still unsettled, and the uncertainty is increased by Ovid's statement (Fast. vi. 650) that on the Ides of June *invicto sunt data templa Iovi*. *Invictus* is a less frequent cognomen, occurring in some inscriptions, but is probably an alternative for *victor*. This temple cannot, in any case, be that referred to by Ovid in the earlier passage (see above). No identification of the Palatine temple with any existing remains is now tenable (HJ 50; Rosch. ii. 679-681; Gilb. iii. 427; BC 1917, 84-89; RE x. 1134-1135; TF 92-94, n. 2; WR 123).

**IUPPITER ULTOR.** The existence of such a temple depends upon the evidence of coins of Alexander Severus (Cohen, Nos. 101-104, esp. 102; cf. 94-100),<sup>2</sup> which represent what seems to be the façade of a temple between projecting porticus, dedicated IOVI ULTORI. This Bigot places (BC 1911, 80-85) at the east angle of the Palatine, in the vigna Barberini, fronting on the clivus Palatinus, the modern Via di S. Bonaventura. He believes that here Elagabalus built his temple of ELAGABALUS (q.v.), on a terrace erected by Hadrian, which Alexander Severus transformed into a shrine of Iuppiter Ultor, and that it was called Pentapylon, because of its appearance; the name occurs in Not. (Reg. X). This hypothesis cannot be said to be convincing (Geogr. Jahrb. xxxiv. 206; DAP 2. xi. 117; cf. Mem. Linc. 5. xvii. 530), and the difficulty is, that the remains of brick-faced concrete at the edge of the hill belong to the time of Domitian (see ADONAEA, DOMUS AUGUSTIANA), even if we reject Hülsen's placing of the temple of APOLLO PALATINUS (q.v.) on the site. Nor is there any proof that the temple was in Rome.

<sup>1</sup> The emendation is Mommsen's; Hübner (EE ii. p. 41, cf. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 802; HJ 409, n. 43; ILS 994) reads T. Mefu[lan(us)] and, at the beginning, [..]o. Iovei, following the seventeenth century copy, which is our only source for the inscription. CIL vi. 475 (P. Corn. v. f. coso. proba. mar.) may have been inscribed on the side of the same base. The temple is probably alluded to in Quint. i. 4. 17.

<sup>2</sup> See also Gnechi, Med. ii. pl. 98. 7.

IUPPITER VIMINUS, ARA : an ancient altar on the Viminal, dedicated to Jupiter as the tutelary divinity of this hill (Varro, LL v. 51 ; Fest. 376). Nothing more is known of it (HJ 373 ; Jord. ii. 261-262 ; Rosch. ii. 635 ; Gilb. i. 270-272).

IUTURNA, LACUS : see LACUS IUTURNAE.

IUTURNA, TEMPLUM : the first temple of this goddess in Rome, was built by Q. Lutatius Catulus in the campus Martius (Serv. Aen. xii. 139). This was probably the victor in the First Punic War rather than the contemporary of Sulla and builder of the Tabularium. The temple stood near the spot where the later aqua Virgo ended (Ov. Fast. i. 463), that is, the north side of the Saepta, the modern Piazza di S. Ignazio (cf. however, LS iii. 124), and there is not the least possibility that a reminiscence of this cult of the water-goddess may be preserved in the name of the church of S. Maria in Aquiro,<sup>1</sup> a little farther north in the Piazza Capranica (Bull. d. Inst. 1871, 136-145 ; HCh 310). Cicero speaks of gilded statues being set up in this temple (pro Clu. 101) and its day of dedication was 11th January (Ov. loc. cit. ; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 85). The Volcanalia, 23rd August, were also celebrated in this temple if Hülsen's restoration of the calendar is correct (Fast. Arv. ad xi Kal. Sept., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 215, 326 ; HJ 482). The identification of this temple with that of the NYMPHS (q.v.), which was undoubtedly near by, seems to be without proof (Rosch. ii. 763 ; WR 223, 234 ; Gilb. iii. 163).

IUVENTAS, AEDES : a temple of Iuventas (Hebe) vowed by M. Livius Salinator on the day of the battle of the Metaurus in 207 B.C., begun by him when censor in 204, and dedicated by C. Licinius Lucullus in 193 (Liv. xxxvi. 36. 5-6). It was burned in 16 B.C. (Cass. Dio liv. 19. 7 : τὸ τῆς Νεότητος μέγαρον) and restored by Augustus (Mon. Anc. iv. 8 = Grk. x. 12 : ναὸς Νεότητος). It is possible that in later times the Roman youth on assuming the toga virilis made their offerings in this temple, although this custom was assigned by Lucius Piso to Servius Tullius (Dionys. iv. 15. 5), and the early offerings were made at the shrine of Iuventas on the Capitol. This temple was 'in circo Maximo' (Liv. loc. cit.) and near that of Summanus (Plin. NH xxix. 57), therefore probably on the Aventine side, towards the west end of the circus (HJ 119 ; Rosch. ii. 765 ; Gilb. iii. 93 ; WR 136).

IUVENTAS, AEDICULA (Βωμός, Dionys.) : a shrine within the cella of Minerva in the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Plin. NH xxxv. 108 ; Dionys. iii. 69). According to tradition Iuventas, as well as Terminus, had refused to allow her cult, already established there, to be removed from its site when the temple of Jupiter was built, and therefore it was preserved within that structure (Liv. v. 54. 7 ; Flor. i. 1. 7 ; Dionys. loc. cit. ; Aug. de civ. dei iv. 23). The introduction of Iuventas into this legend

<sup>1</sup> The older form of the name is 'a Cyro,' which is probably that of the founder.

is, however, of later date than that of Terminus. In early times the offering made by Roman youths on assuming the toga virilis (Plin. NH xxix. 57) was probably made in this shrine, a custom afterwards transferred to the temple of IUVENTAS (q.v.) in the circus Maximus (Jord. i. 2. 91 ; Rosch. ii. 764 ; iii. 2156 ; WR 135 ; Gilb. ii. 422 ; RE iii. 1532 ; x. 1360-1).

## L

**LACUS ARETIS**: mentioned only in the inscription (CIL vi. 9664) of a negotiator aerarius et ferrarius sub aede Fortunae, ad lacum Aretis, but it is uncertain which temple this is.

**LACUS CUNICLI**: a fountain in the campus Martius, known only from one inscription (BCr 1871, 75), of 375 A.D., where it is spoken of as 'de regione viii.' Whether 'cuniculus' means a rabbit (HJ 505) or is used in the metaphorical, but common, sense of an underground channel, is uncertain.

**LACUS CURTIUS**: the name attached to a structure in the middle of the forum (Plaut. Curc. 477), of which the remains are now visible. Three explanations of the origin and meaning of this name were current in Rome. One was that at the beginning of the regal period, a chasm suddenly opened in the middle of the forum valley, which could be closed, the soothsayers said, only by the sacrifice of that 'quo plurimum populus Romanus posset.' Thereupon a youth named Curtius leaped in and the opening closed (Varro, LL v. 148; Liv. vii. 6; Val. Max. v. 6. 2; Plin. NH xv. 78; Fest. 49; Cass. Dio fr. 30. 1; Zonaras vii. 25; Suidas ii. 1. 572; Oros. iii. 5). Another story was that the swamp in the centre of the forum was called lacus Curtius from the Sabine Mettius Curtius who rode his horse into it when hard pressed by the Romans and escaped (Liv. i. 12. 9, 13. 5; Varro, LL v. 149; Dionys. ii. 42; xiv. 11; Plut. Rom. 18). This is the story that is represented on a relief, found in 1553 between the column of Phocas and the temple of Castor and preserved in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Museo Mussolini), which is itself a late copy of an original of perhaps the second century B.C. (Mitt. 1902, 322-329; S. Sculpt. 324-326; SScR 316-318; Cons. 36). For the inscription on the other side, see TRIBUNAL PRAETORIS. According to the third explanation the lacus was simply a spot of ground that had been struck by lightning and then enclosed by a stone curb, or puteal, by C. Curtius, consul in 445 B.C. (Varro, LL. v. 150).

In the time of Augustus the lacus Curtius, *siccus qui sustinet aras*, was no longer a lacus but dry ground (Ov. Fast. vi. 403-4), and into it a small coin was thrown yearly by every Roman in fulfilment of his vows for the emperor's safety (Suet. Aug. 7, 57). According to Kobbert (RE i. A. 576) it is the character of the lacus Curtius as *mundus* which is primary; but its connection with the underworld made it *religiosus*,



and the coins were probably offerings to the powers of the underworld (WR 235). Pliny (NH xv. 78) states that an altar that stood near the lacus was removed at the time when Julius Caesar celebrated his last games in the forum, but whether this altar was afterwards restored and was one of the *siccae arae* of Ovid is unknown.

The existing remains of the lacus consist of two successive layers of slabs of grey cappellaccio and brown Monte Verde tufa, both attributed to the same (the Sullan) period by Van Deman and Frank, forming an irregularly trapezoidal field about 10 metres long and nearly 9 in greatest width, on which is a third layer of blocks of travertine surrounded with a curb. Only part of this layer has been preserved. On its curb are marks that indicate the existence of a screen or balustrade, on which the relief mentioned above may have stood. On the western part of the lacus are traces of rectangular bases which suggest the *arae siccae* of Ovid, and near the eastern corner is the plinth of what was evidently a puteal, or perhaps a round altar of cappellaccio, standing on a twelve-sided base. The structure in its present shape is clearly a restoration of the earlier lacus, carried out at the time of the Caesarian changes in the forum. For description and discussion of the ruins and lacus in general, see CR 1904, 329-330; 1905, 74; BC 1904, 181-187; Mitt. 1905, 68-71; Atti 580-582; HC 144-148; Hülsen, Forum, Nachtrag 15-18; Jord. i. 2. 399; RE iv. 1864, 1892; xii. 378; Suppl. iv. 503-4; NA 1909, 369-375; Théd. 74, 268; DR 243-249; JRS 1922, 8, 20, 21; TF 76.

LACUS ESC(UILINUS?): found only on one lead plate (Rostowzew 499).

LACUS FABRICIUS: see COMPITUM FABRICIUM.

LACUS FAGUTALIS: see FAGUTAL.

LACUS FUNDANI: a spring on the western slope of the Quirinal, near the Cati fons (CIL vi. 9854; Tac. Hist. iii. 69; Placidus p. 29).<sup>1</sup> It gave its name to the vicus laci Fund(ani) (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. i. 721=vi. 1297; RhM 1894, 401-403), a street that probably corresponded in general with the Via del Quirinale from the Piazza del Quirinale southwards.

LACUS GALLINES: mentioned with no indication of location on only one inscription of unknown provenance (CIL vi. 33835).

LACUS GANYMEDIS: a spring or fountain in the southern part of Region VII (Not. Cur.), otherwise unknown. Cf. LS iii. 202.

LACUS IUTURNAE: the spring of Juturna in the south corner of the forum, at the foot of the Palatine, where Castor and Pollux were seen to water their horses after the battle of Lake Regillus in 496 B.C. (Ov. Fasti i. 706; Dionys. vi. 13; LA 225, 226; Neue Jahrb. 1902, 370-388). Because of this appearance the temple of CASTOR AND POLLUX (q.v.) was built on the

<sup>1</sup> Deuerling reads 'Catialem collem, ubi nunc lacus funditur,' following the MSS.: Mai conjectures 'Fundani,' and is followed by Hülsen. In CGL v. 53 the text is given thus: 'Catialem collem, ubi nunc lacus funditus est dictus a cuntico cuius locum' (sic).

west side of the spring. The same divinities were also said to have appeared on the same spot after the victory of Pydna in 168 B.C. (Flor. i. 28. 15; Val. Max. i. 8. 1). The spring, in the shape of a puteal, with Castor and Pollux, is represented on coins of the gens Postumia, of about 90 B.C. (Babelon ii. 379, Nos. 5-6; BM. Rep. ii. 310, 718-723). The water nymph Juturna belonged properly to the river Numicius, but was brought to Rome, and became the tutelary deity of those 'qui artificium aqua exercent' (Serv. Aen. xii. 139), and her name was derived from 'iuvare quia laborantes iuvare consuevit' (ib.; Varro, LL v. 71; Neue Jahrb. cit. 383; cf. IUTURNA TEMPLUM), or from Diuturna (the eternal) (Cic. Pro Cluent. 101; Carcopino, Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie, 115, 480). The water from her spring was regarded as especially wholesome (Frontin. de aq. 4).

This part of the forum was buried deep in rubbish (LS ii. 202) until 1900, when the 'precinct' of Juturna was entirely excavated (NS 1900, 291-295; 1901, 41-144; BC 1900, 67-74, 285-295; 1903, 166-198; CR 1901, 139; Mitt. 1902, 67-74; 1905, 81-82; Atti 530-539; HC 164-170; Théd. 120-121, 279-280; Pl. 214-220; ZA 96; DR 236-243; RE Suppl. iv. 476-9). The ruins belong principally to the imperial period, but there are some of earlier date. The lacus itself is a basin 2.12 metres deep, the bottom of which measures 5.13 by 5.04 metres. In the middle of this basin is a quadrilateral base 1.78 metres high and about 3 long by 2 wide, which probably supported marble statues of the Dioscuri with their horses, remains of which, broken into many fragments, were found (they are probably South Italian works of the fifth century B.C.). The basin is paved with marble slabs, beneath which is a considerable extent of tufa pavement with a different orientation (that of the precinct of Vesta) belonging to the earlier structure, and lying at about 10.90 metres above sea-level (JRS 1922, 5, 21). The lower walls of opus reticulatum rise to the same height on three sides as the base just mentioned, which appears to have been the level of the precinct in republican times. On this wall is a ledge about 1.50 metres wide, and round this a later wall of opus incertum, 1.23 metres high, with travertine curbing and indications of a metal balustrade. At the top the basin measures about 10 metres square. The whole inner surface of the basin was lined with marble, and at the north-east and north-west corner of its pavement are the two springs by which it has always been fed. The east side of the basin was entirely changed by being built over in the fourth century, in order, apparently, to provide quarters for the STATIO AQUARUM (q.v.). An altar with representations of the Dioscuri and Helen (as Selene) with Jupiter at one end and Leda on the other, which was found in the basin, is probably Hadrianic (SScR 233). About 4 metres south of the lacus is an altar on which are sculptured a male and female figure (no doubt Juturna taking leave of Turnus) in the style of the time of Severus; a well with marble curb or puteal, on which is an inscription

that records a restoration and dedication by M. Barbatus Pollio, probably the partisan of M. Antonius<sup>1</sup> (Mitt. 1902, 70; Klio 1902, 233-234); and an aedicula, consisting of a cella and pronaos, with two marble columns. A statue of the goddess undoubtedly stood in the apse of the aedicula, and a fragment of the epistyle was found near by, inscribed IVTVRNAI S (Klio, loc. cit.). The aedicula of Juturna abuts against a room with an apse of good Hadrianic brickwork, which lies in the axis of the Nova Via. In Christian times it became an oratory of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (Mitt. 1902, 82; 1905, 85, 86; HC 160-161). Cf. HFP 39, and add. to MINERVA, TEMPLUM.

Just east of the lacus, between it and the wall of the atrium Vestae, a ramp ascended from the forum to the Nova via, and the intervening space was occupied by several chambers of later construction, one of which was built out over part of the lacus itself. In these rooms were found fragments of inscriptions relating to the curatores aquarum and the statio aquarum, or headquarters of the water department of Rome (NS 1900, 293; 1901, 129-131; BC 1900, 72; Mitt. 1902, 72-73; Klio 1902, 235; Thed. 311-312). One of these inscriptions, on the pedestal of a statue dedicated to Constantine on 1st March, 328, records the restoration of the statio at that time by the curator aquarum, Fl. Maesius Egnatius Lollianus. It is therefore probable that the statio occupied these rooms as offices in the fourth century, but how much earlier is not known. A statue of Aesculapius, another of Apollo (fifth century B.C.) and other sculptural remains, found in this precinct, lend some support to a theory that in the second and third centuries there was some sort of a sanatorium of Aesculapius established here (Neue Jahrb. cit., 384-388); and in the early Middle Ages the springs were still used, as is shown by the large number of jugs of the eighth century which have been found.

LACUS LONGUS: mentioned only in one inscription (CIL vi. 31893 b 9), otherwise unknown.

LACUS MILIARIUS: see VICUS LACI MILIARII.

LACUS ORPHEI: a fountain, named doubtless from a statue of Orpheus, on the Esquiline in Region V (Not. Cur), probably just outside the porta Esquilina (Mart. x. 19. 6-7). The inhabitants of this district seem to have been called Orfenses (CIL vi. 31893 d. 12: tabernarii Orfenses) in the fourth century (cf. LPD i. 171, 178 n. 13: domum in regione orfea intra urbem); and the name continued in use during the Middle Ages (cf. S. Biagio,<sup>2</sup> S. Lucia and S. Martino in Orfea, Arm. 201, 214, 218; HCh 306, 382). See Jord. ii. 127, 495; HJ 345; Gruppe in Rosch. s.v. Orpheus iii. 1194; Eisler, Orpheus the Fisher, 278, who (following

<sup>1</sup> The archaism *Iuturnai*, which is also found on the puteal, has been thought by some to point to the time of Claudius.

<sup>2</sup> This church never existed; see HCh 507, No. 17\*.



Richter 308) makes it 'an artificial lake of circular shape surrounded by steps, so that the whole building resembled a theatre.'<sup>1</sup> The position of the churches makes it impossible to identify it with the 'Trofei di Mario' (see *NYMPHAEUM ALEXANDRI*).

**LACUS PASTORUM**: a fountain in Region III (Not. Cur.), probably south of the *thermae Traianae* and east of the Colosseum (Jord. ii. 119; HJ 319 and literature cited there).

**LACUS PISONIS**: see *DOMUS LUCINIANA*.

**LACUS PROMETHEI**:\* a spring or fountain in Region I (Not. Cur.), probably not far outside the *porta Capena*.

**LACUS RESTITUTUS**: see *VICUS LACI RESTITUTI*.

**LACUS SERVILIUS**: a fountain in the forum, at the end of the *vicus Iugarius* and near the *basilica Iulia* (Fest. 290). The heads of the senators who were murdered in Sulla's proscription were fastened above and around this *lacus* (Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 89; Sen. de prov. iii. 7; Firm. Mat. astron. i. 7. 34). A structure in Anio tufa, destroyed by the restoration of the temple of Saturn in 42 B.C. has recently been identified with it (CR 1902, 94; JRS 1922 25-26; TF 75).

**LACUS TECTUS**: see *VICUS LACI TECTI*.

**LAPIS NIGER**: see *SEPULCRUM ROMULI*.

**LAPIS MANALIS**: see *MANALIS LAPIS*.

**LAPIS PERTUSUS**: in Reg. VII, only known from Not. Cur. It may allude to a cutting through the Pincian hill, possibly that for the conduit of the *aqua Virgo* (BC 1887, 124; 1895, 49); see also *HORTI ACILIORUM*.

**LARES, AEDES** (*delubra*, Ovid): a temple of the *Lares* in *summa sacra via* (Solin. i. 23), mentioned first in connection with the prodigies of 106 B.C. (Obseq. 4), and by Cicero (*de nat. deor.* iii. 63; Plin. NH ii. 16) to locate the *fanum Orbonae*. It was restored by Augustus (Mon. Anc. iv. 7 = Grk. x. 11: *ναὸς Ἑρῶν πρὸς τῇ ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ*), and its day of dedication was 27th June (Ov. Fast. vi. 791-792; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 99). These are the only references that belong indisputably to this temple, and they indicate a site at the top of the *Sacra via*, that is, near the arch of Titus.

In describing the line of the original pomerium, Tacitus (Ann. xii. 24) gives four points, *magna Herculis ara*, *ara Consi*, *curiae veteres*, *sacellum Larum*, presumably the four corners of the quadrilateral. Again Ovid, under date of the kalends of May (Fast. v. 129, 130), makes this the day of dedication of an altar of the *Lares Praestites*: *Praestitibus Maiaie Laribus videre kalendae / aram constitui signaque parva deum*. It was thought that Ovid here and in the passage quoted above might have been referring to the same shrine, and that May 1st was the festival day of the earlier

<sup>1</sup> See also Eisler, *Orphisch-Dionysische Mysteringedanke in der Christlichen Antike* (1925), 22 f., 188, 292.



temple, while 27th June was that of Augustus' restoration, a fact that the poet forgot to make plain ; but the discovery of *Fast. Ant.* (which is a calendar earlier than Caesar) makes this hypothesis impossible. It is also possible that the sacellum Larum of Tacitus may be the aedes in *summa sacra via*, and that for some unknown reason he preferred to mark the pomerium line at this point rather than at the north-west corner. Further complication is introduced into the problem by two marble bases with dedicatory inscriptions—CIL vi. 456 : *Laribus publicis sacrum imp. Caesar Augustus ex stipe quam populus ei contulit k. Ianuar. apsent* ; vi. 30954 : *Laribus Aug. sacrum*—the first found near the entrance into the forum from the Farnese gardens about 1555, that is, a little north-west of the arch of Titus, a point corresponding to *summa sacra via* ; and the second found in 1879 opposite SS. Cosma e Damiano. Whether either of these bases belongs to the aedes, or to some of the monuments erected throughout the city by Augustus (*Suet. Aug.* 57), has been much disputed. If the first does belong to the aedes (*Richter* 161), it is some evidence for the site of the temple ; if not (*Mommsen*, *RGDA* 82 ; *HJ* 22), it has no value either way. The second is of no topographical value.

The relationship of these two or three shrines has given rise to much discussion, but the most probable, although not altogether satisfactory, explanation is that the aedes restored by Augustus in *summa sacra via* had no connection with the sacellum of Tacitus, which was at the north-west corner of the Palatine and identical with the *ara Larum Praestitum* of Ovid (*Jord.* i. 2. 420 ; *HJ* 22 ; *Richter*, *Die älteste Wohnstätte des röm. Volkes* 9, 10 ; *Top.* 33, 160-161 ; *WR* 171 ; *Wissowa*, *Ges. Abh.* 277 ff. ; *Rosch.* ii. 1871 ; *Gilb.* iii. 424 ; *BC* 1914, 99 ; *RE* xii. 813 ; and other literature cited in these references). It has also been conjectured that the sacellum Larum formed part of the *ATRIUM VESTAE* (q.v.).

During recent excavations some ruins were found on the south-west side of the arch of Titus, which may have belonged to this temple, but reconstructions have been so extensive at this point that any certainty seems impossible (*CR* 1905, 75-76, 237, 328 ; 1909, 61 ; *Mitt.* 1905, 118-119 ; *BPW* 1905, 428-429 ; *HC* 250 ; *DR* 138-142).

LARES ALITES : see VICUS LARUM ALITUM.

LARES CURIALES : see VICUS LARUM CURIALIUM.

LARES PERMARINI, AEDES : a temple of the Lares who protect sailors, in the campus Martius. It was vowed by the praetor, L. Aemilius Regillus, while engaged in a naval battle with the fleet of Antiochus the Great in 190 B.C., and dedicated by M. Aemilius Lepidus, when censor, on 22nd December, 179 (*Liv.* xl. 52. 4 ; *Macro.* i. 10. 10 ; *Fast. Praen.* ad. xi Kal. Ian., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 238, 338 ; *Fast. Ant.* ap. NS 1921, 120 ; *HJ* 487 ; *Gilb.* iii. 149 ; *Rosch.* ii. 1870-1871 ; *WR* 170). On the doors of the temple was a dedicatory inscription in Saturnian metre (*Liv.* loc. cit. ; cf. *Baehrens*, *Frag. poet. Rom.* 54-55). The temple stood 'in porticu Minucia' (*Fast.*

Praen.), and therefore its exact site depends on that of the porticus (q.v. ; AR 1909, 76, p. 1 ; RE xii. 812.).

LARES QUERQUETULANI, SACELLUM : a shrine placed by Varro on the Esquiline (LL v. 49), although MONS QUERQUETULANUS (q.v.) is said to have been an early name for the Caelian, and the PORTA QUERQUETULANA (q.v.) was probably on that hill. This shrine is otherwise unknown, but was evidently not an aedes sacra but rather one of the shrines erected at the compita (WR 171 ; HJ 221-222 ; Rosch. ii. 1871 ; Gilb. ii. 37-38, 63 for an elaborate but fanciful explanation of this name and location of the shrine).

LATIARIS COLLIS : see QUIRINALIS COLLIS.

LAVACRUM AGRIPPINAE : probably baths, constructed by or named after one of the Agrippinae, but known only from a fifteenth-century copy of an inscription on a lead pipe (CIL xv. 7247 ; cf. vi. 29765, 36605). Ruins of what may have been this lavacrum were found about 1510 on the Viminal, near S. Lorenzo in Panisperna (HJ 375 ; LS i. 230-231 ; BC 1914, 368-369). It is not impossible that we should read *lavacrum Agrippinae* for *Agrippae* in Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19 ; this would explain why it is so far from the Pantheon in the list of buildings in Rome restored by Hadrian.

LAVACRUM PLAUTI(A)NI : baths of unknown location, mentioned only once (Hist. Aug. Elag. 8).

LAVERNA, ARA, LUCUS : see PORTA LAVERNALIS.

LAUTOLAE : explained by Varro (LL v. 156) as 'ab lavando quod ibi ad Ianum Geminum aquae caldae fuerunt,' who also states that its waters drained into the Velabrum minus. This statement is amplified by Macrobius (Sat. i. 9. 17), who says that Janus caused a flood of hot water to issue from the porta Ianualis to defend the Romans from the advance of the victorious Sabines ; cf. Serv. Aen. viii. 361. For a discussion of its site and the literature of the subject, see IANUS GEMINUS. For the pass of Lautolae near Terracina, see Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, ii. 640 ; *Forma Italiae* i. i. 1 (Anxur-Tarracina), 201.

LAUTUMIAE : quarries on the slope of the Capitoline just above the Carcer, which were also used as a prison (Sen. Controv. ix. 27. 21 ; Liv. xxxvii. 3 ; xxxix. 44). The name came from that of the quarries (λατομία) at Syracuse which were used for a similar purpose (Varro, LL v. 151 ; Fest. 117). They were also called carceris lautumiae (Liv. xxxii. 26), and it is possible that some unexcavated chambers next to the CARCER (q.v.) may belong to them. The attempt to locate these lautumiae on the Velia (NS 1902, 96 ; BC 1902, 31-34 ; BPW 1903, 1647) must be regarded as abortive (Mitt. 1905, 117).

LIBER : a shrine in the imperial gardens (which is not known), mentioned but once (Pausan. viii. 46. 5 : Διονύσου ἐν βασιλέως κήποις ἐν ἱερῷ) and otherwise unknown.

LIBER PATER : see LYAEUS.

LIBERTAS (1) : see IUPPITER LIBERTAS.

LIBERTAS (2) : the shrine which Clodius built to Libertas on the site of Cicero's house on the Palatine, which he had destroyed (Cic. de domo 116; Plut. Cic. 33 : ναὸς Ἐλευθερίας; Cass. Dio xxxviii. 17. 6 : νεὸς Ἐλευθερίας, xxxix. 11. 1, 20. 3). The temple was taken down when Cicero returned from exile (see DOMUS CICERONIS).

LIBERTAS (3) : a temple (νεὸς Ἐλευθερίας) voted by the senate in 46 B.C. in honour of Caesar Ἐλευθερωτῆς (Cass. Dio xliii. 44. 1), of which nothing more is known (Rosch. ii. 2033).

LIBERTAS : see FORUM TRAIANI.

LIBITINA : see LUCUS LIBITINAE.

LITUS ETRUSCUM : see RIPA VEIENTANA.

LORETUM : an ancient grove of laurels on the Aventine (Dionys. iii. 43; Varro, LL v. 152; Plin. NH xv. 138), where Titus Tatius was said to have been buried (Varro, loc. cit.; Fest. 360). There were still trees here in the early empire (Serv. Aen. viii. 276), but the grove as such had probably made way for an open square out of which ran the two vici—VICUS LORETI MAIORIS and VICUS LORETI MINORIS (Bas. Cap. reg. XIII (CIL vi. 975) 319; Hemerol. Vall. ad Id. Aug.). The Loretum was near the ARMILUSTRIUM (q.v.), on the north-western part of the Aventine (HJ 162; BC 1905, 215-216; Gilb. ii. 236; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 325).

LORICATA, AD : see CASTOR, AEDES, TEMPLUM (p. 103, n. 1).

LUCUS ALBIONARUM : see ALBIONARUM LUCUS.

LUCUS (ASYLI) : see INTER DUOS LUCOS.

LUCUS BELLONAE : see BELLONA PULVINENSIS.

LUCUS CAMENARUM : see CAMENAE.

LUCUS DEAE DIAE : see DEA DIA.

LUCUS EGERIAE : see CAMENAE.

LUCUS ESQUILINUS : an ancient grove on the mons Oppius (Varro, LL. v. 50). Originally it probably covered much of the eastern part of this hill as far as the line of the Servian wall, but it must have mostly disappeared by the time of Varro (BC 1905, 201-202).

LUCUS FAGUTALIS : see FAGUTAL.

LUCUS FERONIAE : a grove, probably adjacent to the shrine of FERONIA (q.v.) in the campus Martius, which is known only from one inscription found in 1905 (NS 1905, 15; HJ 483).

LUCUS FURRINAE (Fast. Allif. Pinc. Maff. ad 25 Iul.; v. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 217, 219, 225; Varro, LL vi. 19) or FURINAE (Varro, LL v. 84; vii. 45—some MSS. only, cf. Müller's notes; Fest. 88; Cic. de nat. deor. iii. 46; ad Q.F. iii. 1. 4; Martianus Capella ii. 164, Furinna). (The authority of the Fasti is to be preferred to that of the MSS., which

vary, so that we get Furrina alongside Furinalia<sup>1</sup> (Wissowa in RE vii. 382.) In Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 104, the abbreviation FUR is indecisive ἄλσος Ἐρινύων, Plut. C. Gracch. 17; νυμφῶν Φορρίων (Inscr. Gauckler, Sanctuaire Syrien du Janicule 18, Forinarum, CIL vi. 422; cf. 30765) [CIL vi. 10200 is a forgery; cf. Mitt. 1895, 293]: a grove on the right bank of the Tiber, on the site now partly occupied by the Villa Sciarra on the Janiculum. It was in this grove that C. Gracchus met a voluntary death in 121 B.C. at the hand of his slave Philocrates to escape his pursuers (Auct. de vir. ill. 65: P. Laetorio in ponte Sublicio persequentibus resistente, in lucum Furinae pervenit; cf. Plut. cit.).

The day of the festival (Furrinalia) was 25th July; but in Varro's time it was already dying out; quous deae honos apud antiquos. Nam ei sacra instituta annua et flamen attributus: nunc vix nomen notum paucis. The excavations of 1906-10 did not bring to light any remains belonging to the republican period, as had at first been believed (Gauckler, op. cit. 249-252).

The real nature of Furrina is uncertain (Wissowa cit.). Gauckler maintained that the use of the word νύμφαι signified that she had been a goddess of springs, which he believed that he had actually found; Hülsen's scepticism as to their antiquity seems unjustified (Gauckler, op. cit. 244 sqq.).

The connection with the Furies which Cicero (de nat. deor. cit.: Eumenides . . . quae si deae sunt, quarum et Athenis fanum est et apud nos, ut ego interpretor, lucus Furinae, Furiarum deae sunt), Plutarch (cit.) and Martianus Capella (cit., where he enumerates Fura Furinae et mater Mania as divinities of the underworld) all deduce, probably rests on a mere similarity of name. There was also a shrine of Furrina not far from Arpinum (Cic. ad Q.F. cit.: ab eo ponticulo qui est ad Furinae, Satricum versus, where Satricum is not the better known city in Latium, but another in the Volscian territory).

The inscription cited ap. Gauckler 19 runs as follows: Διὶ Κεραυνίῳ Ἀρτεμίδι ἡ καὶ Σιδωνία Κυπρία ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς ἀνέθηκεν καὶ νυνφές (sic) Φορρίνες (sic). It belongs to the latter half of the second century A.D., and shows that while the old cult of Furrina was not entirely forgotten, another worship, that of Zeus Keraunios or Juppiter Ammon, had been superimposed upon it. CIL vi. 422, which no doubt came from this same site, is a dedication 'Iovi optimo maximo Heliopolitano Augusto, genio Forinarum et cultoribus huius loci,' belonging to the Antonine or Severan period; and to this time belongs the establishment here of the cult of JUPPITER HELIOPOLITANUS (q.v. for further history of the site and bibliography). The same is probably the case with ibid. 423 (cf. add. p. 3005), another dedication to Juppiter Heliopolitanus, dating from 238-243 A.D., above which is a relief of Atargatis with two lions (Amelung, Kat. Vat. i. 280, n. 152).

<sup>1</sup> In Fest. cit. Lindsay (p. 78) prefers Furnalialia, the reading of the best MSS.



LUCUS IUNONIS LUCINAE : see IUNO LUCINA.

LUCUS LIBITINAE : a grove sacred to Venus Libitina, probably on the Esquiline, near the porta Esquilina and the early necropolis. This was the headquarters of the undertakers (*Libitinarii*), and here lists of the dead were kept and all provision made for funerals (Dionys. iv. 15 ; Fest. 265 ; Plut. q. Rom. 23 ; Numa 12 ; Obseq. 12 ; Asc. in Mil. 34 (Kießl. p. 29) ; CIL vi. 9974, 10022, 33870 ; BC 1905, 207 ; Gilb. i. 176 ; HJ 660 ; Rosch. ii. 2034-2035).

LUCUS MARTIS : a grove on the via Appia (Schol. Iuv. i. 7 : lucus Martis qui Romae est in Appia via in quo solebant recitare poetae ; cf. HJ 208), probably beside the temple of MARS (q.v.).

LUCUS MEFITIS : see MEFITIS.

LUCUS MUSTELLINUS : see MURUS MUSTELLINUS.

LUCUS PETELINUS : a grove outside the porta Flumentana, where the comitia assembled to try M. Manlius, in order that the people might not be able to see the Capitoline during the trial (Liv. vi. 20 ; Plut. Camil. 36). It is mentioned again (Liv. vii. 41) under date of 342 B.C. (BC 1905, 222).

LUCUS PISONIS : see DOMUS LUCINIANA.

LUCUS POETELIUS : an ancient grove on the Cispius, mentioned only in connection with the Argei (Varro, LL v. 50 ; BC 1905, 202).

LUCUS STIMULAE : a grove sacred to Stimula, a deity who seems afterwards to have been confused with Semele<sup>1</sup> (Ov. Fast. vi. 503 : lucus erat dubium Semelae Stimulaeve ; CIL vi. 9897 : ab luco Semeles ; Rosch. ii. 226-227). The grove was the scene of the Bacchanalian orgies in 186 B.C., and lay near the Tiber and the Aventine (Liv. xxxix. 12, 13 ; Ov. Fast. vi. 518 ; Schol. Iuv. 2. 3), probably near the foot of the south-west slope of the hill.

LUCUS STRENIAE : see SACELLUM STRENIAE.

LUCUS VESTAE : see ATRIUM VESTAE.

LUDUS AEMILIUS : a training school for gladiators, which was flanked at least on one side by shops of workers in bronze (Hor. AP 32 ; Porphyrio, Acron, et comm. Cruq. ad loc.). Its location is unknown, but it may possibly have been built by the Triumvir Lepidus, or his son. By the fourth century (Porphyrio, loc. cit.) it had been transformed into a bath and was known as the balneum Polycleti. This name may have been given to the whole establishment from some sign representing the famous sculptor, that had been adopted by the bronze workers of the ludus (Hor. loc. cit.), or it may have been that of the owner of the baths (Jord. i. i. 413 ; Hermes 1875, 416-424 ; RE i. 593).

LUDUS DACICUS : a training school for gladiators from Dacia, assigned to Region III by the Notitia and to Region II by the Curiosum. The former is probably correct, and this ludus was doubtless near the Colosseum and the other ludi (HJ 297 ; cf. LUDUS MATUTINUS).

<sup>1</sup> Livy gives the form Similae.

**LUDUS GALLICUS** : a training school for Gallic gladiators, in Region II and probably near the Colosseum (Not. Cur. ; CIL vi. 9470 (?) ; cf. **LUDUS MATUTINUS**).

**LUDUS MAGNUS** : to judge from its name, the principal training school for gladiators in Rome. It was in Region III (Not. Cur.), and is represented on a fragment (4) of the Marble Plan as a rectangular court, about 60 by 90 metres in size, surrounded with small chambers and containing an elliptical enclosure. Other references (Herod. i. 15. 8, 16. 3 ; CIL vi. 1645, 1647 (=x. 1710), 7659, 10164-10170) give no information as to its location, but it was probably one of the four established by Domitian (Chron. 146) near the Colosseum, perhaps at the beginning of the via Labicana (HJ 298-299) or just east of S. Clemente (Atti del Congresso Storico 1907, i. 115).

**LUDUS MATUTINUS** : a training school for gladiators in Region III (Not. Cur. ; CIL vi. 352, 9470 (?), 10172, 10173, xiv. 2922 ; IG xiv. 1330), probably near the Colosseum on the via Labicana. This ludus may possibly have been called matutinus because it was established for the training of hunters to fight in the venationes that took place in the morning (Ov. Met. xi. 26 ; Mart. viii. 67 ; xiii. 95 ; Sen. Ep. xii. 7. 3 ; Suet. Claud. 34), but this is by no means certain (cf. Pr. Reg. 121 ; Friedländer, Sittengeschichte ii<sup>10</sup>. 65 ; HJ 299). It was probably one of the four ludi established by Domitian (Chron. 146).

**LUNA, AEDES** (templum, Auct. de vir. ill. cit.) : a temple on the Aventine, ascribed by tradition to Servius Tullius (Tac. Ann. xv. 41), but first mentioned in connection with the prodigia of 182 B.C. (Liv. xl. 2. 2) when a fierce gale tore off one of its doors and carried it to the rear wall of the temple of Ceres. This statement, together with certain details in the accounts of the flight of Gracchus (Oros. v. 12. 8 ; Auct. de vir. ill. 65), makes it probable that the temple stood at the extreme northern point of the Aventine, just above the porta Trigemina. It was struck by lightning at the time of Cinna's death (App. BC i. 78 : τὸ τῆς Σελήνης . . . ἱερὸν) ; after the destruction of Corinth Mummius dedicated some of the spoils from that city in this temple (Vitruv. v. 5. 8) ; it was burned in the great fire of Nero (Tac. Ann. xv. 41) ; and is not mentioned afterwards. The day of its dedication was 31st March (Ov. Fast. iii. 883 ; Fast. Caer. Praen. ad pr. Kal. Mart., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 212, 234, 314). The identification of this temple with that of Sol et Luna is untenable ; see Rosch. iv. 1140. (For the literature of the discussion as to the site of this temple, see Rosch. ii. 2154-2155 ; Merlin 98-99, 194-195 ; WR 316 ; HJ 160-161 ; Gilb. ii. 250-253.)

**LUNA NOCTILUCA, TEMPLUM** : a shrine on the Palatine which was illuminated at night (Varro v. 68 : Luna vel quod sola lucet noctu itaque ea dicta Noctiluca in Palatio, nam ibi noctu lucet templum ; cf. Hor. Carm. iv. 6. 38 : rite crescentem face Noctilucam ; Macrob. iii. 8. 3 : alma

Noctiluca). Whether the relation between epithet and illumination was that of cause or consequence, is uncertain.

LUPANARIA : the brothels in Region II (Not. Cur.), which seem to have given the name to the district. This was probably on the southern slope of the Caelian, outside the line of the Servian wall and between the macellum magnum and the domus Lateranorum (HJ 236). These establishments were under state control.

LUPERCAL : the cave or grotto at the foot of the Palatine, in which the she-wolf suckled Romulus and Remus ; from it issued a spring (Dionys. i. 32, 79 ; Serv. Aen. viii. 90, 343 ; Vell. i. 15 ; Ov. Fasti ii. 380 ff. ; Cic. ad fam. vii. 20). This cave, with the *FICUS RUMINALIS* (q.v.), was undoubtedly at the south-west corner of the hill, very near the point where the *clivus Victoriae* joins the *vicus Tuscus*. It seems to have been a sanctuary of some sort, and at least it had a monumental entrance, for its restoration by Augustus is recorded (Mon. Anc. iv. 2), as well as the erection of a statue to Drusus by decree of the senate (CIL vi. 912 b = 31200 ; WR 561), and it is mentioned as existing in the late empire (Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 21. 108. 3 ; Not. Reg. X). It gave its name to the *Luperci* and the *Lupercalia* (Liv. i. 5 ; Ov. Fast. ii. 421) ; for the latter, see A. M. Franklin, *The Lupercalia*, New York 1921 ; cf. also DuP 76).

LYAEUS=LIBER, BACCHUS, *TECTA* : a shrine of Bacchus which, together with one of Cybele (see *MAGNA MATER, TIOLUS*), stood 'in summa Sacra via,' where the *clivus Palatinus* branched off to ascend the Palatine (Mart. i. 70. 9-10 : *Flecte vias hac qua madidi sunt tecta Lyaei / Et Cybeles picto stat Corybante tholus*). In 1899 part of a marble epistyle, belonging to a circular structure about 3.9 metres in diameter, was found in front of the basilica of Constantine. On this is a fragmentary inscription recording a restoration by Antoninus Pius. A coin of that emperor (Cohen ii. No. 1187) represents a circular shrine with a statue of Bacchus within its colonnade, which probably records the same restoration (NS 1899, 223, 266 ; BC 1899, 147 ; 1903, 27-29 ; Mitt. 1902, 98-99 ; Klio 1902, 241 ; HJ 104 ; Hülsen, *Satura Pompeiana Romana* 7-8, in *Symbolae litterariae in honorem Iulii de Petra*, Florence, 1911 ; HC 238, 239 ; Altm. 72 ; Théd. 341).

## M

**MACELLENSIS**: a name applied to those who dwelt near the macellum Liviae, found only in one inscription (CIL vi. 31897; BC 1891, 356).

**MACELLUM**: the first of the three macella known to us in Rome, situated just north of the forum. We are told that this market was burned in 210 B.C. (Liv. xxvii. 11) and rebuilt, but in 179 B.C. M. Fulvius Nobilior seems to have erected a new structure on the north-east side of the basilica Aemilia (which was built by himself and his colleague in the censorship), which absorbed the forum piscarium, the forum cuppedinis, and other special markets that occupied this site (Varro, LL v. 146-147; Fest. 238; Liv. xl. 51). It probably consisted of a central building, which in Varro's time was a tholos in shape, surrounded with shops (Liv. loc. cit.; Varro ap. Non. 448; Altm. 73, 74). The name, like the Greek *μάκελλον* (Varro, LL. v. 146), is thought to be Semitic in origin (Walde, s.v.), but was variously explained by the Romans (Varro, loc. cit.; Fest. 125; Donat. ad Ter. Eun. 256). The entrance to the market-house was called *fauces macelli* (Cic. Verr. iii. 145; pro Quinct. 25), and a short street, the *Corneta* (Varro, LL v. 152), led from it to the *Sacra via*. This market is not mentioned after the beginning of the empire, and its business was probably transferred to the other macella. In any case it must have been removed to make room for the later imperial fora (Jord. i. 1. 432-436).

**MACELLUM LIVIAE**: \* a market on the Esquiline in Region V (Not. Cur.), built by Augustus and named after his wife, if it is to be identified, as is probable, with *τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ Λίβιον ὠνομασμένον*, which Tiberius dedicated at the beginning of 7 B.C. (Cass. Dio lv. 8). A restoration between 364 and 378 by Valentinian, Valens and Gratian is recorded (CIL vi. 1178), and either this macellum or the **MACELLUM MAGNUM** (q.v.) is marked on a fragment (4) of the Marble Plan (Atti del Congresso storico 1907, i. 121). In the Chronicle of Benedict of Soracte ad ann. 921 (MGS iii. 715) the *aeclesia Sancti Eusebii iuxta macellum parvum* is mentioned (HCh 251). In the *Liber Pontificalis* the church of S. Maria Maggiore was described as *iuxta macellum Libiae* (LP xxxvii. 8; xlvi. 3; HCh 342), that of S. Vito as in *macello* (Arm. 811; HCh 499), and in the *Ordo Benedicti*<sup>1</sup> (p. 141 = Jord. ii. 665) is written: *intrans sub arcum* (i.e. Gallieni) *ubi dicitur macellum Livianum*. Corresponding with these

<sup>1</sup> Lib. Cens. Fabre-Duchesne, ii. 153.



indications ruins have been found just outside the porta Esquilina, north of the road, which may well have been those of this macellum. They consist of an open court, 80 by 25 metres, built of brick and opus reticulatum, and parallel with the line of the Servian wall. This was surrounded with porticus and shops for various kinds of wares. The southern part of this area seems to have been encroached upon by private dwellings as early as the third century (BC 1874, 36, 212-219; 1914, 363; Mon. L. i. 531; HJ 344; LS iii. 167).

**MACELLUM MAGNUM**: the market house on the Caelian (Not. Reg. II; CIL vi. 1648, 9183) which Nero built and dedicated in 59 A.D. (Cass. Dio lxii. 18), perhaps on the site of the present church of S. Stefano Rotondo. It is represented on coins of the period (Cohen, Nero 126-130; BM. Nero 191-197, 335-337) as a circular building of two stories, with a central tholos or domed structure surrounded by colonnades. This is generally thought to have been destroyed at some later date and rebuilt at the end of the fourth century for public use, perhaps again as a market.<sup>1</sup> It was transformed into the church of S. Stefano by Pope Simplicius (468-482), and restored with various changes by Theodore I (642-649) and Nicolas V (1453). Of the building of Nero the only remaining portions are the travertine foundations, part of the enclosure wall, and eight pilasters of the outer colonnade, but the fourth century structure was built on the original foundations and appears to have preserved in general the form of the original. It consisted of a two-storied circular colonnade, of twenty-two columns, which supported a domed roof. This was surrounded by an outer concentric colonnade of thirty-six columns, also two stories high. Outside of this was an ambulatory 10 metres wide, divided into eight segments by rows of columns (JRS 1919, 179). The alternate segments had no outer wall and therefore resembled open courts. The original circular building of Nero was enclosed by a rectangular porticus,<sup>2</sup> containing shops, of which remains were perhaps still to be seen in the sixteenth century (Mon. d. Lin. i. 503-507; Mitt. 1892, 297-299; HJ 237-238; HCh 474; DAP 2. ix. 412-414; BC 1914, 358; Altm. 75-76; LR 355-359).

**MAGNA MATER, SACELLUM (?)**: annually, on 27th March, the sacred black stone of the Magna Mater was brought from her temple on the PALATINE (q.v.) to the brook Almo, the modern Acquataccio, where this crossed the via Appia south of the porta Capena, for the ceremony of lavatio. Although there are numerous references to this ceremony, there is no evidence for the existence of any kind of sacred edifice, and there was

<sup>1</sup> Lugli (ZA 147) follows Profumo's idea (Incendio Neroniano, 673-694) that the original circular building was the famous coenatio rotunda of the DOMUS AUREA (q.v.); but this has nothing to recommend it. Rivoira (RA 79-81) was unable to see anything above ground that showed the remotest indication of work of the time of Nero.

<sup>2</sup> The discovery of remains of the Castra Peregrina only 15 metres from the outer circle renders this supposition somewhat difficult (JRS 1923, 162-163).

probably only a *locus sacratus* (Cic. de nat. deor. iii. 52 ; Ov. Fast. iv. 337-340 ; Mart. iii. 47. 2 ; Stat. Silv. v. l. 222 ; Lucan i. 600 ; Sil. Ital. viii. 363 ; Ammian. xxiii. 3. 7 ; Vib. Sequester 2 ;<sup>1</sup> Fast. Philoc. ad vi Kal. Apr., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 260, 314 ; Pol. Silv. Fast. Rust. ib. p. 261 ; ib. vi. 10098 = 33961 = Carm. epig. 1110 ; Prud. Peristeph. x. 160 ; HJ 215).

MATER DEUM, AEDES : a shrine of Cybele in the circus Maximus, mentioned in the Notitia (Reg. X), and by Tertullian (de spect. 8 : frigebat daemonum concilium sine sua Matre : ea itaque illic praesidet Euripo). The reliefs representing the circus (cf. HJ 138, n. 68) and a mosaic (at Barcelona, cf. ib. n. 69) represent Cybele sitting on a lion on the spina of the circus, just east of its centre (HJ 131, 140 ; RE iii. 2574 ; Rosch. ii. 1667-1668).

MAGNA MATER, AEDES \* (templum, Cic., Ov., Val. Max., Auct. de vir. ill.) : the famous temple on the Palatine erected after 204 B.C. when the Roman embassy brought from Pessinus the pointed black stone (*acus*) which represented the goddess (Liv. xxix. 37. 2 ; xxxvi. 36 ; de vir. ill. 46. 3 ; Prudent. Mart. Rom. 206 ; Serv. ad Aen. vii. 188). It was dedicated on 11th April, 191 B.C., by the praetor M. Junius Brutus, on which occasion the ludi Megalenses were instituted (Liv. loc. cit. ; Fast. Praen. ap. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 235, 314-315, cf. p. 251 = vi. 32498 ; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 91) and celebrated in front of the temple (Cic. de har. resp. 24 ; cf. for site Ov. Fast. ii. 55 ; Mart. vii. 73. 3). It was burned in 111 B.C., when the statue of Quinta Cloelia within it was uninjured, restored by a Metellus, probably the consul of 110 B.C., burned again and restored by Augustus in 3 A.D. (Val. Max. i. 8. 11 ; Obseq. 99 ; Ov. Fast. iv. 347-348 ; Mon. Anc. iv. 8), and was standing unharmed in the fourth century (Not. Reg. X). It is referred to incidentally under date of 38 B.C. (Cass. Dio xlviii. 43. 4), by Juvenal (ix. 23) as a place of assignation, and in the third century (Hist. Aug. Claud. 4 ; Aurel. 1). The stone needle itself is described by a late writer (Arnob. adv. gentes vii. 49) as small and set in a silver statue of the goddess (cf. Herodianus ab exc. d. Marci i. 11 ; Arnob. v. 5). It was perhaps removed by Elagabalus to his temple (q.v.) on the Palatine (Hist. Aug. Elag. 3 ; cf. LR 134-138 ; but cf. BC 1883, 211 ; HJ 53-54, n. 44).

At the top of the *Scalae Caci*, on the west corner of the Palatine, are the ruins of an ancient temple near which have been found inscriptions relating to Magna Mater (CIL vi. 496, 1040, 3702 = 30967 ; NS 1896, 186 ; cf. CIL xii. 405), a portion of a colossal female figure seated on a throne, and a fragment of a base with the paws of lions, the regular attendants of the goddess. These ruins consist of a massive podium made of irregular pieces of tufa and peperino laid in thick mortar, and fragments of columns and entablature. The walls of the podium are 3.84 metres thick (those of the cella were somewhat thinner) on the sides and 5.50 in the rear,

<sup>1</sup> p. 146, Riese.

but this unusual thickness is due to the fact that the rear wall is double, with an air space, 1.80 metre wide, between the two parts. This wall was faced on the outside with stucco, not with opus quadratum. The total length of the temple was 33.18 metres and its width 17.10. It was prostyle hexastyle, of the Corinthian order, and was approached by a flight of steps extending entirely across the front. From the rear wall of the cella projects the base of a pedestal on which the stone needle probably stood. The concrete of the podium belongs to the time of Augustus (AJA 1912, 393), and since the remaining architectural fragments are of peperino, it is evident that the restoration of that period was carried out with the material of the original structure.<sup>1</sup> The character of these remains and the inscriptions and objects found here make it extremely probable, to say the least, that this is the temple of Magna Mater, an identification that is strongly supported by the evidence of a coin of the elder Faustina (Cohen, Faust. sen. 55). This represents a temple of the Corinthian order, with curved roof, and a flight of steps on which is a statue of Cybele with a turreted crown enthroned between lions. The temple is also represented in a relief in the Villa Medici, formerly attributed to the Ara Pacis (SScR 69). (For the complete description of the ruins and argument for identification, see Mitt. 1895, 1-28; 1906, 277; for the coins, ib. 1908, 368-374; in general, HJ 51-4; Rosch. ii. 1666-1667; Gilb. iii. 104-107; Graillot, Cybele (Bibl. Ec. Franç. 107, 320-326; SScR 247-249).)

MAGNA MATER, THOLUS: a round temple, adorned with frescoes, at the top of the Sacra via, where the clivus Palatinus branched off to the south (Mart. i. 70. 9-10: *flecte vias hac qua madidi sunt tecta Lyaei* <sup>2</sup> / *et Cybeles picto stat Corybante tholus*). Its approximate site is also probably indicated by the Haterii relief on which, to the immediate left of the arch of Titus, is a statue of the Magna Mater seated under an arch at the top of a flight of thirteen steps (Mon. d. Inst. v. 7; Mitt. 1895, 25-27; Altm. 71-72; Rosch. ii. 2917). Spano believes the arch to be a Janus erected at the four cross-roads near the meta sudans—perhaps on or near the site of the arch of Constantine. He does not even quote the passage of Martial (Atti Accad. Napoli xxiv. (1906, ii.) 227-262). A passage in Cass. Dio (xlvii. 33. 3: *ὅσπερ τό τε τῆς Μητροῦ τῶν θεῶν ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῇ Παλατίῳ ὅν (πρὸς γάρ τοι τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς πρότερον βλέπων πρὸς δυσμὰς ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου μετεστράφη)*) is generally supposed to refer to this temple.

MAGNA MATER (IN VATICANO): a shrine on the right bank of the Tiber, near the racecourse of Caligula (Gaianum), known from several inscriptions

<sup>1</sup> There is considerable divergence of opinion as to the date of the podium; TF 98 attributes it to 110 B.C., and believes that the architectural members were given a new coat of stucco under Augustus. Fiechter (ap. Toeb. 5) assigns the whole to the middle of the first century B.C.; but it does not seem at all necessary to suppose that Augustus would not have used peperino coated with stucco (cf. HJ 53; ASA 23; HFP 61, 62).

<sup>2</sup> v. supra, p. 321.



(CIL vi. 497-504) on fragmentary marble altars, dating from 305 to 390 A.D., all but one of which were found under the façade of S. Peter's in 1609 (Severano, *Sette Chiese*, 95; cf. also NS 1922, 81; DAP 2. xv. 271-278; JHS 1923, 194).<sup>1</sup> This shrine is probably the Frigianum (Phrygianum) of the Not. (Reg. XIV). If an inscription on an altar at Lyon of the time of Hadrian (CIL xiii. 1751: L. Aemilius Carpus IIIIVir Aug. item dendrophorus vires exceptit et a Vaticano transtulit) refers to this shrine, it would indicate that this was an important cult centre (RhM 1891, 132; HJ 659; Rosch. ii. 2917).

**MALUM PUNICUM, AD**: the street on the Quirinal in Region VI, in which stood the house where Domitian was born (Suet. Dom. 1; Not.), the site of the later **TEMPLUM GENTIS FLAVIAE** (q.v.). This street is supposed to have corresponded in general with the Via delle Quattro Fontane (RhM 1894, 405, 437; BC 1889, 383).

**AD MAMMAM**: see **DIAETA MAMMAEAE**.

**MANALIS LAPIS**: a phrase subject to two different interpretations, according to Fest. 128. (1) *Manalem lapidem putabant esse ostium Orci, per quod animae inferorum ad superos manarent, qui dicuntur manes*. It has been supposed that the reference is to the stone which closed the entrance to the lower part of the mundus, but this is only a conjecture (Müll. in loc.; cf. also JRS 1912, 29). (2) *Manalem lapidem vocabant etiam petram quandam, quae erat extra portam Capenam iuxta aedem Martis (see MARS, AEDES) quam cum propter nimiam siccitatem in Urbem pertraherent, insequeretur pluvia statim, eumque, quod aquas manaret, manalem lapidem dicere*; cf. Varro ap. Non. 637. This was obviously a rough mass of stone, which was used when prayers for rain were made; see **IUPPITER ELICIUS**; and cf. RE ii. 310; WR 121; James in Hastings, Enc. Rel. Eth. art. Rain; Rose, Primitive Customs in Italy, 57.

**MANCINA TIFATA**: see **TIFATA MANCINA**.

**MANSIONES SALIORUM PALATINORUM**: apparently shrines in different parts of the city at which the Salii halted in their annual procession, known to us only from one inscription (CIL vi. 2158) on the marble facing of the temple of Mars Ultor in the forum of Augustus, which records a restoration of these mansiones in or after 382 A.D. (Jord. i. 2. 447; DS iv. 1018). From this inscription and a reference to a dinner of the Salii in the temple of Mars (Suet. Claud. 33) it is clear that one of these mansiones was in this temple.

**MANSUETAE**: a locality in Region VII (Not. Cur.), otherwise unknown. The name suggests a group of statues representing tamed animals with 'ferae' as a correlative (Eranos 1923, 49; see **HECATOSTYLON**).

<sup>1</sup> See also CIL vi. 30779; Mél. 1923, 3; RL 1925, 3-9; 858-865. For another altar, with similar reliefs, but without inscription, which until recently stood in the church of SS. Michele e Magno, and five pilasters, with fine decorations in relief, which may also belong to it, see Cascioli, Guida al nuovo museo di San Pietro, 5, 39; and, for the pilasters, SScR 305, figs. 183, 184.



MAPPA AUREA : mentioned in Not. in Region XIII, and on a slave's collar (CIL xv. 7182 : ad mappa(m) aurea(m) in Abentino). Whether this was a vicus or a building is uncertain. The name suggests the mappa with which the praetor<sup>1</sup> gave the signal for the beginning of the games in the circus, and this street or building was probably near or overlooking the carceres of the circus Maximus (HJ 170 ; BC 1887, 290-295 ; Mitt. 1889, 260 ; 1892, 295 ; NS 1881, 138 ; Merlin 321).

DIVUS MARCUS, TEMPLUM : a temple of Marcus Aurelius which probably stood just west of his column (q.v.), in the same relation to it as the temple of Trajan to his column. It was erected to the deified emperor by the senate (Hist. Aug. Marc. 18 ; Aur. Vict. Caes. 16 ; Ep. 16), and is mentioned only once afterwards (Not. Reg. IX ; HJ 608 ; Gilb. iii. 128).

MARMORATA : the modern name for the wharf where marble was landed, downstream of the west side of the Aventine (see EMPORIUM). A bull of 926 (Reg. Subl. n. 18, p. 18) mentions an oratorium S. Gimiliani . . . in regione prima . . . in ripa Graeca iuxta marmorata supra fluvium Tiberis, which recurs in the twelfth century (ib. n. 183, p. 224), but had already disappeared in the sixteenth. It was probably in the southern part of the regio Marmoratae towards the horrea (HCh 253-254). Until lately numerous blocks of marble were still to be seen there (Jord. i. 1. 434 ; Ann. d. Inst. 1870, 105 ; LR 527 ; LF 39, 40 ; HJ 174) ; but this regio did not correspond with the locality now called Marmorata, which was included in the mediaeval regio horrea, but lay further upstream under the west angle of the Aventine adjacent to the regio scholae Graecae (HCh c. n. 2 ; cf. 174, 198, 402, and v. supra, p. 44).

MARS : a shrine on the Capitol, according to Augustine (de civ. dei iv. 23), who adds Mars to Terminus and Iuventas, the gods who refused to be moved to make room for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. It is possible that this temple may be referred to by Cassius Dio (xli. 14 : *κερανοὶ σκηπτρόν τε Διὸς καὶ ἀσπίδα κράνος τε Ἄρεως ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνακείμενα . . . ἐλυμήναντο*), but quite uncertain (Jord. i. 2. 12 ; Becker 398 ; Rosch. ii. 2392-2393). See AREA CAPITOLINA.

MARS, AEDES (templum, Servius ; *ἱερόν*, Appian, Dionysius) : a temple on the (north) left side of the via Appia, between the first and second milestones (CIL vi. 10234 : via Appia ad Martis intra miliarium I et II ab urbe euntibus parte laeva, cf. Jord. ii. 110 ; App. BC iii. 41 ; Serv. Aen. i. 292 ; Not. Reg. I). There is a distinct rise in the road leading to it, the CLIVUS MARTIS (q.v.) (Ov. Fast. vi. 191-192). The site is 2 kilometres from the porta Capena and just outside the porta Appia of the Aurelian wall. (The first milestone was situated just inside this gate, LS iii. 11.) Beside it was a grove (Schol. Iuv. i. 7 : lucus Martis qui Romae est in Appia in quo solebant recitare poetae ; cf. ANTRUM CYCLOPIS ; HJ 208).

The date of the foundation of this temple is not known, unless, as

<sup>1</sup> Or rather the presiding magistrate (supra, 119).

seems probable, Livy's statement under 388 B.C. (vi. 5. 8 : eo anno aedes Martis Gallico bello vota dedicata est a T. Quinctio duumviro sacris faciendis) refers to this temple and not to that in the campus Martius (see MARS, ARA). The day of dedication was 1st June (Ov. Fast. vi. 191 ; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 97, Marti in Cl[ivo]). The temple is mentioned frequently, and the district around it, even as far as the Almo, was known as ad Martis (Liv. x. 23. 12, 47. 4 ; xxxviii. 28. 3 ; Suet. Terent. 5 ; Cic. ad Q. F. iii. 7 ; Rostowzew, 496, 497).<sup>1</sup> The troops assembled here when setting out for war (Liv. vii. 23. 3), and the transvectio equitum began here (Dionys. vi. 13). In it was a statue of Mars and figures of wolves (Liv. xxii. 1. 12 : signum Martis Appia via ac simulacra luporum sudasse), and near by was the MANALIS LAPIS (2) (q.v.). There are no certain remains of this temple, but some inscriptions relating to it have been found in the immediate vicinity (CIL vi. 473, 474 (=30774), 478). In 189 B.C. the via Appia was paved from the porta Capena to this point (Liv. xxxviii. 28. 3), and the road was then known as the VIA TECTA (q.v.), no doubt from the construction of a portico along it (Ov. cit.) (HJ 213-214 ; Gilb. ii. 96-97 ; Rosch. ii. 2390-2391 ; BC 1900, 91 ;<sup>2</sup> 1906, 209-223 ; T ix. 37).

MARTIS LUCUS : see above.

MARS, AEDES (templum, Plin., Bob., Val. Max.) : a temple in circo Flaminio, built for D. Junius Brutus Callaicus in 138 B.C. by the architect Hermodorus of Salamis (Nepos ap. Priscian. viii. 17). In the vestibule were inscribed some lines of the poet Accius in Saturnian metre (Schol. Bob. in Cic. pro Archia 27 ; Val. Max. viii. 14. 2). The temple contained a colossal statue of Mars by Scopas, and a Venus by the same artist that was said to excel that of Praxiteles (Plin. NH xxxvi. 26). Its exact site is unknown, but it has been located by some south of the theatre of Pompeius (AR 1909, 77), by others identified in a fragment of the Marble Plan (FUR 110), which represents remains that exist under S. Nicola ai Cesarini (BC 1911, 261-264 ; 1914, 385).

MARS, ARA : the ancient altar, which was the earliest cult centre of Mars in the campus Martius, mentioned first in what purports to be a citation from the *leges regiae* of Numa (Fest. 189 : secunda spolia in Martis ara in campo solitaurilia utra voluerit caedito <qui cepit ei aeris cc dato>?). Its erection belonged undoubtedly to the early regal period. In 193 B.C. a porticus was built from the PORTA FONTINALIS (q.v.) to this altar (Liv. xxxv. 10. 12 : alteram (porticum) a porta Fontinali ad Martis aram qua in campum iter esset perduxerunt), and it was customary for the censors to place their curule chairs near it after the elections (Liv. xl. 45. 8 (179 B.C.) : comitiis confectis ut traditum antiquitus est censores

<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable that another tessera (ib. 498) mentions a locality on the extreme north of the city, AD NUCEM (q.v.) ; cf. HJ add. p. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> It is here proposed to identify the temple with that represented on one of the Aurelian reliefs on the Arch of Constantine ; but see FORTUNA REDUX, TEMPLUM.

in campo ad aram Martis sellis curulibus consederunt). These are the only passages in which the ara is expressly mentioned, and indicate a site not too far from the porta Fontinalis—probably on the north-east side of the Capitoline hill—to be reached by a porticus of that early date, and relatively near the place of holding the comitia (OVILE, q.v.).

Two other passages mention a templum or ναός of Mars in the campus Martius (not that in circo Flaminio, see above), one referring to an occurrence of 9 A.D. (Cass. Dio lvi. 24. 3: ὁ τε γὰρ τοῦ Ἀρεως ναὸς ὁ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐκεραυρωνήθη), and the other a little later (Consol. ad Liv. 231: sed Mavors templo vicinus et accola campi). A line in Ovid (Fast. ii. 859-60: ex vero positum permansit Equiria nomen / qua deus in campo prospicit ipse suo) also seems to refer to a statue of the god looking out from a shrine. Whether Livy's statement (vi. 5. 8: eo anno (388 B.C.) aedes Martis Gallico bello vota dedicata est) refers to such a temple or to the temple of Mars outside the porta Capena is uncertain.

There are two views as to the relation and site of altar and temple—one that the original ara was situated just east of the site of the existing Pantheon, in the Via del Seminario, and that a shrine was afterwards built close to it, making one cult centre; the other that the ara was near the present Piazza del Gesù, and the temple much further north, perhaps halfway between Montecitorio and the Piazza Borghese. (For an elaboration of these views, see CP 1908, 65-74; and for the subject in general, HJ 475-477; Rosch. ii. 2389-2390; WR 142-146; Gilb. i. 289-290; iii. 143, 145; for a fanciful interpretation of Liv. xxxv. 10. 12, see BC 1906, 209-223.)

Anti maintains that the well-known frieze in Paris and Munich (Ant. Denk. iii. 12; SScR 10-14), generally supposed to have been set up by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus near the circus Flaminius, really belongs to a monument dedicated at this altar by a censor who had special reasons for devotion to Neptune—therefore, probably, P. Servilius Isauricus, who triumphed over the Cilician pirates in 74 B.C., and as censor in 55-54 B.C. carried out a new terminatio of the banks of the TIBER (q.v.). See Atti d. Inst. Veneto lxxxiv. (1924-5), 473-483; YW 1924-5, 85; SScR 416; Weickert in Festschrift f. Paul Arndt (1925) 48 ff.; Mon. Piot xvii. (1910), 147-157.

MARS INVICTUS: this temple is only mentioned in Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 96 (15th May) and Fast. Ven. (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 318—14th May, probably in error). Nothing more is known about it.

MARS, TEMPLUM: a shrine in the Castra Praetoria (CIL vi. 2256: antistes sacerd. temp. Marti. castror. pr.; cf. perhaps 2819), of which nothing more is known (Rosch. ii. 2393). Cf. 32456, 32567.

MARS ULTOR, AEDES: see FORUM AUGUSTUM.

MARS ULTOR, TEMPLUM (νεώς): a temple erected by Augustus on the Capitol, and dedicated 12th May, 20 B.C., as a repository for the Roman



standards that had been recovered from the Parthians (Cass. Dio liv. 8 : καὶ νεῶν Ἀρεὸς Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ φερετρίου ζήλωμα (that is, for the same use, cf. aedes Iovis Feretri) πρὸς τὴν τῶν σημείων ἀνάθεσιν; Ov. Fast. v. 579-580). The statement in the Monumentum Ancyranum (v. 42 : ea autem signa in penetrali quod est in templo Martis Ultoris reposui) is generally taken to refer to the temple in the forum of Augustus (see p. 220), and, if so, the standards must have been kept in this temple on the Capitol until the dedication of the other in 2 B.C. (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 318). The temple is represented on coins of Augustus (Cohen, Aug. 189-205; 278-282; BM. Rep. ii. 27 sqq., 4406-11, 4417-27; 426. 155; 551. 311=Aug. 315, 366-375, 384-389, 704) as a circular domed structure on a high podium with four or six columns, within which is either a figure of Hermes holding the standards, or the standards without the figure (Altm. 50; Jord. i. 2. 46; Rosch. ii. 2392; Gilb. iii. 229-230; Rodocanachi, Le Capitole 42).

MARTIS SACRARIUM : see REGIA.

MARSYAS : see STATUA MARSYAE.

MATER MATUTA, AEDES (templum, Liv. xxiv. 47, Ovid) : a temple in the forum Boarium (Liv. xxxiii. 27. 4; Ov. Fast. vi. 477-479), just inside the porta Carmentalis (Liv. xxv. 7. 6), ascribed by tradition to Servius Tullius (Liv. v. 19. 6; Ov. Fast. vi. 480), restored and dedicated by Camillus in 395 B.C. (Liv. v. 19. 6, 23. 7; Plut. Cam. 5); it was burned in 213 (Liv. xxiv. 47. 15), and restored the next year by triumvirs appointed for the purpose, together with the temple of Fortuna (Liv. xxv. 7. 6; for a possible later restoration, see below). In 196 B.C. two arches (*fornices*) with gilded statues were set up by L. Stertinius in front of the temples of Mater Matuta and Fortuna (Liv. xxxiii. 27. 4), and if, as is probable, these arches were part of a colonnade surrounding them both, the temples must have been near together and perhaps had the same orientation. In the temple of Matuta Ti. Sempronius Gracchus placed a bronze tablet<sup>1</sup> (Liv. xli. 28. 8), on which was a record of his campaigns in Sardinia and a map of the island. The day of dedication was that of the Matralia, 11th June (Fasti Tusc. Ven. Maff. ad III id. Iun., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 216, 222, 224, 320; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 98—from which we learn that it was also the day of dedication of the temple of FORTUNA (q.v.)).

On the north side of the modern Piazza della Bocca della Verità, a site corresponding to that indicated by the evidence of literature, is an ancient temple converted into the church of S. Maria Egiziaca in 872 (Arm. 612). The temple is Ionic (Ill. 31), 20 metres long and 12 wide, with north-south orientation parallel to the Tiber, tetrastyle prostyle, and stands on a podium 2.50 metres in height and originally 26 metres long.

<sup>1</sup> Ulrichs, Malerei vor Caesar, interprets 'tabula' as 'picture,' and probably rightly. There is no word of its being of bronze. For a similar inscription (the painting is not mentioned) in the temple of the Lares Permarini see Liv. xl. 52. 4.



It was pseudo-peripteral, with five engaged columns in the side walls of the cella and a pronaos. The two free columns of the pronaos were walled up to increase the size of the church ; but the temple has recently been isolated and all modern accretions have been removed. The cella walls and engaged columns, except those at the angles, are of tufa ; the columns of the pronaos, the capitals of all the columns, the architrave and cornice, and the facing of the podium, of travertine. The frieze was decorated with ox-skulls and garlands, but most of this decoration has disappeared.<sup>1</sup> The temple faced toward the street leading up from the pons Aemilius, and not toward the forum Boarium proper. This has sometimes been identified with the temple of Fortuna, but it is more probable that it is that of Mater Matuta. If this is correct, the temple must have been restored about the middle of the first century B.C., to which period the construction seems to point. For this identification, see Hülsen, DAP 2. vi. 270 ; and for a complete description of the existing structure, Fiechter, Mitt. 1906, 220-279 ; also Rosch. ii. 2462-2463 ; D'Esp. Fr. i. 50 ; ZA 251-253 ; TF 134-136 ; YW 1924-5, 85 ; Muñoz, Tempio della Fortuna Virile, Rome 1925 ; ASA 20, 21, 77 ; Mitt. 1925, 321-350, for an identification of this temple with that of PORTUNUS (q.v.), the attribution of the round temple being treated as uncertain ; and for an erroneous identification (Cybele) by Cecchelli, cf. ZA cit. For its mediaeval history see HCh 258, 336, 590, 597 ; BC 1925, 57-69, where it is identified with S. Maria de Gradellis ; cf. MOLINAE.

MATIDIA, ARA : an altar of diva Matidia, the mother-in-law of Hadrian, which is mentioned on one inscription (CIL vi. 31893 b 10 : Noenses de ara Matidie ;<sup>2</sup> BC 1891, 356), but is otherwise unknown.

MATIDIA, TEMPLUM : a temple of the deified Matidia, the mother-in-law of Hadrian (cf. MATIDIA, ARA), known from the inscription on a fragment of lead pipe found between S. Ignazio and the Collegio Germanico Ungarico (BC 1883, 6-16 ; CIL xv. 7248), and a coin of Hadrian (Dressel, in Corolla Numismatica, Oxford, 1906, 16 ff. ; Gneecchi ii. p. 5, No. 25, pl. 39, No. 5 : divae Matidiae socru). North-east of the Pantheon, in the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando, between the Via dei Pastini and the Piazza Capranica, five columns of cipollino have been found—one still visible and two built into a wall—which may perhaps have belonged to this temple. They are 1.70 metres in diameter, and the indications point to an octostyle structure, about 36 metres wide, that faced north on what is now the Piazza Capranica (cf. Lanciani FUR, pl. 15, for a different orientation). On each side of the area in front of the temple, the BASILICAE MATIDIA ET MARCIANA (q.v.) may have stood, if the evidence of the coin is accepted, one of them cutting across the site now occupied by the church of S. Maria in Aquiro (OJ 1913, 132-142 ; HJ xxiv.).

<sup>1</sup> For a theory, for which there is no evidence, that this stucco decoration belongs to the Renaissance period, see Gnomon i. (1925), 367.

<sup>2</sup> If, indeed, Hülsen is right in connecting the two words.

MAUSOLEA AUGUSTORUM : see SEPULCRUM MARIAE STILICHONIS.

MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI : \* the mausoleum erected, as a dynastic rather than as a personal monument (we may note that it had become customary to grant the privilege of burial in the campus Martius to persons of distinction by special decree of the senate), by Augustus for himself, his family, and his successors in the northern part of the campus Martius, between the via Flaminia and the Tiber, as early as 28 B.C. (Suet. Aug. 100 : (mausoleum) inter Flaminiam viam ripamque Tiberis sexto suo consulatu extruxerat, circumiectasque silvas et ambulationes in usum populi iam tum publicarat ; Strabo v. 3. 9, p. 236 : τὸ Μανσῶλειον καλούμενον, ἐπὶ κρηπίδος ὑψηλῆς λευκολίθου πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ χάμα μέγα, ἄχρι κορυφῆς τοῖς ἀειθαλέσι τῶν δένδρων συνηρεφές· ἐπ' ἄκρῳ μὲν οὖν εἰκὼν ἔστι χαλκῇ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καίσαρος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ χώματι θῆκαί· εἰσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ οἰκείων, ὅπισθεν δὲ μέγα ἄλσος περιπάτους θαυμαστοὺς ἔχον) ; Fasti Cupr. (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 62) : [ma]esol[eum] ; Mart. ii. 59. 2 : Caesareus tholus (see MICA AUREA). It was thus the first building which he erected in the Campus Martius, and characterises his conception of the principate (HJ 497).

From these passages and from the existing remains we may gather that it consisted of a large circular drum, faced with travertine, or, as some think, marble ; this was 87 metres in external diameter at the base. Above it rose an upper arcade, traces of which may be seen in all the sixteenth century views, and there were probably other tiers above, planted with evergreen trees, while at the summit was a bronze statue of Augustus. The entrance was on the south, with a small chamber over it, lighted by a window ; and the passage way, 3.5 metres wide, led through a double ring of (originally) closed chambers to a wall in which there were two doorways, one on each side of the mass of concrete in front of the passage way. This wall runs right up, and its inner face is visible in the corridor surrounding the present concert hall : and it formed the enclosing wall of the Renaissance garden (see below). Within it, at a lower level, were two, or perhaps three, concentric corridors : but the vaults in this area have collapsed, and the whole has been used as a lime kiln in the Middle Ages ; so that the urns and inscriptions which have been found here were not in situ. In the centre is a square space, probably originally filled with masonry as a support for the statue of Augustus.

Between the outermost concentric wall and the next is a series of twelve large chambers, which were probably entirely inaccessible in ancient times. The outermost wall preserved to any considerable height has twelve semi-circular niches, not intended for decoration, but as supports for the external skin wall of travertine. In the centre of each niche is a chord wall, probably intended to break up the mass of earth with which the niche was filled, and prevent its swelling and causing collapse. There is no trace of a square foundation, and the mausoleum probably resembled one of the

sepulchral mound tombs of Caere, in Southern Etruria; though it must have risen in several tiers, and the mound of earth at the top must therefore have been comparatively small. On pillars<sup>1</sup> standing free, rather than on the outer wall of the mausoleum, on each side of the entrance, were fastened the two bronze tablets on which were inscribed the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (often known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, because the most complete copy of it is preserved on the walls of the temple of Augustus at Ancyra, the modern Angora).<sup>2</sup> Gardthausen's idea (Mitt. 1921-22, III-144) that these tablets were placed upon the external buttresses of the mausoleum itself is most infelicitous; and his article, while containing valuable information, is in most details misleading. Thus, the unit of measurement used in P. A. Bufalini's plan is not the span (=25 cm.), but the palm (=223 mm.). In front of the entrance stood two obelisks (see *OBELISCI MAUSOLEI AUGUSTI*); and the mausoleum was surrounded by a spacious park planted with trees and laid out with walks.

The first individual whose ashes were placed in the mausoleum was Augustus' heir designate Marcellus, who died in 23 B.C. (Cass. Dio liii. 30. 5; Verg. Aen. vi. 873: *quae, Tiberine, videbis funera cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem*; Consol. ad Liv. 67);<sup>3</sup> then Agrippa in 12 B.C. (Cass. Dio liv. 28. 5: *αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἐαυτοῦ μνημείῳ ἔθαψε, καίτοι ἴδιον ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ λαβόντα*; see *SEPULCRUM AGRIPPAE*), and Drusus in 9 B.C. (Cass. Dio lv. 2. 3: Consol. cit.: Suet. Claud. I; cf. *TUMULUS IULIAE*). The remains of the two grandsons of Augustus, who had also been designated as his heirs, Lucius (2 A.D.) and Gaius (4 A.D.), were also placed here (Fasti Cupr. cit. is decisive for the latter; for the urn which once contained either his ashes or, more probably, those of his brother, see CIL vi. 884, and HJ 615, n. 37. Whether the fragment of an elogium of Lucius (CIL vi. 895=31195) belonged to the mausoleum is not certain), though perhaps in a separate monument, or perhaps only in a separate chamber (Cass. Dio lxxviii. 24: *τό τε σῶμα αὐτῆς (Julia Domna) ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναχθὲν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Γαίου τοῦ τε Δουκίου μνήματι κατετέθη· ὕστερον μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνα... πρὸς τῆς Μαίσης... ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τεμένισμα μετεκομίσθη*). See *SEP. C. ET L. CAESARIS*.

In 14 A.D. Augustus' own ashes were placed here (Cass. Dio lvi. 42; Tac. Ann. i. 8). He had in his will excluded his daughter Julia and her daughter from burial in his mausoleum (Suet. Aug. 101; Cass. Dio lvi. 32). Hirschfeld seems to lay too much stress on the statement in the *Mirabilia* (§ 22, ap. Jord. ii. 629) that there was an apse in the centre of the mausoleum, in which there had been a seated statue of Augustus. Next followed (soon after 19) Germanicus (Tac. Ann. iii. 4: *reliquiae*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mitt. 1904, 57; Kornemann, *Mausoleum und Tatenbericht des Augustus*, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Another copy of it has been found at Antioch in Pisidia, and has been published by Ramsay and v. Premerstein in *Klio*, Beiheft 19.

<sup>3</sup> An inscription bearing his name and that of his mother has been found, and also (probably) the urn of the latter.



tumulo Augusto inferebantur; two fragments of an elogium of him carved on blocks,<sup>1</sup> belonging to the facing of the base, are given in CIL vi. 894=31194). For his children, see USTRINUM DOMUS AUGUSTAE. Livia's ashes were placed here in 29 A.D. (Cass. Dio lviii. 2. 3) and eight years later those of Tiberius (our classical authorities do not expressly mention it, but they would undoubtedly have emphasised his exclusion; and CIL vi. 885, the inscription on his funeral urn, which was still preserved in the sixteenth century, agrees absolutely in content with the rest of those from the mausoleum). His successor Caligula, whose mother Agrippina and brothers Nero and Drusus had died—the first two in exile, the last in the cellars of the Palatine—collected their remains and placed them here (Cass. Dio lix. 3: τὰ ὅστ' αὐτὰ τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἀποθανόντων; Suet. Tib. 54: amborum sic reliquias dispersas ut vix quandoque colligi possent). The block of marble which bears the inscription in honour of Agrippina, and once contained an urn of more precious material in which her cremated remains (*ossa*) were placed, is still preserved in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (CIL vi. 886), while a block with the inscription of the elder Nero only disappeared after the sixteenth century (ib. 887). The mention of both brothers in the passages quoted above would certainly lead one to believe that the younger Drusus' remains were similarly treated.

Hirschfeld thinks that Caligula's sister Drusilla was also placed here, but there is no direct evidence—no more than there is in the case of Claudius, Britannicus, and Vespasian. The door of the mausoleum suddenly sprang open shortly before the death of the last-named (Suet. Vesp. 23; Cass. Dio lxvi. 17), but he declared that the portent did not concern him. See also GENS FLAVIA, TEMPLUM. The fragmentary inscription VESPASIANI (CIL vi. 893) cannot refer to the emperor, and may belong to the son of Flavius Clemens (Pros. ii. 77. 262). Tacitus' reference to Nero's second wife Poppaea Sabina, corpus . . . tumulo Iuliorum infertur (Ann. xvi. 6), is generally connected with the mausoleum, and can hardly belong to the TUMULUS IULIAE (q.v.). Nerva, on the other hand, was certainly buried here (Epit. de Caes. 12. 12: cuius corpus a senatu, ut quondam Augusti, honore delatum, in sepulcro Augusti sepultum est), and it is even possible that the author of the Mirabilia (cit. supr.) actually saw his sepulchral inscription, as Hirschfeld believes, or at least the inscription on the base of his statue, which has recently come to light (BC 1926, 222).

Trajan's ashes, as is well known, were placed in the chamber at the foot of his column; while Hadrian, we are expressly told ἐτάφη . . . πρὸς τῇ γεφύρᾳ τῇ Διλῖᾳ· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ μνήμα κατεσκεύασατο. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπεπλήρωτο, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐτέθη (Cass. Dio lxix. 23). It had indeed, as we know from an inscription of a freedman of Trajan,

<sup>1</sup> HJ 616, n. 39, calls them blocks of marble, and the testimony of Peruzzi supports him (CIL vi. p. 840); but they cannot have belonged to the base, if Peruzzi is right in saying that it was of travertine (BC 1882, 154).



for some years been under the charge of an imperial procurator (CIL vi. 8686: M. Ulpius Aug. l. Aeglus proc. mausolaei imaginem Corinthaeam Traiani Caesaris colleg(io) faenariorum d(ono) d(edit)). It was only opened on one other occasion—when the body of Julia Domna was temporarily placed there (see above).

The obelisks are mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, and in the *Breviarium* of Not. and Cur.; but it is surprising that the mausoleum as a whole is not enumerated in the text among the monuments of Regio IX. The story of its plundering by Alaric in 410 has no historical foundation, and we know nothing of its destruction. During the whole of the Middle Ages it kept its name—Mons Augustus in 955-962 (ASRSP 1899, 269); while the churches of S. Angelus de Augusta, S. Georgius de Augusta, S. Iacobus de Augusta and S. Marina de Posterula prope montem Augustum are mentioned in the twelfth century (Arm. 324 f.; HCh 195, 254, 265, 315, 380-381) and the portus Aguste or Austu in the thirteenth, from which marble was shipped for the construction of the Cathedral of Orvieto (BC 1897, 295). The ruins were converted into a fortress by the Colonna family, and its destruction in 1167 led to considerable damage to the ruins. The fortifications were, however, repaired in 1241. The body of Cola di Rienzo was burnt here in 1354.

By the sixteenth century it had become a garden; it then belonged to the Soderini family. (The important drawings by Baldassare Peruzzi, already discussed by Lanciani in BC 1882, 152-154, are now given in facsimile by Bartoli, *Disegni degli Uffizi*.<sup>1</sup> Du Pérac's view (*Vestigi*, 36) is well known and has often been reproduced; cf. DuP 136-137 and figs. 82-84; cf. also Vasari Society, Ser. ii. Part iii. No. 16, and *Burlington Magazine* xlii. (Feb. 1923) 107.<sup>2</sup>) Later it passed to the Correa family. There were excavations in 1793, made by Marchese Francesco Saverio Vivaldi Armentieri, of the result of which little is known. Early in the nineteenth century a circus had already been formed on the site of the garden; and the mausoleum is now surmounted by a large concert hall, known as the Augusteo, in the entrance passages of which considerable remains of the chambers, faced with opus reticulatum, may still be seen.

See BC 1882, 152-154; 1885, 89 sqq. (a mistaken attempt to identify the Divorum of the *Regiary Catalogues* with the mausoleum; see *PORTICUS DIVORUM*); 1895, 301 sqq.; Hirschfeld in *Berl. Sitz. Ber.* 1886, 1149-1160 (=Kleine Schriften, 449-465); LR 464-466; LS ii. 13-19; iii. 247; HJ 614-617; Altm. 46-49; Kornemann, *Mausoleum und Tatenbericht des Augustus*, Leipzig 1921; Cordingley and Richmond in *PBS* x. 23-35, pls. ix.-xix.; Colini and Giglioli in BC 1926, 191-234; YW 1927, 102-103.

<sup>1</sup> Pl. cxi.-cxv. (cxxxii., clxxxiv. relate to the obelisks only). Cf. also BA 1927-8, 30 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Kekulé von Stradonitz, *Kopien einer Frauenstatue* (57 *Berl. Winckelmannsprogramm*), 3, 31.

MAUSOLEUM HADRIANI : \* the modern Castel S. Angelo, on the right bank of the Tiber, built by Hadrian as his mausoleum, together with the bridge (PONS AELIUS, q.v.) by which it was approached (Ill. 34) (Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19: fecit sui nominis pontem et sepulcrum iuxta Tiberim; Pius 5: Hadriano . . . mortuo reliquias eius . . . in hortis Domitiae conlocavit; Cass. Dio lxi. 23: *ἐτάφη δὲ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ ποταμῷ, πρὸς τῇ γεφύρᾳ τῇ Αἰλίου· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ μνήμα κατεσκευάσατο*). The mausoleum of Augustus had last been opened to receive the remains of Nerva, but was no longer in use; and the Antonine emperors and their families were buried also in the mausoleum of Hadrian,<sup>1</sup> so that it acquired the name of Antoninorum sepulcrum or *Ἀντωνινεῖον* (Hist. Aug. and Cass. Dio cit.). Inscriptions actually recorded (CIL vi. 984-995) are as follows: the dedicatory inscription to Hadrian and Sabina set up in 139 A.D. (the latter was already deified, the former not) by Antoninus Pius, the sepulchral inscriptions of Antoninus Pius and Faustina, and of three of their children; of Aelius Caesar; of three children of Marcus Aurelius; of Lucius Verus, and of Commodus. That Marcus Aurelius himself was buried here follows from Herodian 4. I. 4 (*ἀπέθεντο*—the urn containing the ashes of Septimius Severus—*ἐν τῷ νεῷ ἔιθα Μάρκου τε καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἱερὰ μνήματα δέκνυνται*), and it is probably true of Faustina the younger also. Cass. Dio (lxxvi. 15. 4; lxxviii. 9. 1; 24. 3) tells us that, besides Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla and Geta were also laid to rest here. The various mentions of it in Hist. Aug. (Severus 19. 3=24. 2; Carac. 9. 12=Macrin. 5. 2) are simply copied from Cassius Dio; see v. Domaszewski, SHA 1916, 7 A. 5 sqq.; and, for the first passage, cf. SEPULCRUM SEVERI.

It had already been included in the system of fortifications by the time of Procopius, when it was converted into a bridgehead (in Hadrianio sunt tures vi. etc. DMH) and became the chief fortress of the city (see PORTA AURELIA (2), PORTA CORNELIA). A description of it by Pope Leo I (440-461) was long thought to have been preserved in the Mirabilia (Urlichs 106); but the idea is baseless (Jord. ii. 426 sqq.); and the account of Petrus Mallius, which is often quoted as an independent authority, is probably copied from the Mirabilia itself.

A detailed account is, however, given by Procopius (BG i. 22) who says that it was faced with blocks of Parian marble, and that there were statues of men and horses of the same material in the upper part, which rose above the city walls. The statues were, many of them, hurled down upon the besieging Goths in 537 A.D.

John of Antioch (Malalas) cited in HJ 665, n. 113, writing in the eighth century, describes a colossal quadriga on the summit of the mausoleum; but Hülsen points out (Boll. Ass. Arch. Rom. iii. 27) that

<sup>1</sup> Bernhart (Handbuch zur Münzkunde, 140) believes that the Mausoleum is represented on the reverses of a number of coins of these emperors, all of which bear the word CONSECRATIO: but it is almost certain that they simply show the funeral pyre (Boll. Ass. Arch. Rom. 1913, 27; JRS 1915, 151, 152).



33 MURI AURELIANI, A TOWER (p. 350)



34 MAUSOLEUM HADRIANI AND PONS AELIUS (p. 336)





the chapel of S. Angelo de Castro S. Angeli, also called *inter nubes*—see HCh p. 196, 586—which commemorated the vision of Gregory the Great in 590, during a plague, of the archangel Michael sheathing his sword above the fortress, and was probably founded by Pope Boniface IV (608-615), must already have been in existence there. Another mediaeval church was that of S. Thomas de Castro S. Angeli (HCh 491); while the church constructed by Hadrian I (*constituit . . . foris portam b. Petri apostoli . . . (diaconiam) S. Mariae quae ponitur in Adrianum* (LPD i. 521)) was later called S. Maria in Traspadina (which then became Transpontina) and was only removed by Pius IV (HCh 370-371).

The description of the *Mirabilia* mentions the bronze railings which surrounded the building (the foundations of which came to light in 1890), and states that they were adorned with peacocks of gilt bronze, afterwards removed to the fountain (the famous pinecone) which adorned the forecourt of S. Peter's (Hülsem, Mitt. 1904, 87 sqq.; Egger, Röm. Veduten i. pls. 24, 25; text p. 28; DuP 35-40); also a porphyry sarcophagus (supposed, but without reason, to be that of Hadrian) which served as the tomb of Pope Innocent II at the Lateran, while its cover was in the forecourt of S. Peter's, over the tomb of Cynthus, prefect of the city (d. 1077). A bronze bull and four horses of gilt bronze, and bronze doors on each side are also mentioned (Jordan treats them as pure inventions, but it must be remembered that he wrote before the discovery of the foundations of the railings), and bronze doors below (i.e. in the square base of the tomb), 'as they appear at the present day.' These last are also mentioned in connection with the death of Paschal II in 1118 (LPD ii. 344, *obiit apud castellum S. Angeli, in domo iusta (sic) cream portam*). As fortress, prison, and summer residence of the Popes it has a most interesting history, which cannot be followed here. For removal of ancient materials in the Middle Ages, see LS i. 18, 19; DAP 2. xv. 371.

The whole monument was enclosed by a low wall; at the entrance from the bridge were four travertine pillars upon which stood the bronze peacocks above mentioned; and between them were bronze grilles (NS 1892, 424). For the bronze bull which is said to have stood here in the Middle Ages, see JRS 1919, 21; 1925, 77. The lower part was a base or podium about 84 metres square and 10 high, consisting of a travertine wall, faced originally with marble. Over the entrance was the dedicatory inscription (CIL vi. 984), the other sepulchral inscriptions being disposed on each side of the door (Mitt. 1891, 142). Behind the travertine wall is an inner wall of brickwork 2 feet thick, into which are bonded the radiating brick walls of the vaulted chambers that surrounded the main circular drum. At each angle the internal wall thickens out into a solid mass to support the groups of men and horses of which Procopius speaks.

Careful study of the points of contact between these walls and the

main drum seems to indicate that the erection of the square base was decided on after the building of the drum was well advanced, probably for greater accommodation ; for though the chambers formed by the radiating walls do not, in their present form, look very like sepulchral chambers, it is difficult to seek elsewhere those which would probably have been necessary—unless we suppose (which is not impossible, as most, if not all, of the bodies were cremated) that the remains were placed in the central tomb chamber. This measures about 9 by 8 metres, and thus would have provided ample room for the urns—not more than twenty in all, so far as we know—which were placed in the mausoleum.

The main drum, 64 metres in diameter and 21 high, is constructed of concrete, and was also faced with Parian marble. The original entrance, the floor of which is some 12 feet below the present level, has been cleared ; it leads into a vestibule, at the end of which is a large niche ; it probably contained a colossal statue of Hadrian, the head of which, formerly in the Castello, is now in the Vatican (HF 292). A colossal head of Antoninus Pius, which is still in the Castello, belongs also to a statue (Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.* ii. 2. p. 143, No. 34). From the vestibule a finely preserved spiral ramp, ventilated by four airshafts, at a gradient of about 1 in 10, leads, through the solid core, up to the corridor of the central tomb chamber, which lies vertically above it. The ramp was probably continued as a staircase beyond the approach to the central tomb-chamber, up to the level of the garden (the earth belonging to it was found in Borgatti's excavations, and under it was a bed of concrete), which appears to have occupied the upper surface of the drum, except for a second square chamber. Above this again was a cylinder containing a third (circular) chamber ; the spiral staircase which encircles this chamber and by which the uppermost terrace is now approached has recently been shown to be ancient to within 8 feet of the top.

See Borgatti, *Castel S. Angelo*, Rome 1890 ; *id.* (*Monumenti d'Italia* 4), Rome 1911 ; *Mitt.* 1891, 137-145 ; Rodocanachi, *Château St. Ange* (Paris, 1909) ; *Ann. Accad. S. Luca*, 1909-11, 121-125 ; *Boll. Ass. Arch. Rom.* 1913, 25-32 ; *DuP* 51-55 ; *HJ* 663-667 ; *JRS* 1925, 75-103 (by S. R. Pierce, with a series of drawings and reconstructions) ; *Mem. L.* 5. xvii. 525, 526.

MEFITIS, AEDES, LUCUS : a temple and grove of Mefitis (*Rosch.* ii. 2519-2521) on the Esquiline (*Fest.* 348 : *Cispium a Laevo Cispio Anagnino, qui . . . eam partem Esquilium, quae iacet ad vicum Patricium versus, in qua regione est aedes Mefitis, tuitus est ; Varro v. 49 : (in Esquilii) lucus Mefitis et Iunonis Lucinae quorum angusti fines*). This site was probably just north of the temple of Juno Lucina, towards the *Vicus PATRICIUS* (q.v.), that is, a little south-west of the present *Piazza dell' Esquilino* (*HJ* 333 ; *WR* 246). It is probably mentioned in one inscription of the time of Septimius Severus, which speaks of a '(h)ortulus super nymphis qui locus appellatur Memphi' (sic) : see *Eranos*, 1924, 82-85, and cf. *AD NYMPHAS*,

MENS, AEDES (templum, Varro) : a temple on the Capitol, probably within the area Capitolina, vowed by the praetor, T. Otacilius Crassus, in 217 B.C. after the defeat at Lake Trasimene, according to the instructions of the Sibylline books (Liv. xxii. 9. 10, 10. 10; Ov. Fast. vi. 241-246), at the same time with the temple of Venus Erucina. In 215 both temples were dedicated by duoviri appointed for the purpose, that of Venus by Fabius Maximus, and that of Mens by Otacilius (Liv. xxiii. 31. 9, 32. 20). The two temples were separated by an open drain (Liv. xxiii. 31. 9 : uno canali discretæ; cf. Serv. Georg. iv. 265). The temple of Mens seems to have been restored by M. Aemilius Scaurus, consul in 115 B.C., either at that time (WR 313; RE i. 587) or after his campaign against the Cimbri in 107 (Cic. de nat. deor. ii. 61; Plut. de fort. Rom. 5 : (ἐργὸν ἰδρύσατο) τὸ τῆς Μέντις καλουμένης (Γνώμης ἂν νομίζοιτο) Σκαῦρος Αἰμίλιος, περὶ τὰ Κιμβρικά τοῖς χρόνοις γεγονώς; 10 (interpolated) : ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γνώμης ἢ νῆ Δία Εὐβουλίας νεὸς ἦν Μέντεμ καλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο Σκαῦρος Αἰμίλιος . . . καθιέρωσεν). The day of dedication was 8th June (Ov. Fast. vi. 247-248; Fasti Tusc. Ven. Maff. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 216, 221, 222, 319. See Jord. i. 2. 42; Gilb. iii. 101, 398-399; Rosch. ii. 2798-2799).

MERCURIUS, AEDES (templum, Ovid) : a temple dedicated in 495 B.C. by a centurion, M. Plaetorius, to whom the people had given this honour (Liv. ii. 21. 7, 27. 5-6; Val. Max. ix. 3. 6). It was on the slope of the Aventine, above and facing the circus Maximus (Ov. Fast. v. 669; Apul. Met. vi. 8; Not. Reg. XI; cf. Mirabilia 28; Jord. ii. 641), near its south-east end. It was dedicated on the Ides of May, which afterwards became a festival of the mercatores (Liv. ii. 21. 7; Ov. Fast. v. 670; Fest. 148; Mart. xii. 67. 1; Fasti Caer. Tusc. Ven. Philoc. ad Id. Mai, CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 213, 216, 221, 264, 318; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 96). Maia seems also to have shared this temple with her son (Macrobian. Sat. i. 12. 19; Lydus, de mens. iv. 52-53; Mart. vii. 74. 5; Fast. Caer. loc. cit.). This temple may perhaps be represented on a coin of Marcus Aurelius (Cohen, Marc. Aur. 534; Baumeister, Denkmäler 1495<sup>1</sup>; Rosch. ii. 2803), with a podium of three steps, on which stand four herms in place of columns, supporting an architrave, and above this what looks like a curved pediment with animals and attributes of the god. The statue of Mercury stands between the herms. This apparently curved pediment (cf. Serv. Aen. ix. 406) is not necessarily so (Altm. 21-22), and in any case, if some temples of Mercury were round, all were not (Merlin, 363). If the coin represents the temple of Mercury, it may indicate a restoration by Marcus Aurelius (SHA 1910, 7. A, 7-9). It was standing in the fourth century (Not. Reg. XI; Mirab. 28), but no traces of it have been found (HJ 118-119; Rosch. ii. 2802-2804; Gilb. ii. 251-253; WR 304-305).

MERCURIUS SOBRIUS : see VICUS SOBRIUS.

<sup>1</sup> = Richter 180.



**METAE MERCURIAE** : see **SACELLUM MURCIAE**.

**META ROMULI** : a name sometimes given in the Middle Ages to a pyramidal monument that stood between the mausoleum of Hadrian and the Vatican (Mirab. 20, ap. Urlichs 106 : sepulcrum Romuli quod vocatur meta ; Graphia 16, ap. Urlichs 119).<sup>1</sup> It was called meta alone (see references in LS i. 161, 186-189 ; DAP 2. viii. 1903, 383-384 ; memoria Romuli (Ordo Benedicti in Lib. Cens. Fabre-Duchesne, ii. 153 ; Mon. L. i. 525) ; Ant. di Pietro ap. Muratori SS xxiv. 1038, 1040, 1062 (1413-1417 A.D.)) ; and sepulcrum Remuli (Anon. Magl. ap. Urlichs 161 : meta quae ut dicitur fuit sepulcrum Remuli qui mandato Romuli in Iano mortuus fuit : et de meta praedicta sicut iam dixi dubitoque non fuit Remuli per Romulum facta, quia illis temporibus Romulus et sui non erant tantae potentiae). Magister Gregorius calls it *pyramis Romuli* (JRS 1919, 42, 56). At the beginning of the Renaissance it was also incorrectly called **SEPULCRUM SCIPIONIS** (q.v.). The name meta Romuli was probably given to this monument because the pyramid of **CESTIUS** (q.v.) had in some way come to be called meta Remi. It is described as larger than the pyramid of Cestius and of great beauty. From its marble slabs were made in the tenth century the pavement of the Paradiso of S. Peter's and the steps of the basilica. It stood at the intersection of the Via Cornelia and the Via Triumphalis, on the east side of the latter (DAP cit. 383-387), and its southern part was removed when Alexander VI constructed the Borgo Nuovo in 1499 (LS i. 126). The rest stood until 1518 at least (LS i. 161, 186-189). The monument therefore covered the Borgo Nuovo and the Via di porta Castello at their intersection (besides the literature already cited, see Mon. L. i. 525 ; BC 1877, 188 ; 1908, 26-30 ; 1914, 395-396 ; Jord. ii. 405-406 ; HJ 659 ; Becker, Top. 662. It may be seen in various mediaeval and early Renaissance views of Rome (LR 560, fig. 214 ; Cod. Esc. 7<sup>v</sup>, 8) ).

**META SUDANS** : \* a large fountain just south-west of the Colosseum, thought to stand at the meeting-point of five of the regions of Augustus, I, II, III, IV, X. It is said to have been built by Domitian in 96 A.D. (Chron. 146), a date which corresponds with the style of brickwork (AJA 1912, 413). In shape it resembled a goal in the circus (*meta*) and *sudans* described the appearance of the jets of water.<sup>2</sup> That the name was not an unusual one is shown by the fact that there was one at Baiae (Sen. Ep. 56. 4). This fountain is represented on a coin of Alexander Severus (Cohen 468, 469), and it is mentioned in Not. (Reg. IV) and in Eins. (8. 15). The core still stands, conical in shape, 2 metres high and 5 in diameter at the bottom. Around the base is a great basin, 21 metres in diameter, probably of the time of Constantine. The whole structure was originally covered with marble (HJ 23 ; NA Sept. 1, 1908,

<sup>1</sup> For Petrus Mallius (cited by Lanciani), v. supra, p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> The relief in the Galleria Lapidaria in the Vatican which represents it, is not ancient (Amelung i. 245 ; HJ 25, n. 55).



110-116; NS 1909, 428). Its name may be preserved in that of the church of S. Maria de Metrio, which was situated in this district, and is mentioned in the catalogues and in bulls of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Hülsen proposes to identify it with the church on the south-west of the Sacra via, on the way up to the arch of Titus, which LR (170, 201) calls S. Cesarco; <sup>1</sup> cf. HJ 24; HCh 345-346; Arm. 522.

MICA AUREA: a street, district or building on the Caelian in Region II (Not. Cur.). According to St. Jerome (Chron. ad a. Abr. 2105; Cassiod. Chron. (Chron. Min. ii. 140); cf. i. 146, n. 4) a mica aurea was constructed by Domitian in 94-95 A.D., and in Chron. (p. 146) *micam auream* is probably to be supplied in the list of Domitian's buildings. If these all refer to the same mica aurea, it was clearly a building. In Martial's epigram (ii. 59): Mica vocor: quid sim cernis, cenatio parva; / ex me Caesareum prospicis ecce tholum. / frange toros, pete vina, rosas cape, tingere nardo; / ipse iubet mortis te meminisse deus, the reference is to some kind of small pleasure-house or dining-hall, which might naturally be identified with the mica aurea of Domitian.<sup>2</sup> But the tholos can hardly be anything else than the mausoleum of Augustus in the northern part of the campus Martius, a building that could hardly be seen at all from such a cenatio on the Caelian, where the mica aurea of Not. was situated. Either Martial's mica was not the mica aurea of the chroniclers, or the tholos must refer to some other sepulchral monument that we cannot identify (HJ 252; Jord. ii. 32, 35; Friedländer ad Mart. ii. 59; Pr. Reg. 122), or to a dome in the imperial palace (Burn, Rome, 223).

MICA AUREA IN IANICULO: a locality on the slope of the Janiculum mentioned in Eins. (6. 2; Jord. ii. 343, 653), and also indicated in the names of two early mediaeval churches—SS. Cosma e Damiano de mica aurea (Jord. i. 1. 69, 71; ii. xv.; Arm. 664-666; HCh 240) and S. Iohannes in mica aurea (Jord. ii. 343; Arm. 691; Mél. 1914, 352-356; HCh 273). It is probable that a mica aurea, something like that of Domitian (v. supra) had been built on the slope of the Janiculum between S. Cosimato and S. Pietro in Montorio, which gave its name to the immediate district and perhaps later simply to a street (Mon. L. i. 482; HJ 650; RL 1909, 151). A sixth century inscription, containing the word *micaurea*, may be the earliest reference to this locality, but this is very uncertain (BC 1889, 392-397, where Gatti explains mica aurea as referring to the yellow sand on the lower slope of the hill, comparing mons aureus=Montorio; Mitt. 1891, 148). Another reference is to be found on a fresco in the lower church of S. Crisogono, with the figure of one Romanus P.P. de Mica Aurea (a good deal previous to the tenth century) (BA 1914, Cr 41 sqq.; RAP ii. 165).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Journal of the Brit. and Amer. Arch. Soc. (Rome), iv. 186-202.

<sup>2</sup> This is rather doubtful; for the epigram would seem to have been composed in order to be actually inscribed on a tablet and set up on the building, which would then have been a private and not an imperial edifice.

**MILLIARIUM AUREUM:** a column covered with gilt bronze, erected by Augustus in 20 B.C., when he assumed the *cura viarum* about Rome (Cass. Dio liv. 8). It was regarded as the point of convergence of all the great roads running out of the city (Plut. Galba 24), and on it were engraved the names of the principal cities of the empire and their distances from Rome, although these distances were reckoned from the gates in the Servian wall, not from the milliarium itself (Plin. NH iii. 66). This stood in *capite romani fori* (Plin. loc. cit.) and *sub aede Saturni* (Tac. Hist. i. 27; Suet. Otho 6), probably between the rostra and the temple of Saturn, but no trace of its foundations has been found (Richter, BRT ii. 12-13; HC 81; De Rossi, *Piante icnografiche* 31-32; Jord. i. 2. 245, 314). Of the monument itself two possible fragments have been found, one a part of the marble shaft, 1.42 metres long and 1.17 in diameter, with two sides left rough and traces of bronze facing (Bull. d. Inst. 1835, 78; Richter, *Gesch. d. Rednerbuehne* 35-37), and the other a part of a circular marble plinth decorated with palmettes (Bull. cit. 1852, 81; Théd. 133, 229; DR 374-5; RE Suppl. iv. 499, 500).

**MINERVA, AEDES:** a temple on the Aventine, first mentioned as becoming the headquarters of the *scribae* and *histriones* during the second Punic war (Fest. 333). It was restored by Augustus (Mon. Anc. iv. 6=Greek x. 10, 11, *ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς*; cf. RGDA 81; Rosch. ii. 664; Merlin 300-301), was standing in the fourth century (Not. Reg. XIII), and is represented on the Marble Plan (fr. 2) as peripteral hexastyle, about 22 metres wide and 45 long, with thirteen columns on each side. It seems to have been between the temples of LUNA and DIANA (q.v.; Oros. v. 12), probably near the intersection of the modern *Vie di S. Sabina* and *S. Prisca* (Merlin 103).

The date of the foundation of this temple is not known. The day of dedication is given in some of the sources as the Quinquatrus, 19th March (Ov. Fast. iii. 812; Fest. 257; Fast. Praen. ad XIII Kal. Apr., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 234; cf. Fast. Philoc. ib. 260, where the date is erroneously 21st March); in others as 19th June (Ov. Fast. vi. 728; Fast. Esq. Amit. ad XIII Kal. Iul., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 211. 243; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 99). This discrepancy has been explained by supposing that the later date was that of the restored temple (Aust. de aed. sacr. 42 f.; WR 253; Rosch. ii. 2985), or that it referred to the *constitutio* of the temple, and the earlier to the *dedicatio* (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 312-313, 320; HJ 159).

**MINERVA, AEDES:** a temple in Region I (Not., om. Cur.), of which nothing further is known or conjectured.

**MINERVA, TEMPLUM.\*** Among the buildings attributed to Domitian (Chron. 146) is a *templum Castorum et Minervae*, and the same designation is employed in the Regionary Catalogue (Cur. Reg. VIII, om. Not.). This would indicate either one structure, or two near together, an inference that is supported by the discovery of part of the statue of Minerva near the *lacus Iuturnae* (NS 1901, 114, fig. 73).

On the *tabulae honestae missionis* after 89 A.D. (CIL iii. Suppl. pp. 1965-2005, 2035),<sup>1</sup> it is stated that the originals were placed in *muro post templum divi Aug. ad Minervam*, and the same juxtaposition of these two temples is found in Martial (iv. 53. 1-2: *Hunc, quem saepe vides intra penetralia nostrae / Palladis et templi limina, Cosme, novi*). The shrine of Minerva should, then, be situated between the temple of Augustus and the temple of Castor, and many scholars have accepted Hülsen's theory which identifies it with the large court (19 by 21 metres) which served later as the forecourt of S. Maria Antiqua, behind, i.e. east, of the temple of Augustus and in front of the building supposed to be the *bibliotheca divi Augusti*, or else with a smaller shrine standing in this court (HJ 83-84; Mitt. 1902, 79-80; HC 172-175; Théd. 310; Tea in BA 1921, 356 sqq.; ZA 92-94; see also Gilb. iii. 415; Rosch. ii. 2990). Another explanation is that Domitian, after restoring the temple of Castor, rededicated it under the name of *Castorum et Minervae* (Momm- sen, Chron. 354, p. 652). (For further particulars and the description of the ruins, see *TEMPLUM D. AUGUSTI*.)

A more recent theory (Richmond in *Essays and Studies* presented to William Ridgeway on his Sixtieth Birthday, Cambridge 1913, 206-211) is that the *templum Minervae* (Chronog. Cur. Mart. locc. citt. and CIL x. 6441)<sup>2</sup> was a library erected by Domitian in honour of Minerva and really her chief temple in Rome, and that this structure comprised the complex of buildings of the time of Domitian, commonly called the *templum d. Augusti* and *bibliotheca templi d. Augusti*. The Minerva of the diplomas (v. supra) is the name given to part of the earlier library belonging to the temple of Augustus—although separated from it by a wall, which was built by Tiberius and lay south of the existing church of S. Teodoro. Still more recently Bartoli (BC 1924, 250-259) has maintained that the phrase *ad Minervam* refers to a statue, not to a temple at all; Chron. and Cur. cit. would then refer to the temple of Minerva in the forum Nervae (YW 1925-6, 113). The juxtaposition of the temple with that of Castor and Pollux is, however, strongly against this view.

**MINERVA, DELUBRUM**: a shrine dedicated by Pompeius, who built it out of the spoils of his campaigns (Plin. NH vii. 97: *Pompeius... hos honores urbi tribuit in delubro Minervae quod ex manubiis dicavit*). Nothing is known of the history of this temple (see *MINERVA CHALCIDICA*).

**MINERVA**: see *FORUM NERVAE*.

**MINERVA CAPTA (MINERVIVM)**: a shrine on the Caelian (Ov. Fast. iii. 835-838: *Caelius ex alto qua mons descendit in aequum / hic ubi non plana est sed prope plana via / parva licet videas Captae delubra Minervae /*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ib. v. 4056, 4091.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. however, supra, p. 165, where this inscription is correctly interpreted. Richmond's whole theory depends on his refusal to identify the *HORREA AGRIPPIANA* (q.v.) with the first of the three courtyards (see his plan, p. 212).



quae dea natali coepit habere suo). The site described by Ovid corresponds to that indicated in the procession of the Argei (Varro v. 47 : circa Minervium qua in Caelio monte itur in tabernola), where Minervium undoubtedly is this shrine, which is therefore to be located on the northern part of the Caelius, the Caeliolus, probably very near the present church of the SS. Quattro Coronati (Gilb. ii. 33-34). This also corresponds with a possible indication of the Haterii relief, where a statue of Minerva is seen through the arcus ad Isis (Mon. d. Inst. v. 7 ; Ann. d. Inst. 1849, 377). If this is accepted as evidence, it shows that the shrine was standing in the second century. An inscription (CIL vi. 524) found on the Caelian may also refer to it, and a statue of Minerva in alabaster found near SS. Quattro Coronati, now in the Museo delle Terme, is attributed to it (NS 1926, 61).

Ovid gives four explanations (Fast. iii. 839-848) of the epithet *Capta*, of which only one has any probability (843-844 : an quia perdomitis ad nos captiva Faliscis / venit ? et hoc ipsum littera prisca docet). If this be true, the shrine was erected after the destruction of Falerii in 241 B.C. The terms *parva delubra* and *Minervium* should indicate that this shrine was not an *aedes sacra* but only a *sacellum*. If so, Ovid's statement (see above) that the day of dedication was 19th March is an error, due to the confusion of this *sacellum*—which would have no *natale* marked on the calendar—with the temple of Minerva on the Aventine (HJ 226-227 ; Rosch. ii. 2984-2985 ; WR 253 ; Gilb. ii. 233-235, and other literature cited in these places).

**MINERVA CHALCIDICA** : a temple mentioned in Reg. (Cur. Reg. IX, om. Not.) between the Iseum and the Pantheon, and included among the buildings erected by Domitian (Chron. 146 ; Hier. a. Abr. 2105). It is also mentioned in Eins. (Jord. ii. 654) 8. 7 as *Minervium* ; ibi S. Maria, and in the *Mirabilia* (22) as *iuxta Pantheon templum Minervae Calcidiae*. Whether it was a restoration of the temple built by Pompeius (Plin. NH vii. 97) cannot be determined. The church of S. Maria sopra Minerva was known as S. Maria de Minerva until the fifteenth century : and we need not suppose that it is built on part of the foundations of this temple. Some authorities believe that part of the cella itself was still standing in the early sixteenth century (BC 1883, 42 ; LR 463 ; HJ 573-574).<sup>1</sup> (For the history of this church, see Arm. 485-489 ; HCh 346-347.)

**MINERVA MEDICA** : a temple on the Esquiline (Not. Reg. V), dating from republican times (cf. Cic. de div. ii. 123 : *sine medico medicinam dabit Minerva*), and referred to in two inscriptions (CIL vi. 10133, 30980). Its position in the Regionary Catalogue, between the *campus Viminalis* and the temple of Isis Patricia, points to a site in the northern part of Region V, but the discovery of hundreds of votive offerings—on one of

<sup>1</sup> Giovannoli (Roma Antica, iii. 13), reproduced in BC 1901, pl. iii., does not, however, represent the temple, but part of the *THERMAE AGRIPPAE* (q.v.).



which is one of the two inscriptions (30980)—in the via Curva (now the Via Carlo Botta), just west of the via Merulana, may mean that this was its location (BC 1887, 154-156, 192-200 ; 1888, 124-125 ; Mitt. 1889, 278 ; HJ 353 ; Rosch. ii. 2989 ; Cons. 305-312 and reff.). Some tufa walls, resembling favissae, were also found here. For the circular building wrongly so called, see *NYMPHAEUM*.

*MINUTUS, MINUCIUS, ARA, SACELLUM* : see *PORTICUS MINUCIA*.

*MITHRAEUM* : see (1) *DOMUS CLEMENTIS*, (2) *THERMAE ANTONINIANAE*. (3) Another, in Piazza S. Silvestro, was built by a certain Tamesius Augentius Olympus, nephew of Nonius Victor, in 357-362, and probably destroyed in 391-2 (Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, i. 354, No. 17 ; CIL vi. 754 ; PT 124). (4) See *DOMUS NUMMIORUM*. (5) A well-preserved Mithraeum (with a Lararium above) was found in 1885 east of S. Martino ai Monti (BC 1885, 27-38 ; Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, 191-194 ; Cumont, *Textes et Mon.* ii. 199, No. 15 ; HJ 316, 317). (6) Another was found opposite S. Vitale in the Vigna Muti (Cumont, *op. cit.* ii. 196-7, No. 10). (7) For a small Mithraeum found on the Quirinal (in Via Mazzarino), see CIL vi. 31039. (8) A Mithraeum existed on the Capitol as late as 1391, but it was destroyed between 1550 and 1594, and the relief belonging to it is in the Louvre (No. 559 ; Cumont, ii. 193-195, No. 6). A small chapel with a relief was found in 1872 : *ibid.* No. 7 : i. 351 ; cf. BC 1872-3, III (the reference in the legend of S. Silvester is to a grotto of Hecate). The position of the rest of the Mithraea enumerated by Cumont (*op. cit.*) cannot be fixed. (9) For a (doubtful) Mithraeum on the Aventine near S. Saba, see NS 1925, 384.

*MOLINAE* : public mills for grinding corn, situated on the Janiculum just inside the porta Aurelia (Not. Cur. Reg. XIV ; CIL vi. 1711).<sup>1</sup> They were driven by the water of the aqua Traiana and were in regular use until this aqueduct was cut by the Goths during their siege of Rome in 537 when floating mills (Ill. 35) were invented by Belisarius (Procop. BG i. 19). They are also mentioned in the seventh and eighth centuries (LP lxxii. 5 (an interpolated note in the MS.) ; xcvi. 59 ; HJ 648 ; see also Mem. Am. Acad. i. 59-61 ; Eins. 7. 2. ; id. Syll. ep. 47 (ad CIL vi. 1711) in Ianiculo ante ecclesiam SS. Iohannis et Pauli (HCh 277 ; LPD i. 327, n. 20 ; Mon. L. i. 481). Cf. Mem. A.P. ii. 74-76.

*MONETA* or *MONETA CAESARIS* : the imperial mint in Region III (Not. Cur.). Its site on the via Labicana close to S. Clemente is indicated by the discovery at this point in the sixteenth century of several inscriptions which record dedications to Apollo (CIL vi. 42), Fortuna (43), Hercules

<sup>1</sup> This important inscription is a decree of the praefectus urbi, Claudius Iulius Ecclesius Dynamius, 'de fraudibus molendinariorum' ; the mills are enumerated in conjunction with the baths of Ampelis, Priscus, and Diana, and the Janiculum in Reg.

Our illustration does not show the steps of masonry descending to the floating mills on the Tiber (for which see Cod. Esc. 27<sup>v</sup>, 56<sup>v</sup>), which are probably the 'gradellae' from which S. Gregorio and S. Maria de Gradellis took their name (HCh 258, 336, 590, 597 ; BC 1925, 57-69 (see *MATER MATUTA, TEMPLUM*).

(44), Victoria (791), Genius familiae monetalis (239), by the various officials of the mint (cf. also CIL vi. 298, 1145, 1146, 1647=x. 1710, 33726=xv. 7140; Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, 181-189). These dedications date from 115 A.D., but the mint was probably established here considerably earlier, though not before the time of Vespasian, when the domus aurea, which must have included this site, was abolished (HJ 303; LS iii. 152).

**MONETARII**: the name applied to workers in the imperial mint (see **MONETA**) and also, apparently, to the district where they dwelt or had their headquarters (CIL vi. 31893 *b*, 8; BC 1891, 356).

**MONS ROMULEUS**: see **STATUA SALONINI GALLIENI**.

**MONUMENTUM ARGENTARIORUM**: see **ARCUS SEPTIMI SEVERI** (in **Foro Boario**).

**MONUMENTUM ARRUNTIORUM**: see **SEPULCRUM ARRUNTIORUM**.

**MONUMENTUM AURELIORUM**: a tomb discovered in 1919 on the right of the via Labicana, close to the horti Torquatiani, on the south-east of the modern Viale Manzoni. It is almost certainly to be attributed to the period of the Severi. The name is given by an inscription in mosaic in the floor. The paintings of the subterranean interior, which are of great interest, have been variously interpreted; the latest authority, Wilpert (*Mem. AP* i. 2. 1-43) interprets them as Gnostic, but eclectic. The Sermon on the Mount is clear; but this, like the other scenes, e.g. the clothing of the naked and the feeding of the hungry, might deceive a pagan visitor into supposing that there was nothing Christian about the tomb. In the series of the Apostles a portrait of S. Peter (the earliest we have) and in the upper chamber representations of Adam and Eve may be clearly recognised.

Cf. also NS 1920, 123-141; 1921, 230-234; Boll. d'Arte, 1921, 97; Mon. L xxviii. 289 sqq.; YW 1920, 85; 1922-3, 100; 1923-4, 107; 1924-5, 86-88; AA 1921, 111-114; 1926, 97, 98; Cecchelli, *L'ipogeo eretico degli Aurelii* (Rome, 1928), supposes that it may be Montanist.

**MONUMENTUM CINCIORUM**: see **CINCIA**.

**MONUMENTUM DOMITIORUM**: see **SEPULCRUM DOMITIORUM**.

**MONUMENTUM IULIORUM**: see **TUMULUS IULIAE**.

**MONUMENTA MARI** (in Capitolio): see **TROPAEA MARI**.

**MONUMENTA MARIANA** (**MONUMENTUM MARI**): see **AEDES HONORIS ET VIRTUTIS MARIANA**.

**MONUMENTUM STATILIORUM**: see **SEPULCRUM STATILIORUM**.

**MUCIALIS COLLIS**: see **QUIRINALIS COLLIS**.

**MUNDUS**. \* According to our ancient authorities, there was a holy place in Rome, called mundus, or probably mundus Cereris (Fest. 142: Cereris qui mundus appellatur, qui ter in anno solet patere; viii Kal. Sept.

(explained as postridie Volkanalia, ib. 156) et III Non. Octobr. et VI Id. Novembr. Qui vel † enim<sup>1†</sup> dictus est quod terra movetur), which was in connection with the worship of the gods of the underworld. It was a domed structure, large enough for a man to enter (ib. 157: qui . . . quid ita dicatur sic refert Cato in commentaris iuris civilis: 'Mundo nomen impositum est ab eo mundo, qui supra nos est: forma enim eius est, ut ex is qui intravere cognoscere potui, adsimilis illae') and in the floor of it there was an opening, leading to a chamber or shaft, which was sacred to the Di Manes, and was only opened on the three days above mentioned, which were regarded as unlucky. Varro (ap. Macrob. i. 16. 18) also says 'mundus cum patet, deorum tristium atque inferum quasi ianua patet'; cf. Serv. ad Verg. Aen. iii. 134: 'quidam aras superiorum deorum voluit esse, medioximorum, id est marinorum focos, inferorum vero mundos.' That the stone which closed the opening was called Manalis lapis is a pure conjecture (see MANALIS LAPIS (I)). Nor have we any information whatsoever as to the site of the mundus.

On the Palatine there was a small shrine (generally, since the time of K. O. Müller, Etrusker, ii. 99, identified with the mundus, but without sufficient grounds), which was a memorial of the foundation of the city, named ROMA QUADRATA (q.v.) by Festus 258, and described by Ovid, Fast. iv. 821 sqq., who, however, gives it no name.

From this point Romulus started the furrow (sulcus primigenius) which was to mark the line of the enceinte of his city. Plutarch's statement (Rom. 11), βόθρος γὰρ ὠρύγη περὶ τὸ νῦν κομίτιον κυκλοτερὴς . . . καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν βόθρον τοῦτον ὃ καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον ὀνόματι μῦνον, is the result of confusion; and its absurdity is increased by his placing the centre of the city of Romulus on the Comitium.

In 1914, under the north-east part of the peristyle of the domus Augustiana, a chamber with a bee-hive roof was found, the sides of which are lined with blocks of cappellaccio (a soft tufa); in the centre of it a circular shaft descends to two underground passages cut in the rock (which here rises to near the surface) which diverge but (after forming a right-angled triangle with a hypotenuse of 12 metres) meet again in a rock-cut domed chamber, half of which has been destroyed by Domitian's foundations (YW 1914, 12-13; CRA 1914, 109-111; ZA 208; Mitt. 1926, 212-228).

Leopold (Meded. Nederland. Hist. Inst. i. (1921) 45-61; Bull. Pal. Ital. 1924, 193-206) not only accepts the bee-hive chamber as the mundus (or a mundus), but believes that traces of Roma quadrata were also found close by, and were indeed visible before the construction of the palace of Domitian. He notes, however, that the mundus, which is never brought into connection with the foundation of Rome, may be a good deal later than the first settlement on the Palatine. He further believes that the combination of mundus and Roma quadrata was repeated

<sup>1</sup> So Lindsay; Müller has 'omni . . .' No satisfactory emendation has yet been proposed.

in the forum in the lapis niger, which was not merely an altar of the gods of the underworld, but a record of the place on which the city was founded; and he thus explains Plutarch's statement that it was situated in the Comitium, and localises *here* (and not on the Palatine) the distribution of *suffimenta ad Romam quadratam* in 204 A.D.

The identification or juxtaposition of the mundus and Roma quadrata, and the placing of the latter here, will not square with any of the possible theories in regard to the site of the temple of Apollo (Fest. 258), and it may be a late antiquarian invention.

For an attempt to parallel with the Palatine mundus certain underground tholoi (at Piperno, Circeii, etc.), see AJA 1914, 302-320.

See JRS 1912, 25-33; 1914, 225, 226; DAP 2. xi. 192-194.

**MURCIA**: the shrine of an early Roman divinity in the valley between the Palatine and Aventine. As the circus Maximus gradually occupied all this space, the shrine was preserved and kept its place within the circus at the south-east end of the course on the Aventine side (Varro v. 154; Fest. 148, 344; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 189, elog. v.; Liv. i. 33. 5). This end of the course and spina was called the metae Murciae (Apul. Met. vi. 8; Tert. de spect. 8). For a theory that this shrine was at the other, north-east, end of the circus, near the carceres, see BC 1908, 251; Mél. 1908, 279. The shrine itself is called ara vetus (Plin. NH xv. 121), sacellum (Varro, Fest.), fanum (Serv. Aen. viii. 636), aedes (Tert.), but it was probably originally only an altar, afterwards surrounded by a puteal. It seems to be indicated on the Foligno relief (Ann. d. Inst. 1870, pl. LM), but this may be the shrine of Sol rather than Murcia (Diss. d. Accad. Pont. ser. 2, vi. 266-267). This point is often referred to as ad Murciae (Varro, Livy, Elog. locc. citt.), and at a later period the valley of the circus was called the vallis Murcia (Serv. Aen. viii. 636; Symmach. Relat. ix. 6; Claudian. de cons. Stilich. ii. 404; Cassiod. Var. iii. 51; Pol. Silv. 545). Of the real character of this divinity all knowledge was lost, and the Roman antiquarians gave several explanations of the name. The most popular was that of Varro, who derived *Murcia* from *myrtea*, on the theory that this low ground was originally grown up with myrtle. As the myrtle was sacred to Venus, Murcia herself was identified with the goddess of love (Tert.), who then became known as Venus Murtea or Murcia (Varro, Pliny, Plut. q. Rom. 20). (HJ 113-114; Rosch. ii. 3231-3233; Gilb. i. 70-71, 79; BC 1914, 343.)

**MURCUS MONS**: see AVENTINUS MONS.

**MURI AURELIANI**: \* the walls begun by Aurelian after the war against the Marcomanni and before that against Zenobia in 272 (Hist. Aug. Aurel. 21, 39; Aur. Victor. Caes. 35; Chron. 148; Eutrop. ix. 15; Oros. vii. 23; Hier. a. Abr. 2290) and finished by Probus (Zosim. i. 49).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also Ioh. Malal. Chron. xii. p. 299, Dindorf. ἤρξατο τὰ τεῖχη 'Ρώμης κτίζειν γενναῖα. ἦν γὰρ τῇ χρόνῳ φθάρυντα. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐφέστηκε τῷ ἔργῳ, καὶ ἠνάγκαζε τὰ συνέργεια 'Ρώμης ὑπουργεῖν τῷ κτίσματι (repeated in Chron. Pasch. i. 229; cf. also Chron. Min. ii. 148).



A restoration by Arcadius and Honorius in 403 is attested by the inscriptions on the portae Portuensis, Praenestina, and Tiburtina (CIL vi. 1188-90<sup>1</sup>) and by Claudian (de sexto cons. Hon. 529); and the description of the walls (DMH) appended to the Einsiedeln Itinerary is generally attributed to this period (Jord. ii. 155-178, 578-580; DAP 2. ix. 424). Repairs by Theodoric are attested by brick stamps (CIL xv. 1665 *b*, 27; cf. PAS i. 52-55), as well as by Cassiodorus (Var. ii. 34; Chron. Min. ii. 160 (500 A.D.); cf. ib. i. 324. 67; ii. 283. 14, if 'moenia' refers only to the city walls.

One-third of the whole circuit and all the gates are said to have been destroyed when the city was stormed by Totila, but this is an exaggeration (Procop. BG iii. 22, 24); it was restored by Belisarius.<sup>2</sup> Of the Popes, Hadrian I and Leo IV (the latter adding the Civitas Leonina) were especially active in repairing the walls (LPD i. 518, n. 48; ii. 137, 138); the Roman senate repaired them in 1157 (v. PORTA METROVIA), and much was done by the Renaissance popes, as their arms show. The greater part of the circuit remains, except along the river from near the porta Flaminia to the pons Aurelius on the left bank, and from the porta Aurelia to the porta Portuensis on the right bank. The former disappeared in the Middle Ages (ASRSP 1879, 79-121; 137-171), and the latter under Urban VIII, who brought the new porta Portese about 500 metres nearer the city (for the towers on the river-bank, see Roma iii. (1925), 317), and connected it and the porta Aurelia (S. Pancrazio) by a new line of fortifications with the Leonine city, which had been re-fortified by Paul III and Pius IV.

Otherwise, the line of the walls has remained unaltered since the time of Aurelian, except for the construction of a great bastion by Antonio da Sangallo the younger for Paul III (see PORTA ARDEATINA), in pursuance of a scheme which was not continued; and comparatively few openings for traffic have been made, despite the growth of the modern city. The line selected was the octroi boundary of the time of Commodus, which was marked by cippi (CIL vi. 1016 *a-c*, 8594, 31227; BC 1892, 93 sqq.; LR 71, 72; Mitt. 1897, 150-156; cf. *infra*, fig. 2). Existing buildings were incorporated in this, and subsequently in the wall, for about one-sixth of the total length (such as the supporting walls of the horti Aciliorum and horti Sallustiani, the castra Praetoria, the arches of the various aqueducts, from porta Tiburtina to porta Maior, and the Amphitheatrum Castrense). For the haste with which the work was done, see BC 1892, 104-106; LR 70-71.

Though the various restorations of which evidence may be seen in the walls themselves have not yet been brought into relation with the

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the phrase *egestis immensis ruderibus* is not very clear, and the level of these and other gates does not seem to have been raised as much as was hitherto believed (BC 1917, 193-217).

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Min. ii. 108 (547 A.D.). He also had restored the walls before the siege by Vitiges (Procop. BG i. 14).

scanty historical evidence we possess, it is clear that originally the wall was not more than 25 feet high, and that it has since been heightened and the arcades added (see Richmond in *Discovery* vi. (1925), 293-295, and in *BC* 1927, 41-67).

The walls as they now stand form one of the finest products of the science of Roman fortification. They are built of concrete faced with brick, are about 12 feet thick, and of varying height, the ground level inside being generally considerably above that outside. 13 feet from the ground inside they are traversed by a sentinel's passage passing through both curtain and towers, the latter occurring every 100 feet; they are quadrangular, project about 10 feet from the curtain, and rise about 20 feet above the wall (*Ill.* 33). The gates have double or single archways, according to their importance, with flanking towers, and only some of them have vantage courts. The material used for the walls was largely older brick (*BC* 1892, 91-93; *PAS* i. 1-86).

See Nibby and Gell, *Mura di Roma* (Rome 1820); *Jord.* i. 1. 340-392; *BC* 1892, 87-111; *Richter* 66-72; *LR* 68-87; *RE* v. 1375. A valuable description of the walls made by Nicolas Audebert in 1576 (*Brit. Mus. MS. Lansdowne* 720) is published in *Rev. Arch.* 3. vi. (1885, ii.), 27-41; vii. (1886, i.), 124-138; 224-242; 336-340; viii. (1886, ii.), 3-39; 319-335; ix. (1887, i.), 54-58. See also the articles on the individual gates.

**MURUS MUSTELLINUS**: the probable reading in *Festus* 154: Mutini Tutini sacellum fuit in Veliis adversum murum mustellinum, but no explanation of the epithet has been given (*mustela*=weasel).

**MURUS RUPTUS**: see **HORTI ACILIORUM**.

**MURUS SERVII TULLII**: \* the wall ascribed by tradition (*Liv.* i. 44; *Dionys.* iv. 13) to the sixth of the kings of Rome (ascriptions to Ancus Martius, such as *vir. ill.* v. 1, *Flor.* i. 1. 14 need not be taken into account; see *Jord.* i. 1. 201), perhaps in completion of work already begun by Tarquinius Priscus (*Strabo* v. 3. 7, p. 234; *Liv.* i. 36; *Dionys.* iii. 67).

There is considerable discord in the tradition as to which hills were added to the city by which kings (see **POMERIUM**); but the statement that Servius Tullius added the Esquiline and the Viminal (*Strabo* cit.; cf. *Dionys.* iv. 13) is consistent with the facts (*Jord.* ii. 206-208, cf. *figs.* 1, 3).

It is probable that the original settlements on the Palatine, Capitol, Quirinal, etc., had no stone walls, but relied on natural features or sometimes on earthworks, e.g. **MURUS TERREUS CARINARUM** (q.v.).

There are remains of a wall in smallish blocks of grey tufa (cappellaccio) at various points on the line of the later enceinte, which are usually (despite the denial of Carter in *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* xlviii. (1909), 136) assigned to the original wall of Servius Tullius of the sixth century B.C. (*Jord.* i. 1. 252-253).



35 MOLINAE, FLOATING MILLS BELOW THE AVENTINE (p. 345)



36 MURUS SERVII TULLII (p. 351)





The blocks employed are from 0.20 to 0.30 metre high, 0.55 to 0.66 wide and 0.75 to 0.90 long. The most important sections of this wall are to be seen :

(a) at the head of the Via delle Finanze, where the Villa Spithoever once stood. This fine section of it (Ill. 36), some 35 metres long, was discovered in 1907, but a modern street has been run through the middle of it ; while other pieces were discovered to the south-west in the garden of the Ministry of Agriculture (LF 10 ; see Ann. d. Inst. 1871, 57 ; Jord. i. I. 212, n. 23 *l, m, n* ; NS 1885, 249 ; 1907, 438, 504-510 ; 1909, 221-223 ; BC 1909, 119-121 ; 343-348 ; YW 1910, 16-17). Other similar remains appear to have been found near S. Susanna and S. Maria della Vittoria in the seventeenth century (Bartoli, Mem. 98, ap. Fea, Misc. i. 250 ; Jord. i. I. 212 *i*), and some of it was still visible in 1867 (Jord. *k*), though not mentioned in other lists (BC 1888, 15-17).

(b) in the Piazza dei Cinquecento, opposite the station (BC 1876, 122).<sup>1</sup>

(c) at the south-west angle of the Palatine (TF 93, fig. 13 ; Delbrück, Tempel des Apollo im Marsfelde, pl. iii., reproduced by Stuart Jones, Companion, p. 32, fig. 7, and ASA 3, 4, is better).

(d) on the north side of the Capitol, under the retaining wall in front of the German Embassy above the Vicolo della Rupe Tarpea (Ann. d. Inst. 1871, 49-51 ; BC 1872, 139) ; omitted by Jord. i. I. 207, regarding it as a part of the substructions of the area of the temple of Jupiter (supra, 48, 96 ; Jord. i. 2. 74 ; BC 1875, 182, 183 ; Ann. d. Inst. 1876, 149 ; cf. Ficoroni, Vestigia, i. 42 ; Piranesi, Antichità, i. pl. 44.2). The two probably coincided at this point.

(e) in the garden of the Palazzo Colonna at the west end of the Quirinal (Ann. d. Inst. 1852, 324 ; Jord. *d*, i. I. 211, n. 18).

Of these fragments of wall, (a) and (e) undoubtedly belonged to the outer line, while (b) was the retaining wall at the back of the agger, which, no doubt, existed from the first. Of (d) we can say nothing certain, and (c) may belong either to the Palatine or to the Servian enceinte.

To ascribe them to the wall of the city of the Four Regions is impossible, as (a) and (b) would both then be excluded ; and it is very doubtful if this city ever had a wall of its own.

Frank maintains (TF 117, 118) that the battering back of the courses, the use of anathyrosis and the presence of walls of Grotta Oscura tufa of the fourth century B.C. in conjunction with these fragments, are sufficient to make it probable that they should also be assigned to the same period.

It seems, however, more likely that the cappellaccio wall should, as far as our knowledge goes at present, be attributed to the sixth century B.C.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Another piece was found in 1926 with possible remains of a postern, almost opposite the entrance to the offices of the Museo Nazionale Romano (Museo delle Terme) in Via Gaeta (YW 1927, 103).

<sup>2</sup> To attribute it to the fifth or the earlier part of the fourth, and the agger itself to the sixth, supposing that neither the inner nor the outer walls were integral parts of the

The line of wall (text fig. 3) began at the Tiber, crossed the low ground to the south-west corner of the Capitol, ran north-east along the edge of the cliffs of this hill and the Quirinal, until it almost reached the head of the valley between the Quirinal and the Pincian (*Collis Hortorum*). Then it ran southwards across the tableland of the Esquiline, crossed the valley between the mons Oppius and the Caelian, followed the cliffs on the south-east and south of this hill, then probably followed the south-west side of the Palatine, and thence ran south of the forum Boarium to the Tiber again.

It is possible that we should attribute to the enceinte of this period an arch with a span of 12 Roman feet (3.30 metres), found in 1885 forty metres south of S. Maria in Cosmedin and constructed of voussoirs of cappellaccio (NS 1886, 274; cf. AJA 1918, 175-176). Its left (south-east) side joined a wall of the same material, which ran into the hill. A paved road passed through it, which was taken to be the *CLIVUS PUBLICIUS* (q.v.), but it had been blocked up by a wall in *opus reticulatum*. Borsari (BC 1888, 21) maintained that it was the *PORTA TRIGEMINA* (q.v.), but it is most improbable that the road passing through it would have been blocked up at so early a period as the second century A.D. Nor, as Hülsen points out (Mitt. 1889, 260), does its position suit what we know of the line of the Servian wall. Frank (AJA cit.) attributed it to the wall of the 'City of the four regions,' omitting the Aventine; but later, apparently forgetting the information he had obtained from Lanciani (who stated that, as far as he could remember, the material was cappellaccio), he assumed that the material was Fidenae tufa, which is full of scoriae, and that it belonged to the Palatine wall of the fourth century B.C. (TF 95, 96).

It is probable that a consequence of the Etruscan victory over the Romans at the beginning of the Republic was the dismantling of the fortifications of the city. A treaty such as that concluded with Porsena, in which the Romans were forbidden to carry weapons of iron (Plin. NH xxxiv. 139; Mommsen, *Rom. Hist.* i. 414), would doubtless have included this: and the success of the Gallic invasion can hardly be understood unless Rome was an open town.<sup>1</sup>

As the result of the Gallic invasion, the whole enceinte was enormously reinforced and strengthened, the original line, however, being for the most part, if not entirely, retained.

To the construction of this wall the following passages have generally been referred:

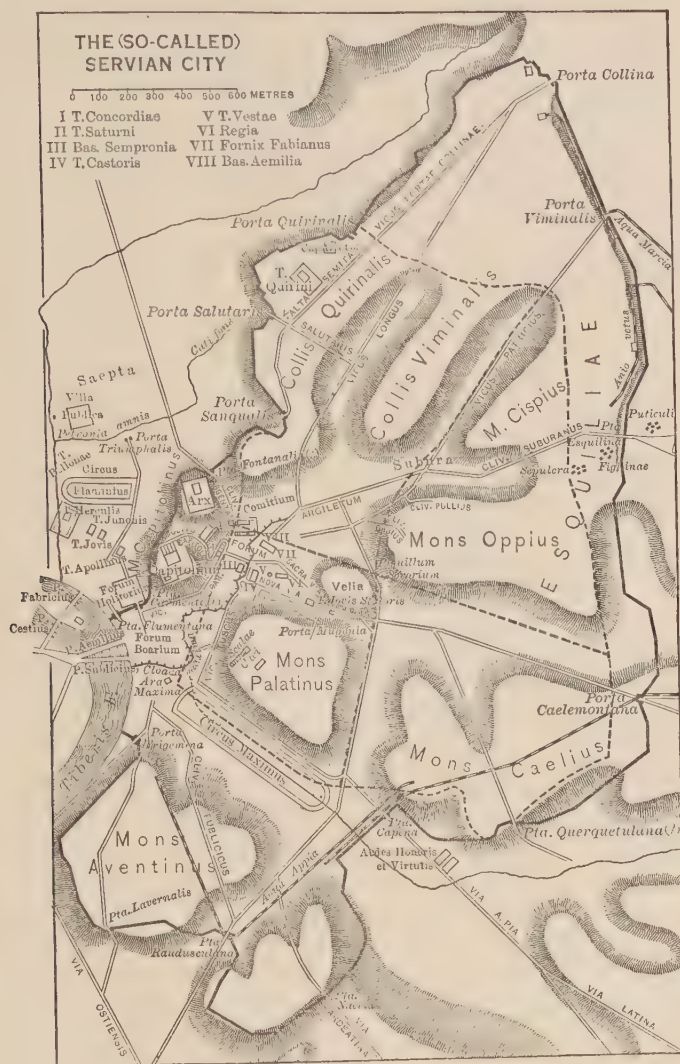
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original agger (Pl. 45, 115, 116), is simply to leave the agger in the air, as either of its ends could easily have been turned. Of course it might be a tenable hypothesis, admitting that 'all weak points of the circuit were fortified in this way' (LR 62; cf. NS 1884, 223; BC 1892, 284) that there was at first no wall connected with any of the aggeres and that for the rest of the line the cliffs of the various hills were considered to afford sufficient defence, but it seems to be highly improbable.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Hülsen has kindly communicated this view to me, and I fully agree with it.

Liv. vi. 32. 1 : ut tributo novum fenus contraheretur in murum a censoribus locatum saxo quadrato faciundum (377 B.C.).

vii. 20. 9 : Legionibus Romam reductis relicum anni muris turribusque reficiendis consumptum (353 B.C.).



TEXT FIG. 3.

It is natural that so great a work as this should have taken a considerable number of years to build.

To this reconstruction belongs all the masonry of larger blocks. Frank remarks that, though the majority of the blocks measure 58-61 cm. high, there is a good deal of irregularity even on the outer face, where he



has noted measures as low as 51 cm. and as high as 64, while on the inside, where the agger conceals the blocks, the measurements vary from 40 to 68 cm. The material, however, is entirely Grotta Oscura tufa; and this seems an even clearer test than that of measurement. The quarry marks too (Ann. d. Inst. 1876, 72; Richter, *Antike Steinmetzzeichen*) cannot be referred to an earlier period than the fourth century B.C., and, as the stone came from the Grotta Oscura quarries, in the territory of Veii, soon after the fall of that town, it is suggested that they may be Etruscan rather than Roman (AJP 1924, 68-69). In this enceinte the Aventine was for the first time probably included; and a fine piece of wall belonging to it may be seen in the depression between the greater and the lesser Aventine in the Via di Porta S. Paolo. As this meant an increased weakness from the defensive point of view, it was quite natural that the builders of the original wall should have left it and the valley of the circus Maximus out of their scheme (Ann. d. Inst. 1855, 87-92; Klio 1911, 93; AJA 1918, 178; TF 119, 120, where, as it stands, it is attributed to 90-80 B.C., but the presence of blocks from the fourth century wall is maintained). The continuation has been cleared to the north-west of it on the greater Aventine (Gnomon, iii. 191, 192) and is almost entirely of Grotta Oscura tufa.

From the porta Collina to the porta Esquilina, where the Servian wall, instead of following the edge of the hill, was obliged to cross the tableland at the base of the Quirinal, Viminal and Esquiline, it was strengthened by a great mound, described by Dionysius (ix. 68; cf. iv. 54) as seven stadia in length and 50 feet thick, with a ditch in front of it 30 Roman feet deep and 100 wide (Cic. de Rep. ii. 11; Varro ap. Censorin. 17. 8; Strab. v. 3. 7, p. 234; Plin. NH iii. 67; xxxvi. 104). The porta Viminalis was the only gate which passed through this part of the fortifications, which were further strengthened by towers. With a part of the outer wall of the agger near by, it is still preserved in the railway station. Another piece may be seen in the Piazza Manfredo Fanti (LF 23).

Other parts of the enceinte were fortified in the same way; but this was the agger *par excellence*, and long after its function had ceased it is spoken of by ancient authors as a prominent feature (Hor. Sat. i. 8. 13: *aggere in aprico spatari*; see PUTICULI; Juv. 8. 43: *ventoso sub aggere*), and it was indeed the highest point in Rome. It was thus used to denote a quarter of the city (*pomarius de agger(e) a proseucha*, CIL vi. 9821); and (in contrast with the *campus Viminalis sub aggere* of the Notitia, which lay between the porta Viminalis and the castra Praetoria; Mitt. 1891, 113) we get a district known as *super aggerem* (Hist. Aug. Elag. 30: *cum alter maneret in Capitolio, alter in Palatio, alter super aggerem, alter in Caelio, alter trans Tiberim*), and it survived as a local name in the form *Superage* as late as 1051 (*in loco qui vocatur Superage non longe a Sancta Maria Maiore*), from which the church took the name of *Superagius*



(ASRSP 1889, 199-213 ; De Rossi, *Piante* 13), and even in 1527 (Fulvius, *antiq. l. ii. f. 21 ter, G.i.*).

Many other portions of the wall are preserved, but are too insignificant to deserve separate mention, with the exception of an arch on the slope of the Quirinal, in the modern Palazzo Antonelli,<sup>1</sup> which is only 1.05 metres in span, and therefore not a city gate (TF 120, who attributes it to 87 B.C.). For the remains on the Capitol, see *ARX*.

We cannot admit either that the Palatine was still a separate community when the wall of blocks 2 feet high was built on its north-west side or that this wall was part of a larger enceinte ; and we must therefore suppose that it continued to be separately fortified as late as the fourth century B.C. as an additional internal citadel or fort (CR 1902, 336 ; YW 1907, 22).

For the remains of the wall of the fourth century B.C., see *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871, 40-85 ; *Jord. i. i.* 201-295 ; BC 1876, 24-38, 121-134, 165-210 ; 1888, 12-22 ; 1912, 67-81 ; NS 1884, 223 ; 1910, 495-513 (Boni, whose views as to relative dates, expressed at the end of the article, do not seem to be acceptable) ; *Mon. L. xv.* 746-753 ; *Klio* 1911, 83-123 ; TF 111-124 ; *RE i. A. i.* 1026.

**MURUS TERREUS** : an earthwork known only from one obscure passage in Varro (*LL v.* 48 : *eidem regioni adtributa Subura quod sub muro terreo Carinarum*), in whose time it appears to have been still preserved in part. As the *CARINAE* (q.v.) was on the western end of the Oppius, and the *SUBURA* (q.v.) was between the Oppius and Viminal, this work probably ran round the north-west edge of the Oppius and extended as far east as the present church of S. Pietro in Vincoli. It is also probable that the work was on the summit of the hill, or just a little way down on the slope, and that it belonged to the system of fortification of the Oppius at that early period when such earth walls were still in use and the settlements on this and the adjacent hills were independent of each other (*Pinza*, BC 1898, 93 ; 1912, 86-87 ; *Mon. L. xv.* 783-785, and pl. xxv. ; *HJ* 263). It may also have been incorporated in part in the fortification of the **SEPTIMONTIUM** (q.v.).

The *murus terreus* has also been placed between the Oppius and the Capitolium along the brook Spinon (*Schneider, Mitt.* 1895, 167-178), between the *Carinae* and the *Velia* (*Pais, Storia di Roma i. i.* 631), on the hill itself dividing the Oppius and *Carinae* (*Richter* 38 ; cf. *Mél.* 1908, 274-276), but none of these theories is satisfactory.

**MUTATORIUM CAESARIS** : an imperial property in Region I (*Not. Cur.*), represented on a fragment (3) of the Marble Plan, and situated without much doubt on the east side of the *via Appia*, opposite the baths of *Caracalla* (*Jord. ii.* 107-108, 512). Different explanations of this name

<sup>1</sup> The statement in *Gnomon*, i. 300, that a piece of the Servian wall had been found in the *Via Mazzarino* rests on a misconception of the position of this arch and of the line taken by the wall, and is, further, incorrect, as the blocks were not *in situ*.

have been given, but no certainty attaches to any of them (Pr. Reg. 115 ; HJ 205 ; Gilb. iii. 350).<sup>1</sup>

MUTUNUS TUTUNUS (Titin(i)us,<sup>2</sup> Müll., Linds.), SACELLUM : a shrine of this ancient Italic deity of fertility on the Velia, probably not far from the Regia, which was destroyed during the principate of Augustus to make room for the house of Cn. Domitius Calvinus (Fest. 154, 155 ; Jord. i. 2. 419 ; Gilb. i. 156). The site of the shrine seems to be indicated on a sarcophagus now in the Naples museum (Hülsen, *Satura Pompeiana Romana* 5-9, in *Symbolae litterariae in honorem Iulii de Petra*, 1911, and literature there cited ; see also WR 243 ; Rosch. ii. 204-207).

<sup>1</sup> I see no reason against accepting Hülsen's explanation, that here the Emperor changed into his travelling carriage, the adjacent AREA CARRUCES (q.v.) serving the same purpose for private travellers. Driving was of course forbidden in the city : and *mutatio* is the regular name for a post station.

<sup>2</sup> Müller also has Titini. The form Tutunus is, however, as Gilbert points out, constantly used by Christian writers (e.g. Aug. de Civ. Dei, iv. 11).

## N

**NAEVIA NEMORA** : woods on the Aventine belonging to a certain Naevius (Fest. 168), close to the porta Naevia, which was named from them (Varro, LL v. 163). They became proverbial as a resort of criminals (Fest. 169 ; cf. Obseq. 44). For the site, see **PORTA NAEVIA** and **VICUS PORTAE NAEVIAE**.

**NAUMACHIAE II** : mentioned in the Notitia in Region XIV, without further definition (cf. Sid. Apoll. Ep. i. 5. 9). One was perhaps the naumachia Augusti and the other the so-called naumachia Vaticana.

**NAUMACHIA AUGUSTI** : the artificial pond constructed by Augustus in 2 B.C. on the right bank of the Tiber, where he celebrated sham naval combats on a great scale in connection with the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor (Vell. ii. 100 ; Mon. Anc. iv. 43-44 ; Suet. Aug. 43 ; Tac. Ann. xii. 56 ; Cass. Dio lxvi. 25 ; Euseb. ad a. Abr. 2014). It was 1800 Roman feet (536 metres) long and 1200 (357) wide (Mon. Anc. loc. cit.), and was supplied with water by the aqua Alsietina, built by Augustus for this purpose (Frontinus, de aq. i. 11, 22). Around the naumachia was a grove, nemus Caesarum, laid out by Augustus (Tac. Ann. xiv. 15) in honour of Gaius and Lucius Caesar (Mon. Anc. loc. cit. ; Suet. Aug. 43 ; Cass. Dio lxvi. 25 ; <sup>1</sup> CIL vi. 31566), and perhaps gardens (cf. Suet. Tib. 72). In the centre of the basin was an island (Cass. Dio lxvi. 25), and Pliny speaks twice (NH xvi. 190, 200) of a pons naumachiarius, restored by Tiberius after fire, which may have been built across the basin to serve as a support for some of the apparatus of the games. This naumachia was used by Nero (Cass. Dio lxii. 20 ; Suet. Nero 12 ?) and Titus (Cass. Dio lxvi. 25 ; Suet. Tit. 7), and is mentioned in 95 A.D. (Stat. Silv. iv. 4. 5), but fell into disuse later, for in the time of Alexander Severus only parts of it remained (Cass. Dio lv. 10). For a possible restoration, see **NAUMACHIA PHILIPPI**.

This naumachia was previously located nearly opposite the theatre of Pompeius, between the villa Lante and the Lungara, just north of the villa Corsini (HJ 640-642, 652-656 ; cf. LA 343 ; BC 1914 393) ; but the recent discovery of the specus of the **AQUA ALSIETINA** (q.v.) has necessitated a change of view, and the earlier theory must probably

<sup>1</sup> Kornemann, Mausoleum des Augustus, 4, thinks that the *μνημεῖον* mentioned here is to be identified with the *μνῆμα Γαίου καὶ Λουκίου* in which Julia Domna was placed ; but see **MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI**, SEP. C. ET L. CAESARIS.

be accepted, according to which it lay near S. Cosimato (Mem. Am. Acad. vi. 141-148).

NAUMACHIA CALIGULAE : see SAEPTA IULIA.

NAUMACHIA CAESARIS : an artificial pond constructed by Julius Caesar in MINORE CODETA (q.v.) in the campus Martius for the sham naval conflicts that were part of the celebration of his fourfold triumph in 46 B.C. (Suet. Caes. 39 ; Cass. Dio xliii. 23 ; App. BC ii. 102). This basin was filled up in 43 B.C. in consequence of an epidemic in the city, and has left no trace (Suet. Caes. 44 ; Cass. Dio xlv. 17).

NAUMACHIA DOMITIANI : an artificial pond constructed by Domitian for sham naval battles paene iustarum classium (Suet. Dom. 4). It was iuxta Tiberim (Suet. loc. cit.), ἐν καινῇ τινὶ χωρίῳ (Cass. Dio lxvii. 8), and is usually located on the right bank of the Tiber without further evidence (HJ 661 ; DAP 2. viii. 372-373 ; BC 1914, 381-382 ; DuP 143). Stone from this structure was afterwards used in restoring the circus Maximus, which had suffered from fire (Suet. Dom. 5).

NAUMACHIA PHILIPPI : a naumachia on the right bank of the Tiber, constructed by Philippus Arabs and his son in 247 A.D., when the one thousandth anniversary of the founding of Rome was celebrated (Aur. Vict. Caes. 28). This may have been only a restoration of the naumachia Augusti, which in that case would have lasted a century longer and been one of the two naumachiae of the Notitia (HJ 653-654).

NAUMACHIA VATICANA : the modern name for a structure, thought to have been a naumachia, lying just north-west of the castle of S. Angelo, the ruins of which were excavated in 1743 and of which traces have been found later (DAP I. x. (1842), 431-470 ; NS 1899, 436 ; BC 1911, 204-205). For a full discussion of the identification of this building, its history, and bibliography, see Hülsen in DAP 2. viii. 353-388 ; HJ 660-661 (cf. BC 1914, 394-5 for objections). He believes that this was the work of Trajan, to whose period the brick-facing belongs (AJA 1912, 417), perhaps a rebuilding of that of Domitian in the same or another place, and that it had been abandoned by the sixth century (Procop. BG ii. 1). It would then have been one of the two naumachiae of Not. ; and from it came the name regio naumachiae, which was in use as early as the sixth century (see also Durm, Baukunst 699-700 ; DAP 2. xv. 370-371 ; DuP 34 ; HCh 416). It is generally known as circus Hadriani, but wrongly. The Hermes of the Belvedere was found in it, if the information given by Ligorio is correct (JRS 1919, 181).

NAVALIA : the docks for ships of war on the left bank of the Tiber. There is no doubt of the existence of such docks in the campus Martius, opposite the PRATA QUINCTIA (q.v. ; see Liv. iii. 26. 8 : L. Quinctius . . . trans Tiberim contra eum ipsum locum ubi nunc navalia sunt, quattuor iugerum colebat agrum, quae prata Quinctia vocantur ; Plin. NH xviii.



20 : quattuor sua iugera in Vaticano, quae prata Quintia appellantur). These indications of locality are sufficiently vague, and various sites have been proposed. Hülsen places them below the narrowest part of the river, in the neighbourhood of the Palazzo Farnese (HJ 485-486).

If the reference to Rome were certain, the earliest mention of them would be in a line of Ennius (ap. Serv. ad Aen. xi. 326 : *idem campus habet textrinum navibus longis*) ; but they were in any case in existence in 167 B.C. (Liv. xlv. 35. 3 ; 42. 12 : *naves regiae . . . in campo Martio subductae sunt* ; cf. Polyb. xxxvi. 5 [3], 9).

But the fact that we are told that in 179 B.C. M. Fulvius locavit . . . porticum extra portam Trigeminam, et aliam post navalia [et] ad fanum Herculis, et post Spei a Tiberi ad aedem Apollinis Medici (Liv. xl. 51) has led Hülsen (DAP 2. vi. 246-254) to argue that, as the porticus post navalia [et] ad fanum Herculis—the argument seems to apply whether we omit the *et* of the MSS. or not—must be intermediate between the other two porticus, those extra portam Trigeminam and post Spei, we have an indication of the existence of other earlier Navalía further downstream just north of the porta Trigemina. But the very existence of the last portico depends on our acceptance of Becker's correction of the reading of the MSS., which give post Spei ad Tiberim aedem APOLLINIS MEDICI (q.v.). Still, it would be difficult to suppose that any other temple of Hercules was meant than that of Hercules Victor ; and if we refer the passage to the navalía in the campus Martius, the temple of Hercules must have been one of the two near the circus Flaminius (see HERCULES CUSTOS, HERCULES MUSARUM) and the porticus becomes altogether too extensive.

It is also very natural to suppose that the navalía of the early republic (the first mention of navalía comes in reference to 338 B.C., Liv. viii. 14 : *naves Antiatum partim in navalía Romae subductae*) were under the protection of the Servian walls, and therefore situated on the Tiber bank between the porta Carmentalis and the porta Trigemina. And the description of the arrival from Epidaurus of the sacred serpent of Aesculapius and especially the words 'egressis legatis' in Val. Max. i. 8. 2, which show that the ship had reached its destination (v. AESCULAPIUS, AEDES) in 291 B.C., and the account of the landing of Cato the younger on his return from Cyprus (Plut. Cat. min. 39 ; Vell. ii. 45), which describes his landing at the navalía and passing through the forum to deposit the treasures of Ptolemy in the aerarium Saturni and on the Capitol, both suit such a site.

On the other hand, it seems very doubtful whether the expression of Procopius (BG iv. 22) in regard to the ship of Aeneas, which was preserved in his day at the navalía ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει need refer to the forum Boarium.

All the other passages in which the navalía are mentioned—e.g. Cic. de or. i. 62 (a restoration by Hermodorus in 99 B.C.), Paul. ex Fest.

179: *Navalis porta a vicinia navalium dicta* (where a city gate is certainly not in question), Plin. NH xxxvi. 40—do not give us any topographical indications, so that it is not certain to which *navalia* they refer.

Hülßen also thinks that a coin of Antoninus Pius (Coh. No. 17; cf. *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1900, 32) represents, not a bridge, but the *navalia* with the Aventine in the background (cf. Mitt. 1886, 168; 1900, 352-354).<sup>1</sup> A painting known to us only by drawings, which had been attributed to the Aventine (Mitt. 1896, 213-226) has been rightly referred to Puteoli by Hülßen (HJ 322), Dubois (Pouzzoles antique 201-219) and Carcopino (*Rev. Arch.* 1913, ii. 253-270; cf. PBS vii. 57-58; CIL vi. 36613).

The fragment of the *forma Urbis* (61) with the inscription *NAVALEMFER*, which Hülßen had brought in as an argument, he now prefers to omit, as the external characteristics of the fragment make it impossible to place it in the neighbourhood of the *circus Maximus*; so that it probably belongs to the region of the *horrea*, south of the Aventine (HJ 145, n. 81; but the necessary alterations have not been made in the plans attached to KH).

See also Richter 201-203; Merlin 131-133.

NAVALE INFERIUS: see above.

NEMUS CAESARUM: see *NAUMACHIA AUGUSTI*.

NEPTUNUS, ARA: an altar of Neptune in *circo Flaminio*, the sweating of which is mentioned by Livy (xxviii. 11. 4) among the prodigia of 206 B.C. The same prodigium, however, is related by Cassius Dio (fr. lvii. 60) in words that imply a real temple (*ἰδρῶτι πολλῇ αἱ τε θύραι τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου καὶ ὁ βωμὸς ἑρπύη*), and it is probable that such a temple did exist at that time (see below).

NEPTUNUS, AEDES, DELUBRUM: a temple of Neptune in *circo Flaminio* mentioned on an inscription of the Flavian period (CIL vi. 8423: *Abascanti Aug. lib. aedituo aedis Neptuni quae est in circo Flaminio*), and without doubt by Pliny (NH xxxvi. 26), who states that a famous group by Scopas of Neptune, Thetis, Achilles, the Nereids and Tritons, Phorcus and his crew, sea-monsters, etc., was in *delubro Cn. Domitii in circo Flaminio*. A coin of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (RE v. 1331, No. 25), struck between 42 and 38 B.C. (Babelon, *Monnaies* i. 466, Domitia 20, BM. Rep. ii. 487. 93), represents a tetrastyle temple with the legend *Nept. Cn. Domitius M. f. Imp.* This indicates that the temple was vowed at least between 42 and 38, but it may not have been built before 32, when Domitius had been reconciled to Augustus and held the consulship. The group of Scopas he probably brought from Bithynia, his province. The day of dedication of this temple was 1st December (Fast. Amit. ad Kal. Dec., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 245, 335). To this temple also have been held to belong the parts of a frieze that were preserved (though this is no proof of their provenance) in the Palazzo Santacroce and are now in Paris and Munich

<sup>1</sup> See, however, JRS 1911, 187-195.

(cf. however MARTIS, ARA). In style and execution this frieze belongs to the second half of the first century B.C., and it evidently surrounded either an altar or, more probably, a pedestal, in the temple. This pedestal may well have been that on which Domitius placed the Scopas group. Part of the frieze represents a lustratio of the army of the period before Marius, and probably was a memorial of the victory of the great-grandfather of the builder of the temple, who was victorious over the Celts on the Isère in 121 and censor in 115 (for the discussion of these reliefs, and their bearing on the date of the temple, see Furtwängler, *Intermezzi*, Berlin 1896, 35-48; Brunn, *Bayr. Sitz. Ber.* 1876, 342-344; *S. Sculpt.* 33-38; *Sc R i.* 10-14; *Mon. Piot*, 1910, xvii. 147-157; *AR* 1909, 77-82; *OJ* 1910, 95-101; *AD* iii. 12). Remains of substructures and of six columns of a pycnostyle temple, belonging without much doubt to this temple of Neptune, have been found north-west of the Piazza S. Salvatore (BC 1873, 212-221, pl. vi.; Bursian's *Jahresb.* 1873, 787-789).

It is impossible to determine whether Domitius built an entirely new temple, or restored that which previously existed in circo Flaminio (see ARA NEPTUNI above; HJ 522-523; WR 227; Rosch. iii. 203-204; Gilb. iii. 89, 90).

NEPTUNUS, TEMPLUM: see BASILICA NEPTUNI; DIVUS HADRIANUS, TEMPLUM; PORTICUS ARGONAUTARUM.

NIGER LAPIS: see SEPULCRUM ROMULI.

NODINUS: a brook in Rome that was converted into a sewer. It is mentioned only once (Cic. de nat. deor. iii. 52) with no indication of location, but it may perhaps have flowed from the Colosseum valley between the Palatine and Caelian into the valley of the circus Maximus (cf. SPINO).

NOENSES DE ARA MATIDIAE: a locality named with others in one inscription (CIL vi. 31893, 10-11; BC 1891, 356), but entirely unknown (cf. MATIDIA, ARA).

NOVA VIA: so called in distinction from the Sacra via, the second of the two streets in Rome before the empire which were known as viae, and itself of great antiquity (Varro vi. 59: quod vocabulum ei pervetustum ut novae viae quae via iam diu vetus). It began at the north-east corner of the Palatine, near the temple of Jupiter Stator, where it branched off from the Sacra via, and ran along the north slope of the hill to its north-west corner (Liv. i. 41. 4: ex superiore parte aedium per fenestras in novam viam versus—habitat enim rex (Tarquinius Priscus) ad Iovis Statoris), between the aedes Vestae and the lucus Vestae (Cic. de div. i. 101: a luco Vestae qui a Palatii radice in novam viam devexus est). At its beginning it was called summa nova via (Solin. i. 24: Tarquinius Priscus ad Mugoniam portam supra summam novam viam (habitavit)), and at the north-west corner of the hill, above the temple of Vesta,

*infima nova via* (Gell. xvi. 17. 2 : *araque ei* (Aio Loquenti) *statuta est quae est infima nova via* ; Liv. v. 32. 6 : *in nova via ubi nunc sacellum est supra aedem Vestae* ; 50. 6 ; 52. 11 ; Cic. de div. ii. 69 ; Varro v. 43 : *unde escendebant, ad infimam novam viam locus sacellum Velabrum*).

Along this line, on the north side of the hill, the Nova via of the empire has been excavated. Its pavement lies at 23.40 metres above sea-level behind the atrium Vestae, and at 32.30 metres at its junction with the clivus Palatinus. The earlier pavement has been found at least at one point beneath the later (NS 1882, 234-238, 413 ; 1884, 191 ; CR 1905, 76 ; AJA 1923, 392). It is possible that the original road was a little to the north of the later, and that the successive enlargements of the atrium Vestae and the building of the enormous substructures of the imperial palace which now span the street changed its first line somewhat.<sup>1</sup> At the north-west corner of the Palatine the straight line of the Nova via is blocked completely by the large hall belonging to the complex of buildings between the bibliotheca Augusti and the lacus Iuturnae (Mitt. 1902, 73-74), but it is connected with the clivus Victoriae above and the forum below by a flight of steps and an inclined way. It is evident, therefore, that the construction of the temple of AUGUSTUS (q.v.) and the adjacent structures changed the conditions so completely that the original course of the street beyond this point is only a matter of conjecture. We are told, however, that it ended in the Velabrum (Varro vi. 24 : *in Velabro qua in novam viam exitur* ; v. 43 loc. cit. ; v. 164 : *alteram Romanulam ab Roma dictam quae habet gradus in nova via* (sic Scaliger ; *novalia*, vulg.) *ad Volupiae sacellum*), and also that in Ovid's time it was connected with the forum (Ov. Fast. vi. 396 : *qua nova Romano nunc via iuncta foro est*). There is no doubt that the original street ran into the Velabrum (cf. however, NS 1882, 234-238), near the PORTA ROMANULA (q.v.), which is usually placed near the church of S. Teodoro, although the relation between the Nova via and the clivus Victoriae becomes thereby somewhat dubious. The connection with the forum referred to by Ovid may have been effected by an inclined way turning to the north. It has been suggested that the original road followed the supposed line of the Palatine pomerium (Tac. Ann. xii. 24) on the north and west sides of the hill (Hermes 1885, 428 ; HJ 37), but this is very doubtful.

In Greek the Nova via appears as ἡ καὶνὴ ὁδός (Plut. Cam. 14 ; de fort. Rom. 5), and Festus cautions against an incorrect, but evidently common, pronunciation of the name (293 : *disiuncte . . . ut ne novamviam quidem sed novam viam*).

(Pais, Ancient Legends 273-274 ; Gilb. ii. 114-117 ; iii. 422-423 ; Théd. 173, 356 ; AJA 1923, 384 sqq. ; ZA 103 ; Mem. Am. Acad. v. 121.)

<sup>1</sup> For the façade of a house of the Antonine period, see Architettura ed Arti Decorative, iii. (1924), 16, 17.



NOVUM TEMPLUM : see AUGUSTUS, DIVUS, TEMPLUM.

AD NUCEM : a locality mentioned on a sepulchral inscription (CIL vi. 28644, found in Vigna Bertone on the Via Salaria, on the extreme north of the city, just as ad Martis (see MARS, TEMPLUM) is on the extreme south), and on a lead plate (Rostowzew, Syll. n. 498 ; Rev. Num. 1899, 43-44), where the representation of a chestnut tree with nuts may indicate an industrial establishment or an inn (HJ xxiii.).

C. NUMITORII AEDIFICIA : buildings named after their owner or constructor, mentioned in an inscription of the first century B.C. (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 809). Their situation is unknown.

NYMPHAE, AEDES : a temple in the campus Martius, containing many documents relating to the census, which was burned by Clodius (Cic. pro Mil. 73 ; Parad. iv. 31 ; cf. de har. resp. 57). Its day of dedication was 23rd August (Fast. Arv. ad x Kal. Sept., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 215, 326). There is no indication of its location in the campus Martius, unless its identification with the aedes Iuturnae (Mommsen, CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 326) be accepted. For this, however, there is no convincing evidence (HJ 481-482 ; Gilb. iii. 162-163 ; Rosch. iii. 540-541, 544 ; WR 223).

AD NYMPHAS (ninfas) : mentioned (CIL vi. 9526) as in Sebura maiore (see SUBURA), and also in another inscription, found outside the porta Ostiensis, of a woman 'quae (h)ab(ita)vit ad nymfas' (NS 1912, 381). Cf. MEFFIS AEDES, LUCUS, which lay above it on the Cispius.

AD NUMFIUM : an entirely unknown locality, mentioned only in one inscription (CIL vi. 31898. 11).

NYMPHAEA TRIA : on the Aventine in Region XIII (Not. Cur.). This was probably a monumental structure into which three fountains were brought together, and perhaps the same as the nymfea tria attributed to Diocletian (Chron. 148 ; cf. Pr. Reg. 110 ; Jord. ii. 38 ; HJ 169).

NYMPHAEUM (I) : a monumental fountain, fed by the aqua Iulia (LA 393-395), between the via Tiburtina vetus and the via Labicana. The existing remains, of brick-faced concrete, show a two-storied façade with a wide central niche and arched openings on each side. In front, was a curved basin into which the water flowed from the building behind (Durm, fig. 543 ; for list of further illustrations, see HJ 348). In the side openings stood the marble trophies (*trophaea*) which were removed in 1590 by Sixtus V and set up on the balustrade of the Piazza del Campidoglio (LS iii. 168 ; HF i. p. 409). Their style is certainly Domitianic (SScR i. 128, who attributes them to Domitian's double triumph over the Chatti and Dacians in 89 A.D.), but they were not made for this setting, but for another, in which a Victory stood between them (Mitt. 1923-4, 185-192). A quarry mark of Domitian is said to have been seen under one of them (Cittadini ap. Martinelli, Roma ex ethn. sacra, 430 ; Mitt. 1891, 44 ; HJ 349, n. 16) and an inscription (CIL vi. 1207=31263),

quoted by Petrarch and copied (in part only), near the Lateran about 1470, may also be attributed to that emperor (Mitt. 1899, 255-259).

Despite what has been said to the contrary, however, the brickwork of the structure itself is not of the time of Domitian, but probably of Alexander Severus, on whose coins the building appears to be represented (Cohen 297-303, 479, 480).

In the Middle Ages this nymphaeum had already been connected with Marius and his triumph over the Cimbri, and it appears as Cimbrum in a document of 1176 (Jord. ii. 517), in the *Mirabilia* and the *Ordo Benedicti* (Jord. ii. 640, 665); as *templum Marii* (*Ordo Benedicti*, *Mirabilia*, locc. citt.), and as *Marii Cimbrum* (Petrarch, Ep. vi. 2; Rem. i. 118). Poggio (ap. Ulrichs, 236) says that this templum was built by Marius from the spoils of the Cimbri and that his trophaea were still visible on the monument, confusing these trophies with the *Marii Monumenta* (q.v.). This confusion may have been due to the fact that, after the *damnatio memoriae*, Domitian's name was erased from so many inscriptions that some of his buildings were attributed to others (HJ 348-350; Durm 475; Maass, *Die Tagesgötter in Rom u. den Provinzen*, Berlin 1902, 64-65; D'Esp. Mon. ii. 176-7; Fr. ii. 63-65; YW 1923-4, 107; DuP 115-117).

**NYMPHAEUM (2):** on the Esquiline, between the via Labicana and the Aurelian wall, just inside the line of the *Anio vetus*. There is no mention of this structure in ancient literature or inscriptions, but it is without doubt a monumental nymphaeum. The existing ruins consist of a decagonal hall of *opus latericium*, which was covered with a domed roof until part of it fell in in 1828, surrounded on three sides with other chambers added at a later date. In the interior of the hall are nine niches, besides the entrance; and above these are ten corresponding round-arched windows. The diameter of the hall is about 24 metres, and the height was 33. It is very important from the structural point of view, and especially for the meridian ribs in the dome. The outside walls were covered with marble and the interior richly decorated in a similar manner (Durm, figs. 306-308, 313, 339; Choisy, pl. x. i. pp. 82-84; Sangallo, Barb. 12; Giovannoni in *Ann. d. Società d. Ingegneri*, 1904, 165-201; LS iii. 158-161; JRS 1919, 176, 182; RA 182-188; cf. HJ 360, n. 44, for references to other illustrations and plans).<sup>1</sup> In the fifteenth century Flavius Blondus (*Roma Instaurata*) called these ruins *Le Galluzze*, a name of uncertain meaning that had been applied earlier to some ruins near S. Croce in Gerusalemme (Jord. ii. 130-131). Since the seventeenth century the nymphaeum has frequently been called *TEMPLUM MINERVAE MEDICAE* (q.v.), on account of the erroneous impression that the *Giustiniani Athene* had been found in its ruins (HJ 360; LS iii. 158-161). It is now often attributed to the *Horti Liciniani*, but without adequate reason.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Altm. 81-84; ASA 82.

NYMPHAEUM: (3) in the Via Annibaldi, between the Via Cavour and the Colosseum: see *DOMUS AUREA* (p. 169).

NYMPHAEUM ALEXANDRI: on the Esquiline in Region V (Not. Cur.), mentioned also in one inscription (CIL vi. 31893 *d*, 5). It was probably a monumental fountain connected with the aqua Alexandrina. For a discussion of its identification with either of the nymphaea described above, or with another that is reported to have been found in the Villa Altieri, see HJ 350; Jord. i. i. 478; Mitt. 1923-4, 185-192; LA 385-386, and literature cited there.

NYMPHAEUM FLAVI PHILIPPI: known from an inscription of the fifth century (CIL vi. 1728) in three copies, two of which have disappeared. The third was found in the Via Cavour near the church of S. Francesco di Paola, and some ruins beneath this church are thought to have belonged to the nymphaeum (BC 1887, 333-335; NS 1887, 445; HJ 332; CIL vi. 31912).

NYMPHAEUM IOVIS: somewhere in Region VII (Not. Cur.), probably in the southern part (BC 1887, 144-145).

## O

**OBELISCUS ANTINOI**: the obelisk now standing on the Pincian hill, which was brought to Rome by Hadrian. The hieroglyphics were probably cut in Rome, and state that the obelisk was erected on the site where Antinous was buried, just outside the limits of the city (Mitt. 1896, 113-121; BC 1891, 277-279; 1897, 208-215=Ob. Eg. 132-139; Erman in Preuss. Abh. 1917, Abh. 4. 10-17), but it is uncertain whether this means that the body of Antinous was actually brought to Rome or not. The fragments of this obelisk were set up in 1570 in the vigna Saccoccia outside porta Maggiore at a point marked by an inscription recording the fact, which was fixed to one of the piers of the aqua Claudia, about 360 metres east of the Aurelian wall. This was made one of the piers of the acqua Felice in 1585. The original site of the obelisk was probably not far from this point (Mitt. 1896, 122-130; HJ 251; LS iii. 165). In 1633 it was removed by the Barberini to their palace, and afterwards presented to Clement XIV (1769-1777). It lay in the Giardino della Pigna in the Vatican until 1822, when Pius VII erected it on the Pincian. The obelisk is about 9 metres high, and may have stood at the entrance to the tomb or cenotaph of Antinous, perhaps with another of the same size (NS 1922, 137—where the old identification with the horti Variani or spei Veteris is still retained: T x. 386).

**OBELISCUS AUGUSTI, GNOMON**: an obelisk erected at Heliopolis in the seventh century B.C. by Psammetichus II, brought to Rome by Augustus in 10 B.C. and set up in the campus Martius between the ara Pacis Augustae and the columna Antonini Pii (CIL vi. 702; Amm. Marcell. xvii. 4. 12; Strabo xvii. 805; Plin. NH xxxvi. 71). It is of red granite, 21.79 metres high (cf. Plin. loc. cit.; Notit. Brev.: Jord. ii. 187), and covered with hieroglyphics (BC 1896, 273-283=Ob. Eg. 104-114). It was standing in the eighth century (Eins. 2. 5; 4. 3), but was thrown down and broken at some unknown date (BC 1917, 23), and not discovered until 1512 (PBS ii. 3). It was excavated in 1748, but, in spite of various attempts (LS iv. 151), it was not set up again in the Piazza di Montecitorio, its present site, until 1789 (BC 1914, 381). It was repaired with fragments from the columna Antonini.

Augustus dedicated this obelisk to the Sun (CIL vi. 702) and made it the gnomon, or needle, of a great meridian <sup>1</sup> (*horologium, solarium*) formed

<sup>1</sup> The name 'ad Titan,' applied to the neighbouring church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina in liturgies of the eighth-tenth centuries, which originated perhaps as early as the fifth, may refer to it (RAP iv. 261-277).



by laying an extensive pavement of marble on the north side of the shaft, the lines indicating midday at the various seasons of the year (Lumisden, *Remarks on the Antiquities of Rome*, 262; JRS 1921, 265, 266, is wrong), being marked by strips of gilt metal inlaid in the marble (Plin. NH xxxvi. 72; Richter 252-253, fig. 26). Seventy years later the indications of the dial were incorrect, and it was supposed that the obelisk had been slightly displaced by an earthquake (Plin. NH xxxvi. 73). About 1484, and at various times in the next century, portions of the pavement were found, with the gilt lines, and figures in mosaic around the edge representing the winds and different heavenly bodies, but they were covered up again and are not visible (LS i. 83, 136, 169; HJ 611, n. 26, and literature there cited). The height of the obelisk would require a pavement extending about 110 metres east and west, and 60 north and south (HJ 610-612; LR 466-468; CIL vi. 29820).

**OBELISCUS AUGUSTI IN CIRCO MAXIMO:** brought from Heliopolis by Augustus at the same time as the gnomon (v. supra). This is shown by the identical inscriptions on the bases of the two (CIL vi. 701=702). It was dedicated to the Sun (Cassiod. Var. iii. 51. 8, wrongly says that it was dedicated to Luna), and erected on the spina of the circus Maximus (Strabo xvii. 805; Amm. Marcell. xvii. 4. 12; Plin. NH xxxvi. 71; Not. Brev.; Chron. 145). The hieroglyphics on the shaft were cut partly by Seti I and partly by Rameses II, 1292-1325 (Amm. Marcell. xvii. 4. 17-23; BC 1896, 145-173, 250-259=Ob. Eg. 51-90). The height of the obelisk is 23.70 metres (cf. Plin. loc. cit.; Not. Brev.; Chron. 145; CIL viii. 212. 83=AL 1552, 83; Jord. ii. 187). Nothing is known of the history of the obelisk after the fourth century until the sixteenth, when fragments of the base and inscription were found during the pontificate of Gregory XIII (1572-1585), and the obelisk itself, broken into three pieces, in 1587. It was then removed and erected on its present site, in the Piazza del Popolo (LS iv. 148-150; HJ 124; BC 1914, 114-115).

**OBELISCUS CAPITOLINUS:** the obelisk that stood in front of the church of Ara Coeli on the Capitol (BC 1888, pls. viii, ix; Heemskerck, i. 11, 61; ii. 12, 16, 72, 92; cf. Hülsen's text) until some time between 1555 and 1561, when it fell. It was given in 1582 by the city authorities to Ciriaco Mattei, who set it up in the Mattei gardens, where the upper part still stands on a modern base (Mitt. 1891, 4, 27, 31, 45; Rodocanachi, *Capitole* 143, and literature cited<sup>1</sup>). It was erected by Rameses II at Heliopolis, and is covered with hieroglyphics (BC 1896, 270-272=Ob. Eg. 101-103). It was probably brought to Rome in the first century, and may have been set up on the Capitoline in connection with the shrine of Isis (see *ISIS CAPITOLINA*), which stood there at that time (Jord. ii. 183).

**OBELISCUS CONSTANTII:** the obelisk which is now standing at the Lateran which was brought to Rome by Constantius in 357 A.D., and set up on

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also BC 1882, 112; Cons. 171; LS iii. 83; Boissard i, 46.

the spina of the circus Maximus (Amm. Marcell. xvi. 10. 17 ; xvii. 4. 12 ; Cassiod. Var. iii. 51. 8). It was erected by Thutmose III in the fifteenth century B.C. in front of the temple of Ammon at Thebes. Augustus thought of bringing it to Rome, and Constantine did bring it down the Nile to Alexandria. Its transportation to Rome and erection by Constantius are described by Ammianus (xvii. 4. 13-16) and in the inscription cut on four sides of the base, which has now disappeared (CIL vi. 1163 ; cf. 31249=AL 279). The obelisk is of red granite, 32.50 metres high (cf. Cur. Brev. ; Jord. ii. 189 ; HJ 132)—the largest in the world and the last brought to Rome. Its surface is covered with hieroglyphics (BC 1896, 89-115, 129-144=Ob. Eg. 8-50). It is mentioned in the twelfth century (Mirabilia 25), and again in 1410-17 (Anon. Magl. 17, ap. Urlichs, 159 ; LS i. 45), and by Du Pérac (Roxburghe, p. 107), but in 1587 it was found, broken into three pieces and buried about 7 metres in the ground. It was excavated by Sixtus V and erected in 1587 on its present site (LS iv. 148-151 ; BC 1917, 23).

OBELISCUS DOMITIANI : see OBELISCI ISEI CAMPENSIS (4).

OBELISCUS HORTORUM SALLUSTIANORUM : now standing in the Piazza della Trinità dei Monti. This obelisk was brought to Rome some time after the period of Augustus (Amm. Marcell. xvii. 4. 16) and erected in the gardens of Sallust, where it was still standing in the eighth century (Eins. 2. 7 ; Jord. ii. 344, 649). It is 13 metres high, and on its surface is a copy made in Rome, probably about 200 A.D., of the hieroglyphics of the obelisk of Rameses II that Augustus set up in the circus Maximus (BC 1897, 216-223=Ob. Eg. 140-147). In the fifteenth century it was lying on the ground, broken into two pieces, near its base (Anon. Magl. 17, ap. Urlichs 159 ; LS i. 234) and remained there until the eighteenth century (LD 171, who reproduces a drawing by Carlo Fontana (Windsor 9314) dated 21st March, 1706, and lettered 'scoprimiento della Guglia, etc.')

<sup>1</sup> In 1733 Clement XII had it conveyed to the Lateran, but did not set it up. In 1789 Pius VI erected it on its present site. The base was covered over after 1733, but found again in 1843 in the northern part of the horti, between the Vie Sicilia, Sardegna, Toscana and Abruzzi (HJ 434-435 ; BC 1914, 373-374 ; cf. HORTI SALLUSTIANI). It is a large block of red granite (2.50×2.55 m.), and has been placed on the Capitol as the base of a monument to the fallen Fascists (Capitolium, ii. 424).

OBELISCUS INSULANUS : see INSULA TIBERINA.

OBELISCI ISEI CAMPENSIS : several small obelisks found at different times near the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, which were probably brought to Rome during the first century and grouped in pairs, with others, at

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, iii. 256-257, and plate (dated 1654) reissued in Rom. Coll. S.J. Musaeum, Amsterdam, 1678.

the entrances of the temple of Isis (ISEUM, q.v.), which stood between the Saepta and the temple of Minerva :

(1) that now standing above the fountain in front of the Pantheon. This belongs to the time of Rameses II and stood in front of the temple of Ra at Heliopolis. It is 6 metres high and covered with hieroglyphics (BC 1896, 260-264=Ob. Eg. 91-95). It is referred to in the fifteenth century (Poggio ap. Urlichs, p. 24) as lying in the piazza in front of S. Macuto (Arm. 317), but in the sixteenth it had already been set up there (Fulvius, *Antiquit. Urbis* lxxi.), and it is also marked on the map of Bufalini.<sup>1</sup> In 1711 Clement XI removed it to its present position.

(2) that now standing on Bernini's elephant in the Piazza della Minerva, where it was placed by Alexander VII in 1667. It was erected at Sais by Pharaoh Apries in the first half of the sixth century B.C., and has only four lines of hieroglyphics (BC 1896, 284-288=Ob. Eg. 115-119). Nothing was known of it until it was found in 1665 (BC 1883, 45).

(3) that now standing in the Viale delle Terme, which was found in 1883 under the apse of S. Maria sopra Minerva (NS 1883, 244). It is about 6 metres high with hieroglyphics (BC 1883, 72-103; 1896, 265-269=Ob. Eg. 96-100), and was erected by Rameses II at Heliopolis.

(4) Another of the obelisks that were probably set up in the precinct of Isis is that which stands on Bernini's fountain in the Piazza Navona. This seems to have been made in Egypt by order of Domitian, and brought to Rome where the hieroglyphics were cut. They allude to the repair of that which was ruined, i.e. the Iseum. When the circus of Maxentius was built on the via Appia, the obelisk was transported thither and erected on the spina. It lay among the ruins of the circus until 1651 when Innocent X placed it in its present position (BC 1897, 201-207=Ob. Eg. 125-131; JRS 1919, 188; BC 1908, 254-272; 1917, 103-124; RAP ii. 113-114; Erman in Preuss. Abh. 1917, Abh. 4, 4-10).

(5)-(7) Besides these, Ligorio (Bodl. 75<sup>v</sup>, quoted in BC 1883, 42, 43), mentions three more similar obelisks, one of which had been excavated in front of the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva (cf. Aldrovandi, *Statue di Roma*, 314); this is in all probability that which passed into the possession of the Medici, and remained in their villa on the Pincio until 1787 (LS iii. 114, 121; Doc. Ined. iv. 78, No. 54), when it was removed to the Boboli gardens in Florence, as it has inscriptions almost identical with those of (1). The remains of the other two were built into modern houses, but had, he says, the same measurements and the same hieroglyphics. These fragments, three in number, were given to Cardinal Alessandro Albani (Valesio, *Diario*, 16 Aug. 1702 ap. Cancellieri, *Mercato* 164, and Nibby, *Roma Antica* ii. 290), who presented them to the city of Urbino in 1737, where they now stand (made up into one obelisk) with another fragment (probably not enumerated, as being without any

<sup>1</sup> It was engraved probably by Du Pérac (Hülsen, *Das Speculum des Lafreri in Collectanea* L. S. Olschki oblata, p. 164, No. 117).



inscription) in front of the church of S. Domenico. They have inscriptions of the time of Apries like (2) (see Ungarelli, *Interpretatio Obeliscorum Urbis*, p. x.). For a drawing of one of the fragments, see Heemskerck i. 63 b = Vat. Lat. 3437, 5<sup>v</sup>: and of all three, Kircher (*Obelisci Aegyptiaci nuper inter Isaci Romani rudera effossi interpretatio* (Rome, 1666), 134, 135).

(8) Another obelisk lies buried not far from S. Luigi dei Francesi, about which no particulars can be given, as it has never been excavated (Buonarroti, ser. 3, vol. i. (1882), 41-59; Roma, ii. (1924), 505-509).

(9) A portion of another small obelisk which may have come from the Iseum is described and illustrated by Kircher, op. cit. 135, 136, as existing in the Palazzo Cavalieri-Maffei in Piazza Branca, now Piazza Cairoli (LF 21). It was later in Villa Albani (Zoega, *De Origine Obeliscorum*, 80), and appears to have been sent to Paris; from there it was brought, with Cavaceppi's restorations, to the Glyptothek at Munich (Furtwängler-Wolters, *Katalog*, No. 22). The inscription is much injured, and the T. Sextius Africanus mentioned in it has not been identified with certainty with either of the two known men of this name, one of the time of Claudius and Nero, the other of the time of Trajan (Pros. iii. 236. 464, 465). If the two obelisks from the temple of Fortune at Praeneste, which belong to the time of Claudius (one is still there, the other in Naples: see BC 1904, 252-257; Guida del Museo di Napoli, p. 118, No. 335), can rightly be called counterparts of it, the identification should be with the former.

**OBELISCI MAUSOLEI AUGUSTI:** two obelisks that stood in front of the mausoleum of Augustus in the campus Martius (Amm. Marcell. xvii. 4. 16; Not. Brev.). As they are not mentioned by Pliny (NH xxxvi. 69-73) nor by Strabo in his description of the mausoleum (v. 3. 8), they probably were not brought from Egypt before the time of Domitian. One of these obelisks, which are a little over 14 metres high, was excavated before 1527 behind the church of S. Rocco<sup>1</sup> and set up behind S. Maria Maggiore in 1587; the other was found at the same time, but was not excavated till a little before 1550 (compare Fulvio, *Antiquitates Urbis* lxxi<sup>v</sup>, with Aldrovandi, *Statue di Roma* 314; cf. LS ii. 15), and was not moved until 1782, when Pius VI placed it in the Piazza del Quirinale (LS iv. 152; BC 1914, 382). They are without hieroglyphics (BC 1897, 223-225 = Ob. Eg. 147-149).

**OBELISCUS VATICANUS:** \* the obelisk from Heliopolis erected by Caligula on the spina of the circus Gai et Neronis (CIL vi. 882; Plin. NH xvi. 201; xxxvi. 74, where the reading is uncertain, cf. BC 1897, 226), and now standing in front of S. Peter's. In the Middle Ages it was called the tomb of Julius Caesar, whose ashes were supposed to be contained in a gilt ball on its top, now in the Museo dei Conservatori (*Mirabilia* 20;

<sup>1</sup> See JRS 1919, 189.



Jord. ii. 429, 625; JRS 1919, 43, 56; Cons. 171; Bullar. Vatican. i. 25 (a. 1023 Leo IX); Urlichs 228). It is a monolith of red granite, without hieroglyphics, 25.36 metres in height (cf. Not. Brev. and Jord. ii. 187), and was moved from its ancient to its present site in 1586 by Fontana, at the command of Sixtus V (LS iv. 144-147; LR 554, and literature cited, for removal<sup>1</sup>), having stood erect from the time when it was brought to the city (HJ 657; BC 1897, 225-227=Ob. Eg. 149-151). The vessel which brought it was used as the nucleus of the central breakwater on which the pharos stood (Suet. Claud. 20) or the left-hand breakwater (Plin. NH xvi. 76; xxxvi. 4) of the Claudian harbour of Portus Augusti (Porto) (NS 1907, 734-740). The mediaeval church of S. Stefanus de Agulia took its name from it (HCh 472).

ODEUM: a building for musical performances, erected by Domitian in the campus Martius, probably near the Stadium (Suet. Dom. 5; Eutrop. vii. 23; Chron. 146; Hier. a. Abr. 2105). It was restored by Apollodorus in the reign of Trajan (Cass. Dio lxix. 4) and contained 10600 loca, that is, places for about 5000 spectators (cf. BC 1894, 310-324). In the fourth century it was regarded as among the most conspicuous monuments in Rome (Amm. Marcell. xvi. 10. 14); in the fifth as one of the seven mira praecipua (Pol. Silv. 545). It is possible that the artificial elevation, called monte Giordano, covers its ruins (HJ 594).

OFFICINAE MINII: mills for the working of red lead (*minium*) brought to Rome from Spain (Vitr. vii. 9. 4). They were on the Quirinal between the temple of Flora and that of QUIRINUS (q.v.), and therefore probably at the foot of the hill, near the present Via Rasella (BC 1889, 379; RhM 1894, 407; HJ 412).

OPPIUS MONS: the southern spur of the Esquiline hill (Varro, LL v. 50), separated from the CISPIUS (q.v.) on the north by the valley of the Subura, and from the Caelius on the south by the valley of the Colosseum. The Oppius and the Cispius united to form the Esquiline plateau just inside the line of the Servian wall. In the divisions of the SEPTIMONTIUM (Fest. 341, 348) FAGUTAL (q.v.) appears as an independent locality, so that we may infer that originally Oppius was strictly applied to this spur except the western end (HJ 254-257; Mon. L. xv. 782-785). Part of this western end was also called CARINAE (q.v.). The name Oppius continued in use, at least for religious purposes, to the end of the republic (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 1003=vi. 32455—for this inscription, which mentions the Montani

<sup>1</sup> The story that, when the obelisk was being raised the silence was broken by a sailor named Bresca, from San Remo, who shouted "acqua alle funi," appears in a new form in Rawlinson's Diary, vol. i. 7 Dec. 1720 (Bodleian MS. Rawl. D. 1180, p. 163), 'the great obelisk of which is told this story, that when it was raising, the ropes fell too short, and so great was the fear of failing that silence was commanded on pain of death, but an English sailor present bid them wet the ropes, which then lengthened and the work was finished, but instead of a reward, the sailor had only his life given him, forfeited by his transgression of the command.' (Ficoroni, Roma Moderna, 19; cf. Hülsen in Byz. Neugr. Jahrb. ii. 453-460; and Roma i. (1923), pp. 412-418, who points out that the story really belongs to the obelisk at Constantinople and is taken from the relief on its base.)

montis Oppi, cf. also PAGUS MONTANUS; BC 1887, 156; Mitt. 1889, 278; DE ii. 2159-61); no later instance has been found. Oppius, according to Varro (Fest. 348), was a citizen of Tusculum, who came to the assistance of the Romans while Tullus Hostilius was besieging Veii, but the etymology of the word is obscure. It may possibly be that of a clan located at this point (Jord. i. 1. 183-188) and it is noteworthy that it is a plebeian gentilicium (v. SEPTIMONTIUM). Detlefsen's conjecture (Bull. d. Inst. 1861, 18) that Oppius is derived from Oppidus is revived by Pinza (Mon. L. xv. 782), who regards the name as comparatively late.

OPS, AEDES, TEMPLUM: a temple on the Capitol, probably in the area Capitolina (Hülsemann, Festschrift für H. Kiepert, 214), which is first mentioned as being struck by lightning in 186 B.C. (Liv. xxxix. 22. 4; and probably Obseq. 3). In the latter part of the second century B.C. L. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus dedicated a temple to Opifera, probably Ops Opifera (cf. Fast. Arv. ad x Kal. Sept., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 215: Opi Opifer(ae), pp. 326-337), which may refer to a restoration of the existing temple on the Capitol, or less probably to a new one. If it was a new one, it may perhaps have been in the forum, and referred to in the calendar (Fast. Amit. ad xiv Kal. Ian., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 245: Opalia feriae Opi. Opi ad Forum; Fowler, Roman Festivals 273). The temple of Ops on the Capitol was famous as the place where Caesar stored the state treasure of 700,000,000 sesterces (Cic. ad Att. xiv. 14. 5; xvi. 14. 4; Phil. i. 17; ii. 35, 93; viii. 26; Vell. ii. 60. 4; cf. Obseq. 68).

It is also mentioned incidentally by Cicero (ad Att. vi. 1. 17) and in the Schol. Veron. of Vergil (Aen. ii. 714). At the celebration of the ludi saeculares in 17 B.C. the matronae assembled in this temple (CIL vi. 32323. 75; EE viii. 254), and the Arval Brethren in 80 A.D. (CIL vi. 2059. 11). Military diplomas were fastened on its walls (dipl. hon. miss. xv a. 83, CIL iii. Suppl. p. 1962; EE v. 613), and it is possible that standard weights were also kept here (cf. a bronze weight with the inscription: templ(um) Opis aug(ustae), Ann. d. Inst. 1881, 182 f.; ILS 8637 a, b). The day of dedication of this temple was the festival of the Opiconsivia on 25th August (Jord. i. 2. 43; EE iii. 64-73; Rosch. iii. 933-934; WR 203).

ORBONA, FANUM: a shrine ad aedem Larum, that is, on the Velia, of which nothing further is known (Cic. de nat. deor. iii. 63; Plin. NH ii. 16, from Cicero; for Orbona and her meaning, cf. Tert. ad nat. ii. 15; Cypr. 4; Rosch. ii. 209, and literature there cited).

ORCUS, AEDES: a temple that Elagabalus destroyed to make room for his temple of Elagabalus on the Palatine (Hist. Aug. Elag. 1. 6; for a conjectural site, see IUPPITER ULTOR, TEMPLUM; and for a possible identification, see HORTA. Orci is a conjecture for orti or horti of the MSS.).

ORFIENSES: see LACUS ORPHEI.

OVILE (OVILIA): an enclosed area in the campus Martius, where the comitia centuriata met to vote. It derived its name from its likeness to a sheepfold (Serv. ad Ecl. i. 33), and ovile may have been the original designation for this enclosure (Iuv. vi. 529 and Schol.: ovile quia ibi Romulus et pastores adsueverunt pecora pascere—a fanciful explanation), but it was also called Saepta (*saepio*, enclose); cf. Cic. pro Mil. 41; Ov. Fast. i. 53. After the building of the republic was replaced by the SAEPTA IULIA (q.v.) the name ovile continued to be used (Liv. xxvi. 22; Lucan ii. 197; Auson. Grat. act. iii. 13). The ovile was an inaugurated templum (Cic. pro Rab. 11) and probably occupied the same area as the later Saepta Iulia, on the west side of the via Lata, but extended considerably farther to the west, a square with sides of about 1000 Roman feet (HJ 479-480; BC 1893, 120-122; RE i. A. 1724).

This enclosed space was divided by barriers of some sort into aisles and sections, corresponding in number to the curiae, tribus or centuriae of the different assemblies, and through these the people passed to deposit their votes on the pons or raised platform at the side (Mommson, Staatsrecht iii. 399-402).

## P

**PACATI F(UNDUS ?)** : probably the estate of one Pacatus. It is mentioned on one inscription (CIL vi. 9103=31895).

**PAEDAGOGIUM** : see **DOMUS AUGUSTIANA**.

**PAEDAGOGIUM PUERORUM A CAPITATE AFRICAE** : see **CAPUT AFRICAE**.

**PAGUS AVENTINENSIS** : the district that comprised the Aventine hill, designated according to its original form of organisation. From the evidence of an inscription of the Augustan period, found at Lanuvium (CIL xiv. 2105), it is believed that this term continued in use down to the first century, and that the Aventine was organised religiously as a pagus until its formal inclusion in the pomerium of Claudius (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* iii. 114-115 ; RE i. 774 ; Jord. i. 1. 278 ; HJ 153 ; Merlin 58-63 ; DS iv. 273-276).

**PAGUS IANICULENSIS** : a name for the district on the right bank of the Tiber while it was still organised as a pagus. It is found only in two inscriptions of about 100 B.C., one in a pavement of opus signinum (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 1000, 1001=vi. 2219, 2220) discovered near S. Maria dell' Orto (Jord. i. 1. 278 ; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii. 114, 115 ; DS iv. 273-276).

**PAGUS MONTANUS** : a name occurring in one inscription (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 591=vi. 3823=31577) on a travertine cippus that was found in situ behind the tribune of the church of S. Vito on the Esquiline. This inscription (a fragment of a senatus consultum belonging to the second century B.C.) seems to show that this part of the Esquiline, outside the Servian wall, was then still organised as a pagus. Montanus is usually explained as equivalent to Esquilinus (HJ 265, and references there cited). Cf. also **OPPIUS MONS**.

**PAGUS SUCUSANUS** : see **SUCUSA**.

**PALATINUS MONS** : \* the centremost of the seven hills of Rome, an irregular quadrilateral in shape, and about 2 kilometres in circuit. Its highest point is 43 metres above the level of the Tiber, and 51.20 above sea-level ; and its area was about 25 acres. According to tradition, it was the first of the hills to be occupied by a settlement ; and some authorities think that ritual reasons had much to do with its selection. Pigorini believed that the Prisci Latini occupied it owing to its similarity in shape to that of the rectangular ' *terremare* ' of the plain of the Po, from which



they came, and also to the fact that it was surrounded by streams. He further favoured the derivation from *palus* (Perchè l' antica Roma è sorta sul Palatino, in Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale, xv.).<sup>1</sup> To others the natural advantages of its position seem sufficient.

It was a flat-topped hill with two distinct summits,<sup>2</sup> the Palatium and Cermalus (the former name does not appear to have extended over the whole hill until the third century B.C.—see below—though in common parlance it may have done so earlier), protected by lofty cliffs far more formidable than they seem at present (v. DOLIOLA for the discovery of republican buildings under the arch of Janus Quadrifrons, which show that the valley was originally much deeper than it now appears to be) and almost entirely surrounded by two marshy valleys traversed by winding streams, being connected only by the narrow ridge of the Velia (on the summit of which stands the arch of Titus) with the Oppius, an outlying part of the Esquiline. It was thus a position of great natural strength, and its neighbourhood to the river gave it the command of the crossing of the Tiber, probably a ford at or near the site of the pons Sublicius. This crossing was of great importance, for it was the only permanent one on the whole of the lower course of the river.

The usual form of the name is Palatium, the substantive form differentiating it from all the other hills on the left bank of the Tiber, except the Capitolium. The word is generally connected with the root *pa-*, which appears in *pasco* and *Pales*; but this etymology is disputed.

We find variations both in form and quantity—e.g. *Pālatualis* (Ennius ap. Varro, LL vii. 45), *Palatuar* (Fest. 348). Naevius brings it into association with *balare* and calls it Balatium (Varro, LL v. 53; Fest. 220; cf. Solin. i. 14). Even Martial (i. 70. 5; ix. 101. 13) makes the *ā* long.

The ancient tradition (Varro, LL v. 164; Fest. 266 Müll.; Tac. Ann. xii. 24; Plut. Rom. 3; Dionys. i. 87; Liv. i. 7; Gell. xiii. 14) is unanimous in placing on the Palatine the earliest nucleus of Rome, and modern scholars have generally agreed (Mommsen, RG<sup>9</sup> (1903), 47; Jord. i. i. 162; Richter 30; HJ 35; Rose in JRS 1922, 106 sqq.). Though some recent investigators have cast doubts on it for various reasons, none of them is of sufficient validity; Pinza (Mon. L. xv. (1905), 747) resolves the city into isolated villages on the different hills, so that the Palatine loses its primacy; while Carter (AJA 1908, 172-183; AJP 1908, 325) is equally sceptical; but cf. Hülsen in Geogr. Jahrb. xxxiv. (1911), 191, 192.

The legend of the LUPERCAL (q.v.) speaks also for the early dating of the foundation of the Palatine settlement; nor can it be proved that the Luperi Collini were earlier than those of the Palatine; cf. Fest.

<sup>1</sup> pp. 248-256 (Miscellanea Orsi, 1921). The straight lines shown on modern plans, however, are those created by the buildings of the Empire, and prove nothing as to its original condition (HJ 35, n. 15).

<sup>2</sup> The position of the depression between them is roughly marked by the older cryptoporticus on the east of the DOMUS AUGUSTI (q.v.): see SEPTIMONTIUM.

87 : Faviani et Quintiliani appellabantur Iuperci, a Favio et Quintilio praepositis suis ; Fest. 257 (similar) ; CIL vi. 1933 (the inscription of a Lupercus Quinctialis vetus) ; Ov. Fast. ii. 377 ; Liv. v. 46 (B.C. 390) : sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali colle genti Fabiae.

Richter 32 is wrong in referring to the earliest Palatine settlement oppida condebant Etrusco ritu (Varro LL. v. 143) and Cato ap. Serv. ad Aen. v. 755 : conditores enim civitatis taurum in dextram, vaccam intrinsecus iungebant et ita sulco ducto loca murorum designebant, for it was a Latin community, and no Etruscans had as yet reached Latium (REi.A. 1013 ; cf. Klio 1905, 85 ; Körte in RE vi. 743). ROMA QUADRATA is also recent in its extended sense (BPW 1903, 1645). It could not arise till Palatium and Cermalus were one ; and in the lists of the Argei (third century B.C.) they are still separate (Wissowa, Ges. Abh. 224).

The fortifications of the Palatine present something of a puzzle. It is most likely that the original settlers relied on the great natural strength of the hill ; and that the remains of defensive walls of the sixth century B.C., which are to be found at the north-west corner (there are a few blocks higher up also) of the hill, belong either to a separate enceinte contemporary with the Servian wall of the whole city, or to this wall itself (see MURUS SERVII TULLII) ; while those of the fourth century—generally known as the wall of Romulus—on the west and south sides of the hill, may belong to a separate fort, erected perhaps in 378 B.C., further remains of which may be seen near the top of the *Scalae Caci* (TF 91-102). Whatever may be our view as to the non-inclusion of the Aventine, the fragments of walling on the west side and high up on the south (if these last are correctly explained) *must* belong to a separate enceinte, even if those low down on the south did not. Cf. Ann. d. Inst. 1871, 44 (the fourth and fifth pieces are no longer visible : for the fifth cf. Visconti e Lanciani, Guida del Palatino, plan No. 26, and see PORTA MUGONIA) ; 1884, 189-204 ; Richter, 133, 134). Bagnani suggests that the object of a separate enceinte on the Palatine may have been the defence of the Pons Sublicius and the all-important crossing of the Tiber (see VICUS IUGARIUS).

According to Varro (and Pliny (NH iii. 66), who gives no names), the Palatine had three gates—the porta Romana, the porta Mugonia and the porta Ianualis (LL. v. 164). This last, however, was on the north side of the forum, and can have had nothing to do with the Palatine (see IANUS GEMINUS). And if it was founded according to Etruscan ritual, it should have had three. Most authorities, on the other hand, speak of only *one* gate (e.g. Liv. i. 12 : ad veterem portam Palati ; Ov. Trist. iii. 1. 21). The most probable explanation is that the road which passed through the porta Mugonia forked, one branch going to the Esquiline across the Velia, and the other along the north and west slopes of the Palatine, descending as it went (clivus Victoriae) to the porta Romana, which was situated somewhere on this clivus. The *Scalae Caci*, at the

foot of which was the third (nameless) gate, formed a footway, avoiding this long winding road, down to the bottom of the hill. The lower part of them may well have resembled the stairway described in Whitaker, *Motya*, 154-159.

Among the earliest buildings on the Palatine may be mentioned two archaic cisterns, both constructed in walling of cappellaccio tufa, in cavities cut in the rock, with an external packing of clay between the rock and the wall. Both have been cut through and destroyed by later walls of 2 foot blocks of tufa. One originally had a bee-hive roof; and at least one more similar cistern has been found below the 'house of Livia' (ASA 3). The other is made of thin slabs set on edge, and is 6 metres in diameter, with steps leading down into it. Four sixth century vases were found in the clay lining. Lower down is a small square shrine (?) approached by a flight of steps (which have nothing to do with the temple of the Magna Mater above), which is possibly the CASA ROMULI (q.v.; cf. TF 105); though it is useless to attempt an exact identification, its general situation is certain. A little lower down again is an inhumation tomb, assigned to the fourth century B.C., but found half full of debris of various ages (and therefore tampered with in ancient times); and below it the native rock has been exposed, and pole sockets, possibly for huts (and curved cuttings, attributable to the same purpose), have been found in it. It was asserted that remains of archaic tombs were discovered, but this interpretation of the results is now generally rejected. The tufa walls mentioned above have been interpreted as being retaining walls for raising the level of the whole area after the fire of 111 B.C., which destroyed the temple of the Magna Mater, made of blocks taken from the fourth century fortifications on each side of the *Scalae Caci* (TF 102-107), but this is by no means certain, and some of them may themselves be part of these fortifications.

The excavations were suspended at this point in 1907 and have not been carried further down the hill. But it is noticeable that this group of remains was spared by later constructions. Tiberius, Domitian and Hadrian all preferred to build enormous substructions out towards the forum rather than encroach upon this area at the top of the *SCALAE CACI* (q.v.), sacred to the earliest memorials of the city.

For recent excavations in this area, see also BC 1897, 52; NS 1886, 51; 1896, 291; 1907, 185-205, 264-282, 444-459, 529-542; RL 1907, 669-680; 1908, 201-210; 1909, 249-262; HJ 42; YW 1907, 21-22; 1908, 23, 24; 1909, 20; CQ 1908, 145-147; TF 98-107; Pinza, *Angolo sudovest del Palatino*, 1907 (from *Annali Soc. Ingegneri ed Architetti Italiani*); RE i. A. 1014; ZA 171-176; Van Buren, *Terracotta Revetments*, 9, 28, 37, 39, 47, 61, 64, 67-69.

We hear of a number of earlier buildings and sanctuaries on the hill—the curiae Veteres, the curia Saliorum, the curia Acculeia, the sacella of Acca Larentia and of Volupia; the shrines and temples of Aius



Locutius, Dea Viriplaca, Febris, Fides, Fortuna, Iuno Sospita, Luna Noctiluca, Venus, etc. But the only sanctuaries that scholars can attempt to localise belong to the later centuries of the republic—VICTORIA, IUPPITER VICTOR and MAGNA MATER (q.v.), and only with regard to the last has any certainty been attained.

The road system of the Palatine was fundamentally changed by the buildings of the imperial period ; these also blotted out the remains of the private houses, which, as the Palatine changed its character and began to come into favour, owing to its position, as a place of residence for the aristocracy, sprang up all over the hill. The oldest of which we have any record is that of VITRUVIUS VACCUS (q.v.) in 330 B.C. Later we hear of that of Cn. Octavius, consul in 165 B.C., which was bought by M. SCAURUS for the enlargement of his own house (q.v.) ; and not far off was that of Crassus. The house of M. Fulvius Flaccus, consul in 125 B.C., on the site of which Q. Lutatius Catulus built a portico, and a house for himself close to it, must have lain near the north end of the hill ; as also must that of M. Livius Drusus, as well as that of Cicero. Other important republican houses, such as those of Q. Cicero, Milo, P. Sulla and Licinius Calvus, were also situated in this part of the Palatine ; but the site of that of Mark Antony cannot be fixed. Nor is it possible to identify with certainty any of the houses mentioned above with the remains of republican houses which have been found under the imperial palaces. (See JRS 1913, 242-252).

On the other hand, the identification of the house of Hortensius, which later on was bought by Augustus, with that generally known as the house of Livia is almost certain (see DOMUS AUGUSTI). This house was left standing up to the end of the classical period, being respected by the later emperors just as was the house of Romulus. Tiberius, in building his palace on the north-west summit of the hill (the Cermalus), did not encroach upon it, and it escaped the fires of Nero<sup>1</sup> and Titus, and was similarly spared by Domitian and Hadrian (v. DOMUS TIBERIANA).

For the history of the other summit of the hill, upon which Nero appears to have built a part of the domus Transitoria over the ruins of republican private houses, while the whole was later remodelled by Domitian (to whom the Palatine owed far more than to any other emperor), with additions by Septimius Severus, see DOMUS AUGUSTIANA, SEPTIZONIUM.

The transference of the name Palatium first to the imperial palace on the Palatine and then to any palace is explained as follows by Cass. Dio : καλεῖται δὲ τὰ βασιλεια παλάτιον . . . ὅτι ἔν τε τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὤκει . . . καὶ τινα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμύλου προενοίκησιν φήμην ἢ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς ὄρους ἔλαβε (liiii. 16).

After the Severan period we hear but little of the Palatine, though it continued to be the imperial residence (Hist. Aug. passim). It is recorded

<sup>1</sup> In regard to this fire, see Leclercq in Cabrol, Dict. vii. 481-502 and reff.



both of Elagabalus and of Alexander Severus that they laid pavements of porphyry and Lacedaemonian marble (*verde antico*) (Hist. Aug. Elag. 8. 6; 24. 6; Alex. Sev. 25. 7), but no remains can be identified of any of their buildings (HJ 105-107). Nor can we identify the stable which Carinus decorated with a fresco of a great *venatio* (Hist. Aug. Carin. 19. 1), nor the thermae which Maxentius erected (Chron. 148).

It is clear that in the time of Constantine a considerable part of the hill was occupied by streets and private buildings (the Notitia gives 20 *vici*, 89 *domus*, 2642 (or 2742) *insulae*); and the removal of the imperial residence to Byzantium meant the beginning of the end. Constantius, it is true, was 'in Palatium receptus' when he visited Rome in 356 A.D. (Amm. Marcell. xvi. 10. 13). We know very little about the FORUM PALATINUM (q.v.) which was given to the Roman people by Valentinian I and his colleagues in 374 A.D.

The emperors of the fifth century also resided on the Palatine when in Rome—Honorius (Claudian, Sext. Cons. Hon. 35), Valentinian III (Marcell. com. ad a. 434 in Chron. Min. ii. 79, Aetius (ibid. i. 303; ii. 27, 86, 157), Livius Severus (ibid. ii. 158), as well as Odoacer and Theodoric; the latter restored the Palatine, as well as the walls of the city, with funds from the *arca vinaria* (ibid. i. 324), and Cassiodorus, Var. vii. 5. 5, enumerates the workmen employed; while several brick-stamps of Theodoric have been found, especially in the hippodromus. It is surprising that it is never once mentioned by Procopius; though we are told that Narses died there in 571 (ibid. ii. 336). He appears also to have removed many of the works of art (see p. 301). In 687,<sup>1</sup> in the sepulchral inscription of Plato v(ir) ill(ustrissimus) cura(tor) palatii urbis Romae, repairs to a long staircase are mentioned, perhaps that descending from the domus Tiberiana to the forum, in which case the residence of this Byzantine official was situated there (HJ 110). Another official, the *cartularius*, or head of the military archives (who appears from the history of the seventh and eighth centuries to have been actually in command of troops), dwelt near the arch of Titus and the region later (eleventh to thirteenth centuries) known as Palladium (p. 165); and here the papal archives were later kept, and not in the mediaeval Turris Cartularia, which took its name from its neighbourhood to the Cartularium (RL 1912, 767-772). On the slope above, the great supporting wall of the platform on which S. Sebastiano stands was strengthened by a mediaeval fortification wall of uncertain date, which was, if not built, at least used, by the Frangipani, who occupied the whole Velia and may have built the tower (ibid. 1909, 527-539; HJ 15-17; ZA 167, 168).

<sup>1</sup> The story of the crowning of Heraclius on the Palatine in 629 (Chron. Casin. ap. Muratori, RIS ii. 354) has rightly been rejected by Gregorovius (ii. 206 of the original German edition).

By this time the lower slopes of the hill had already been occupied by various churches. S. Anastasia, at the western angle near the Lupercal, probably goes back to the middle of the fourth century. It was erected in imitation of the Holy Place in Bethlehem, and was decorated with paintings by Damasus (Inscr. Chr. ii. i. p. 150) and was the first of the titular churches, ranking only after the Lateran and S. Maria Maggiore (Mél. 1887, 387-413; Grisar, Anal. Rom. i. 595 sqq.; HCh 172-173). Under the church are important remains of six different periods from republican opus quadratum down to repairs of the time of Theodoric (HJ 134; ZA 269-274). They have nothing to do with the circus Maximus, but are remains of arcades belonging to the lower slopes of the Palatine.

S. Teodoro, on the north-west side, lies well above the classical level, and is constructed in the second of the three courtyards of the HORREA AGRIPPIANA (q.v.). It is mentioned in the Not. Diacon. of the sixth century. The mosaic in the apse is attributed to the sixth century (Wilpert, Mos. und Mal. 1074; cf. HCh 489).

For S. Maria Antiqua, see DOMUS TIBERIANA; and for the churches on the south (S. Lucia and S. Maria in Pallara), see SEPTIZONIUM, DOMUS AUGUSTIANA (p. 165). For S. Cesareo, see id. (p. 164).

The centre of the hill must have been rendered inaccessible by earthquakes, notably by that of the time of Leo IV; and we have practically no mention of it in the Anonymus Einsiedlensis nor in the Mirabilia.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Palatine, still called by its mediaeval name of Palazzo Maggiore, was covered with gardens and vineyards. Between 1540 and 1550 the whole of the north half of the hill was bought by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and converted into a garden. Excavations were made in the state apartments of the DOMUS AUGUSTIANA (q.v.) in the eighteenth century; but the site of the DOMUS TIBERIANA (q.v.) remained untouched until the excavations of Rosa for Napoleon III (which cannot have been very thorough) and is still a beautiful example of a formal garden (BA 1914, 369-380). The central portion belonged to the Paolostati family, from whom it passed successively to the Mattei, Spada, Magnani; then it was bought by Sir William Gell, but soon passed to Mr. Charles Mills, who built the pseudo-Gothic villa which still bears his name. Later on it became a nunnery. The Vigna Ronconi occupied the south-east portion, from the Stadium onwards, in the sixteenth century; while the south-west portion was in the hands of the English College until after 1870. The east angle was occupied by the Vigna Barberini.

See LR 107-189; Haugwitz, Der Palatin (Rome 1901); NS 1904, 43-46 (the latest survey and map<sup>1</sup>); HJ 29-111; RE i. A. 1011 sqq., 1026; ZA 159-221; ASA 133-138; Hülsen, Forum und Palatin, Berlin 1926, and (in an English translation) New York 1928.

<sup>1</sup> Repeated on a larger scale in Reina and Barbieri, Media pars Urbis, Rome 1911.

**PALATIUM LICINIANUM** : the name applied in mediaeval documents to a building or buildings on the Esquiline, near S. Bibiana at the corner of the Viale Principessa Margherita<sup>1</sup> and the Via Cairoli (act. S. Bibianae, cod. Vat. 6696 : ad caput tauri iuxta palatium Licinianum ad formam Claudii ; Mirabil. 27 ;<sup>2</sup> cf. LPD i. 249, vit. Simplic. 1 : fecit basilicam intra urbe Roma iuxta palatium Licinianum beatae martyris Bibianae ubi corpus eius requiescit ; Passio SS. Fausti et Pigmenii, catal. codd. hagiogr. bibl. Paris. i. 522 : in cubiculo Romano iuxta palatium Licinianum). It is natural to connect this with the **HORTI LICINIANI** (q.v.) or gardens of the Emperor Licinius Gallienus, and the arch of Gallienus at the old porta Esquilina, and it has been conjectured that by 300 A.D. the district between the Viae Tiburtina and Labicana and the wall of Aurelian had largely come into the possession of the emperors, and that the term, palatium Licinianum, was applied to the complex of buildings in the horti, including the existing **NYMPHAEUM** (2) (q.v.). This, however, is as yet merely conjecture (LPD i. 250 ; LR 402-406 ; BC 1874, 55 ; HJ 359 ; HCh 213).

**PALATIUM SESSORIANUM** : see **SESSORIUM**.

**PALES, TEMPLUM** : a temple built by M. Atilius Regulus after his victory over the Sallentini in 267 B.C. (Flor. Ep. i. 15 (20) : in hoc certamine victoriae pretium templum sibi pastoria Pales ultro poposcit ; schol. Veron. et Bern. ad Verg. Georg. iii. 1 ; EE i. 231). It probably stood on the Palatine, and seems to have disappeared at an early date (cf. Tibull. ii. 5. 28).

The newly discovered pre-Caesarian calendar from Antium has, under the 7th July, Palibus ii. This has been held to prove that the *Parilia*, celebrated on 21st April, the day of the foundation of Rome, should be derived from *parere* (Parilia dicuntur non Palilia, non a Pale dea, sed quod eo tempore omnia sata arboresque et herbae parturiant pariantque, Mar. Vict. Gl.L. vi. 25. 23), rather than (under the form Palilia) from Pales (Varro, LL vi. 15 : Palilia dicta a Pale, quod ei feriae). See Mancini in NS 1921, 101.<sup>3</sup> The dual form may be accounted for by the fact that Pales appears sometimes as masculine as well as feminine (Rosch. iii. 1277) or by the existence of two temples close together (cf. Victor(iis) ii in the same Fasti under date 1st August).

**PALLACINAE** : a name which occurs in classical literature only in Cicero and his scholia, in connection with balnea and vicus (pro Rosc. Amer. 18 : occiditur ad balneas Pallacinas de cena rediens Sex. Roscius ; ib. 132 : in vico Pallacinae, and schol. Gronov. ad loc., Or. p. 436 : locus ubi cenaverat Sex. Roscius). Whether there was originally a district—Pallacinae—or not, is probable but not certain (cf., however, Rostowzew, Sylloge 500), and the testimony of early Christian literature is in favour of such a

<sup>1</sup> Now Via Principe di Piemonte.

<sup>2</sup> Here we find the form Palatium Licinii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Mitt. 1921, 28-33.



hypothesis (LP vit. Marci 3 : hic fecit basilicam iuxta Pallacinis in 336 (HCh 308) ; Inscr. Chr. i. p. 62 : Antius lector de Pallacine ; cf. the church and cloister of S. Lorenzo in Pallacinis, LP xcvi. 71 ; xcvi. 76 ; cvi. 23 ; HCh 291-292 ; see also HJ 556 ; BC 1914, 98-99 ; S. Andrea de Pallacina, Arm. 463 ; HCh 189-190). In the eighth century a porticus Pallacinis is mentioned (LP xcvi. (Hadr. I.) 94), of which possible fragments were found in the Via degli Astalli (Arm. 459 ; BC 1908, 280-282). In any case the district was near the north-east end of the circus Flaminius, and the vicus may have coincided in general with the Via di S. Marco (KH iv.).

PALMA AUREA : see AD PALMAM.

AD PALMAM : a name that seems to have been used from the fifth or sixth century for the area between the Curia and the arch of Septimius Severus (Anom. Vales. 66 in Chron. Min. i. 324 (517 A.D.) : venit ad senatum et ad Palmam populo adlocutus ; Acta S. Restituti AA. SS. May 29, c. 12). This area had previously been called TRIA FATA (q.v.), and was undoubtedly identical with the Palma Aurea of Fulgentius (Acta S. Fulgentii AA. SS. Jan. vol. i. p. 37, c. 13 : in loco qui palma aurea dicitur<sup>1</sup>). The DOMUS PALMATA (q.v.) has been wrongly placed here (BC 1887, 64-66) : see supra, 187 and add.

PALUS CAPREAE : see CAPREAE PALUS.

PANTHEON : a temple which, with the thermae, Stagnum and Euripus, made up the remarkable group of buildings which Agrippa erected in the campus Martius. According to the inscription on the frieze of the pronaos (CIL vi. 896 : M. Agrippa L. f. cos. tertium. fecit<sup>1</sup>) the temple was built in 27 B.C., but Cassius Dio states that it was finished in 25 (liii. 27 : τό τε Πάνθειον ὠνομασμένον ἐξετέλεσε· προσαγορεύεται δὲ οὕτω τάχα μὲν ὅτι πολλῶν θεῶν εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, τῷ τε τοῦ Ἄρεως καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἔλαβεν, ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω, ὅτι θολοειδὲς ὃν τῷ οὐρανῷ προσέεικεν, ἡβουλίθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον ἐνταῦθα ἰδρῶσαι, τὴν τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐπὶ κλησιν αὐτῷ δοῦναι). This passage is not altogether clear (Gilb. iii. 116), but it seems probable that the temple was built for the glorification of the gens Iulia, and that it was dedicated in particular to Mars and Venus, the most prominent among the ancestral deities of that family. In the ears of the statue of Venus hung earrings made of the pieces of Cleopatra's pearls (Plin. NH ix. 121 ; Macrob. iii. 17. 17). Whether the name refers to the number of deities honoured in the temple (cf. πάνθειον, Rosch. iii. 1555, and the various πάνθεια in Greek lands, DS iv. 315), or means 'very holy' (*hochheilige*, cf. HJ 582 ; Jord. Symbolae ad historiam religionum Italicarum, Königsberg, Index lectionum, 1883), is uncertain : but Mommsen's conjecture that the seven niches were occupied by the seven planetary

<sup>1</sup> The bronze letters are modern : see CIL vi. p. 3073, No. 31196.



deities is attractive, and Hülsen is now in favour of it. There is no probability in Cassius Dio's second explanation (v. *supra*).

In the pronaos of Agrippa's building were statues of himself and Augustus (Cass. Dio loc. cit.), and on the gable were sculptured ornaments of note (Plin. NH xxxvi. 38). The decoration was done by Diogenes of Athens, and Pliny goes on to say (loc. cit.) in *columnis templi eius Caryatides probantur inter pauca operum* (cf. xxxiv. 13 : *Syracusana (i.e. aenea) sunt in Pantheo capita columnarum a M. Agrippa posita*). The position of these Caryatides has been much discussed, but is quite uncertain (Alt. 62-63).

The Pantheon of Agrippa was burned in 80 A.D. (Cass. Dio lxvi. 24. 2) and restored by Domitian (Chron. 146 ; Hier. a. Abr. 2105 ; cf. perhaps 2101). Again, in the reign of Trajan, it was struck by lightning and burned (Oros. vii. 12 ; Hier. a. Abr. 2127). The restoration by Hadrian (Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19) carried out after 126 (AJA 1912, 421) was in fact an entirely new construction, for even the foundations of the existing building date from that time. The inscription (see above) was probably placed by Hadrian in accordance with his well-known principle in such cases. The restoration ascribed to Antoninus Pius (Hist. Aug. Pius 8 : *instauratum . . . templum Agrippae*) may refer only to the completion of Hadrian's building. Finally, a restoration by Severus and Caracalla in 202 A.D. is recorded in the lower inscription on the architrave (CIL vi. 896).<sup>1</sup> In January, 59 A.D., the Arval Brethren met in the Pantheon (CIL vi. 2041) ; Hadrian held court in his restored edifice (Cass. Dio lxix. 7. 1) ; Ammianus (xvi. 10. 14 : *Pantheum velut regionem teretem speciosa celsitudine fornicatam*) speaks of it as one of the wonders of Rome ; and it is mentioned in Reg. (Not. Reg. IX).

For a library situated in or near the Pantheon, see *THERMAE AGRIPPAE* (p. 519) ; *THERMAE NERONIANAE*.

The building faces due north ; it consists of a huge rotunda preceded by a pronaos. The former is a drum of brick-faced concrete, in which numerous brickstamps of the time of Hadrian<sup>2</sup> (CIL xv. 276, 362, 649 *a*, 811 *b*, *c*, 1106 *b*, 1406) have been found,<sup>3</sup> which is 6.20 metres thick ; the structure of it is most complex and well thought out. On the ground level the amount of solid wall is lessened by seven large niches, alternately trapezoidal and curved (the place of one of the latter being taken by the entrance, which faces due north), and by eight void spaces in the masses of masonry between them, while in the upper story there are chambers above the niches, also reached by an external gallery supported by the middle of the three cornices which ran round the dome. In front of these masses are rectangular projections decorated with columns and

<sup>1</sup> What it amounted to is quite uncertain, for no traces of their work can be recognised with any certainty (JRS 1925, 125).

<sup>2</sup> For others, which confirm the date, cf. Mitt. 1893, 313, 314.

<sup>3</sup> The name of Sabina, his wife, is said to have been read on the marble of the main apse (not on the pavonazzetto columns) ; see HJ 585, n. 74.

pediments alternately triangular and curved, which have been converted into altars. The pavement is composed of slabs of granite, porphyry and coloured marbles ; and so is the facing of the walls of the drum, which is, however, only preserved as far as the entablature supported by the columns and pilasters, the facing of the attic having been removed in 1747 (for drawings, cf. NS 1881, 264, 292 ; HJ 585, n. 75).<sup>1</sup> The ceiling of the dome is coffered, and was originally gilded ; in the top of it is a circular opening surrounded by a cornice in bronze, 9 metres in diameter, through which light is admitted. The height from it to the pavement is 43.20 metres (144 feet), the same as the inner diameter of the drum. The walls are built of brick-faced concrete, with a complicated system of relieving arches, corresponding to the chambers in the drum, which extend as far as the second row of coffers of the dome ; the method of construction of the upper portion is somewhat uncertain (the existence of ribs cannot be proved), but is probably of horizontal courses of bricks gradually inclined inwards. Pumice stone is used in the core for the sake of increased lightness.

The ancient bronze doors are still preserved, though they were repaired in the sixteenth century. The pronaos is rectangular, 34 metres wide and 13.60 deep, and has three rows of Corinthian columns, eight of grey granite in the front row and four of red granite in each of the second and third. Of those which were missing at the east end (which cannot possibly have been removed in 1545 (DAP 2. xv. 373, 374), as they were already absent earlier (compare Heemskerck i. 10 ; ii. 21 ; Giovannoli, *Roma Antica* (1615), ii. 11), the corner column was replaced by Urban VIII with a column of red granite, and the other two by Alexander VII, with grey columns from the *thermae Alexandrinae*.<sup>2</sup> The columns support a triangular pediment, in the field of which were bronze decorations ; in the frieze is the inscription of Agrippa ; and the roof of the portico behind was supported by bronze trusses. This portico was not built after the rotunda, as recent investigations by Colini and Gismondi have shown (BC 1926, 67-92), and the capitals of its columns are exactly like those of the interior (RA 122), though the entasis of the columns differs (Mem. Am. Acad. iv. 122, 142). In front of it was an open space surrounded by colonnades. The hall at the back belongs also to Hadrian's time, and so do the constructions on the east in their first form. The exterior of the drum was therefore hardly seen in ancient times.

The podium of the earlier structure, built by Agrippa, lies about 2.50 metres below the pavement of the later portico ; it was rectangular, 43.76 metres wide and 19.82 deep, and faced south, so that the front line of columns of the latter rests on its back wall, while the position of

<sup>1</sup> Add a drawing in Cod. Escorial. f. 30, and another by Raphael (Uffizi 164 ; Bartoli, i. lxiv. 99).

<sup>2</sup> The corner column only lacked the capital, and why it was removed by Urban VIII is not clear. The capital bears his badge (the Barberini bee) just as the other two capitals bear the Chigi star of Alexander VII. See *Roma* v. (1927) 471.

the doorways of the two buildings almost coincides. To the south of the earlier building was a pronaos 21.26 metres wide, so that the plan was similar to that of the temple of Concord.<sup>1</sup> At 2.15 metres below the pavement of the rotunda there was an earlier marble pavement, which probably belonged to an open area in front of the earlier structure;<sup>2</sup> but a marble pavement of an intermediate period (perhaps that of Domitian) was also found actually above this earlier structure, but below the marble pavement of the pronaos.

The restoration of Severus and Caracalla has been already mentioned; but after it, except for the account by Ammianus Marcellinus, already cited, of Constantius' visit to it, we hear nothing<sup>3</sup> of its history until in 609 Boniface IV dedicated the building as the church of S. Maria ad Martyres (LP lxviii. 2). Constantius II removed the bronze tiles in 663 (ib. lxxviii. 3; cf. Paul Diac. Hist. Langob. 5. 11; AJA 1899, 40); and it was only Gregory III who placed a lead roof over it (ib. xcii. 12). That the pine-cone of the Vatican came from the Pantheon is a mediaeval fable; it was a fountain perhaps connected with the SERAPEUM (q.v.).

The description of it by Magister Gregorius in the twelfth century (JRS 1919, 36-37, 53) is interesting, especially for the mention of the sarcophagi, baths and figures which stood in front of the portico (cf. DuP 131 for further information as to its history in the Renaissance, during which it was a continual subject of study for artists and architects). A porphyry urn (from the thermae of Agrippa), added by Leo X, now serves as the sarcophagus of Clement XII in the Lateran. For its mediaeval decoration, see BCr 1912, 25.

Martin V repaired the lead roof (LPD ii. 544) and Nicholas V did the same. Raphael is among the most illustrious of the worthies of the Renaissance who are buried here.

The removal of the roof trusses of the portico by Urban VIII gave rise to the famous pasquinade 'quod non fecerunt barbari fecerunt Barberini' (PBS ii. 38, No. 65 a; vi. 202-204).

See Beltrami, *Il Pantheon* (Milan 1898); LR 476-489; LS ii. 236-240; HJ 581-590; BC 1892, 150-159; 1909, 280-289 (restorations, fifteenth to eighteenth centuries); Mitt. 1893, 308-318; NS 1881, 255-294; 1882, 340-359; 1892, 88-90; Pl. 351-358. For architectural details, see

<sup>1</sup> In this case there would be no room for the decastyle portico which some suppose (cf. SSer 71-73, who conjectures that it is represented in the well-known relief of a decastyle temple (HF 1146, 1412; cf. PBS iv. 247; see VENUS ET ROMA, TEMPLUM)). Chedanne, however, whose results are not yet published, thought that the entablature of the pronaos had originally belonged to a decastyle temple, which he supposed to have been peripteral (HJ 589).

<sup>2</sup> The wall of opus reticulatum which was found to be concentric with the drum of the rotunda may have been an enclosure wall, or may have served as part of the foundations of the drum; but the former is more likely, as it was about 2 feet high, with a rounded top like a garden wall. Whether the slope of the earlier pavement from the centre towards the circumference was due to design or to the weight of the later rotunda, is doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> There is a mention of it in Cod. Theod. xiii. 3. 10, lecta in Pantheo non. Nov. (368 or 370 A.D.). Cf. BC 1926, 64, 65.



Desgodetz, *Les plus beaux edifices de Rome* (1682), pls. 1-22; Piranesi, *Pantheon*; D'Esp. Fr. i. 69-74; ii. 67-68; Durm 550-573; DuP 128-132; Mem. Am. Acad. iii. 79; RA 118-131; ASA 77-82. Among the drawings we may cite Cod. Escorialensis, f. 29, 30 (from originals which were also copied by Raphael—Uffizi 164; Bartoli cit. lxiv. 99; lxv. 100—and Jacopo Sansovino (?) Uffizi, 1948-1950; cf. Bartoli in text to ccclix. fig. 629, and see Hülsen in OJ 1910, 221) 43, 71=Sangallo Barb. 13a; PBS ii. 13, 35-38, 61-63, etc.; cf. vi. 191 sqq.; Sangallo Barb. 9, 10, 11, 13, etc.; Heemskerck, i. 10; ii. 2, 39.

**PARIANENSES**: the inhabitants of a district, probably somewhere on the Esquiline, who are mentioned only once (CIL vi. 9103=31895; HJ 338).

**PAVOR ET PALLOR, FANUM**: a shrine that Tullus Hostilius is said to have vowed at the critical moment when the Albans deserted the Romans in the battle against the Veientes and Fidenates (Liv. i. 27. 7). There is no other mention made of this shrine,<sup>1</sup> which probably never existed at all (WR 149; Rosch. iii. 1341-1342).

**PAX, TEMPLUM** \* (aedes, Vict.; Εἰρήνης νεώς, Procop.; Εἰρηναῖον, Cass. Dio lxxii.; τέμενος Εἰρήνης, other Greek writers): the temple of Peace which was begun by Vespasian after the capture of Jerusalem in 71 A.D., and dedicated in 75 (Suet. Vesp. 9; Joseph. b. Iud. vii. 5. 7 (158); Cass. Dio lxv. 15. 1; Aur. Vict. Caes. 9. 7; Ep. 9. 8). It stood in the middle of the forum Pacis, north of the basilica Aemilia (Mart. i. 2. 8), probably at the junction of the modern Vie Alessandrina and dei Pozzi. Statius seems to ascribe the completion of this temple to Domitian (Silv. iv. 3. 17; cf. iv. 1. 13), but this emperor's claim may have had little foundation (cf. Suet. Dom. 5). Within the temple, or attached closely to it, was a library, bibliotheca Pacis (Gell. v. 21. 9; xvi. 8. 2; Boyd, 16-17, 36-37). In it were placed many of the treasures brought by Vespasian from Jerusalem, as well as famous works of Greek artists (Joseph. b. Iud. vii. 5. 7; Plin. NH xii. 94; xxxiv. 84; xxxv. 102, 109; xxxvi. 27, 58; Paus. vi. 9. 3; Iuv. ix. 23; Hephaest. ap. Phot. Bibl. 149. 32 Bekk.), and Pliny (NH xxxvi. 102) speaks of it, the basilica Aemilia and the forum of Augustus, as the three most beautiful monuments in Rome.

Just before the death of Commodus, probably in 191, the temple was destroyed by fire (Cass. Dio lxxii. 24. 1; Galen, de comp. med. i. 1),<sup>2</sup> but it must have been restored, probably by Severus, for it is mentioned in the succeeding centuries as one of the most magnificent buildings in the city (Herod. i. 14. 2; Amm. Marcell. xvi. 10. 14; Hist. Aug. trig. tyr. 31. 10). It gave its name to the fourth region of the city (Not. Reg. IV). In 408 there were seismic disturbances for seven successive days in the forum Pacis (Marcell. Comes, Chron. min. ed. Mommsen

<sup>1</sup> The deities are mentioned often enough by later writers, but all go back directly or indirectly to Livy.

<sup>2</sup> xiii. 362, ed. Kühn.



ii. 69 : in foro Pacis per dies septem terra mugitum dedit), and the temple may have been injured then. At any rate Procopius (BG iv. 21), writing in the sixth century, says that it had long since been destroyed by lightning, although there were still many works of art set up in the immediate vicinity.

The enclosure within which the temple stood is not called forum in literature until after the time of Constantine. Enclosure and temple together appear in Pliny (xxxvi. 27) as Pacis opera, and in the Greek writers as *τέμενος Εἰρήνης* (see above). Forum Pacis is found in Ammianus, Polemius Silvius and Marcellinus Comes (loc. cit.), *φόρον Εἰρήνης* in Procopius (loc. cit.); forum Vespasiani first in Ep. de Eulalio antipapa a. 418 (ap. Migne xviii. 397), Polemius Silvius (loc. cit.), and undoubtedly in Aurelius Victor (Caes. 9. 7). On the north-west it adjoined the (later) forum Transitorium, and on the south-east the basilica of Constantine, being rectangular in shape with the same orientation as the other imperial fora. Its length was 145 metres, and its width about two-thirds as much, although its north-east boundary is uncertain. It had an enclosing wall of peperino lined with marble and pierced with several gates. The peperino blocks have left impressions on the concrete of the basilica of Constantine, the north-west side of which was set against it. At the south-east corner there was an entrance from the Sacra via through a monumental passage which, after several changes, is now the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano. (For the history and description of this building, and the theory that it was the Urbis fanum, mentioned by Aurelius Victor (40. 26) as built by Maxentius and consecrated to Constantine, and not the templum divi Romuli, see P. Whitehead, BCr 1913, 143-165; YW 1913, 21.) Further investigations have led him to the conclusion that the rectangular building in opus quadratum<sup>1</sup> was the temple of the Penates as restored by Augustus (AJA 1923, 414; 1927, 1-18; RPA iii. 83-95). In the time of Severus a wall was built across the north-east end of this entrance,<sup>2</sup> and on its north-east side, towards the forum, on a facing of marble slabs, was placed the so-called Capitoline Plan of the city, Forma Urbis Romae, the fragments of which were first discovered in May and June 1562. A facsimile is fixed to the wall of the garden of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. (For the description and discussion of this Plan, see Jord. Forma Urbis Romae regionum XIV, Berlin 1874; H. Elter, de Forma Urbis Romae, diss. i. ii., Bonn 1891; Hülsen, Piante icnografiche, Mitt. 1890, 46-63; Ann. d. Inst. 1867, 408-423; 1883, 5-22; BC 1886, 270-274; 1893, 128-134; 1901, 3-7; Mitt. 1889, 79, 229; 1892, 267; RhM 1894, 420; HF i. p. 534; and for the discovery of new fragments, and the rearrangement on the wall of the museum, NS 1882, 233-238; 1884, 423; 1888, 391-392, 437, 569; 1900,

<sup>1</sup> Others hold it to be the bibliotheca Pacis (HJ 4-6; HFP 48).

<sup>2</sup> The greater part of this wall was apparently rebuilt in the latter half of the third century A.D. (RPA cit. 103-106; AJA cit. 16, 17).

633-634; BC 1888, 386; 1899, 3-21; 1902, 347-348; 1903, 380; Mitt. 1916, 152; CR 1899, 234; 1901, 330; 1902, 96; Atti del Congresso internazionale di Scienze storiche (1903), Rome 1907, i. 111-122; Lanciani, *Golden Days of the Renaissance in Rome*, Boston 1906, 130; Pl. 2-5; CRA 1910, 499-508; DAP 2. xi. 101-107; DR 209-213; RE Suppl. iv. 484-485.) Maxentius in any case added the round building, with its façade on the Sacra via (RA 215-217).

The history of the forum Pacis is that of the templum, and apart from the entrance just described, scarcely any traces of either have been found except a portion of the pavement of giallo antico and pavonazzetto of the southern angle of the forum ten metres below the present level of the Via del Tempio della Pace (BC 1876, 52-53; see in general HJ 2-7; Rosch. iii. 1721; Gilb. iii. 135, 186-187; Thédénat 190-193).

PECTUSCUM PALATI: referred to once (Fest. 213: *pectusculum Palati dicta est ea regio urbis quam Romulus obversam posuit, ea parte in qua plurimum erat agri Romani ad mare versus et qua mollissime adibatur urbs, cum Etruscorum agrum a Romano Tiberis discluderet, ceterae vicinae civitates colles aliquos haberent oppositos*), and explained by Gilbert (i. 133) as a 'breastwork,' i.e. the fortified side of the Palatine. This explanation is very doubtful; see Ashby, *The Roman Campagna in Classical Times*, 29, n. 2.

PENATES DEI, AEDES: a temple on the Velia, on the site formerly occupied by the house of Tullus Hostilius (Varro ap. Non. 531; Solin. i. 22; Donat. ad Ter. Eun. 256). This was not far from the forum, on a short street leading to the Carinae (Dionys. i. 68. 1: *νεὸς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δείκνυται τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ πρόσω κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καρίνας φέρουσιν ἐπίτομον ὁδόν*, from which street the temple was probably reached by the *scalae deum Penatium* mentioned by Varro (ap. Donat. loc. cit.). There is no record of its building, but it is first mentioned in the list of Argei (Varro v. 54: *Veliense sexticeps in Velia apud aedem deum Penatium*) of the second half of the third century B.C. Dionysius (loc. cit.) describes it as *ὑπεροχῇ σκοτεινὸς ἰδρυμένος οὐ μέγας*, and its foundation was probably a little earlier than the first Punic war.

In 167 B.C. it was struck by lightning (Liv. xlv. 16. 5), and in 165 the opening of its doors at night was listed among the prodigia (Obseq. 13). It was restored by Augustus (Mon. Anc. iv. 7; cf. vi. 33). In it were archaic statues of the Dioscuri as dei Penates<sup>1</sup> (Dionys. loc. cit.), an identification that is further supported by the evidence of coins of M'. Fonteius, about 104 B.C. (Babelon, *Monnaies* i. 503, No. 8),<sup>2</sup> C. Sulpicius, about 94 (ib. ii. 471, No. 1), and C. Antius Restio 49-45 (i. 155, No. 2). A temple of the Penates seems also to be represented on one of the reliefs of the ara Pacis Augustae (OJ x. 1907, 186-188; SScR 25).

<sup>1</sup> See Wissowa, *Ges. Abh.* 96-99, who supposes that Dionysius actually saw the inscription on the base.

<sup>2</sup> BM. Rep. i. 195. 1230; 202. 1314-1326; 522. 4032.

This temple is sometimes thought to have been removed by Vespasian when he built the forum Pacis (see PACIS TEMPLUM), sometimes to have occupied the site of the so-called 'templum Romuli' (Jord. i. 2. 416-417; Rosch. iii. 1889-1890; Gilb. ii. 81-84, where the identification of this temple with the actual rotunda is ridiculous; WR 165). But, according to the most recent theory, the rectangular building which forms the main part of the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano is the enclosure wall of the temple of the Penates as restored by Augustus (AJA 1923, 414), which is hidden under the church.

The brick wall at the back, which served to carry the forma Urbis (see PAX, TEMPLUM), is, in its present condition, even later than Septimius Severus: while the rotunda belongs to the time of Maxentius (see URBIS FANUM). The whole subject has been carefully studied by Whitehead and Biasiotti (RPA iii. 83-122; AJA 1927, 1-18; cf. also Leclercq in Cabrol, Dict. iii. 2350-2367; Mem. Am. Acad. v. 120).

PENTAPYLUM: a building on the Palatine (Not. Reg. X), but otherwise unknown (Pr. Reg. 183), unless it be identified with a possible temple of JUPITER ULTOR (q.v.) (Richmond in JRS iv. 196, places it near the DOMUS AUGUSTI).

PETRONIA, AMNIS: a brook that had its source in a spring, the Cati fons, on the west slope of the Quirinal, and flowed across the campus Martius into the Tiber (Fest. 250: Petronia amnis est in Tiberim perfluens, quam magistratus auspicato transeunt, cum in Campo quid agere volunt, quod genus auspici peremne vocatur; cf. 45: Cati fons ex quo aqua Petronia in Tiberim fluit dictus quod in agro fuerit Cati). The CATI FONS (q.v.) is now usually identified with a spring in the cortile di S. Felice of the royal palace in the Via della Panetteria (cf. acqua di S. Felice, LA 236), close to the ancient porta Salutaris. The Petronia stream probably followed the line of the present underground channel which runs south-west across the Piazza Venezia, and westward to the east end of the porticus Pompeiana. From this point its course is doubtful. Whether after uniting with the AQUA SALLUSTIANA (q.v.) it turned south and flowed into the river opposite the island (HJ 473; KH i, ii), or continued west under the porticus Pompeiana, and flowed into the Tiber near the navalia (AR 1909, 67-76), is as yet undetermined. The importance of this stream lay in the fact that it was the boundary of the city auspices, and necessitated the taking of the auspicia peremnia whenever the magistrates crossed it to preside over the comitia centuriata (Mommsen, Staatsrecht i. 97, 103; Jord. i. 1. 139, 267; University of California Publications in Classical Philology ii. 272-273).

PHRYGIANUM: see MAGNA MATER IN VATICANO.

PIETAS, AEDES: a temple in circo Flaminio, mentioned in the list of prodigia of 91 B.C., when it was struck by lightning (Obseq. 54; Cic. de div. i. 98; cf. de leg. ii. 28). Its day of dedication was 1st December



(Fast. Amit. ad Kal. Dec., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 245, 335-336). Nothing further is known of it (HJ 551 ; WR 332 ; Rosch. iii. 2501 ; Gilb. iii. 95).

PIETAS, AEDES (templum, Plin.) : a temple in the forum Holitorium, vowed by M'. Acilius Glabrio in the battle of Thermopylae in 191 B.C., and begun by him, but dedicated in 181 by his son of the same name, who was appointed duumvir for the purpose (Liv. xl. 34. 4 ; Val. Max. ii. 5. 1 ; cf. Cic. de leg. ii. 28). Mancini conjectures that a fragmentary entry : . . ]tati in Fast. Ant. (ap. NS 1921, 117), under 13th November, should be referred to this temple. It contained a gilded statue of the elder Glabrio, the first of its kind in Rome (locc. citt.). This temple stood at the east end of the area afterwards occupied by the theatre of Marcellus, and was destroyed by Caesar in 44 B.C. when he began preparations for the erection of that building (Plin. NH vii. 121, who is mistaken in his date of the building of the temple ; Cass. Dio xliii. 49. 3 ; cf. Delbrueck, Die Drei Tempel am Forum Holitorium in Rom, Rome 1903, 6, for an erroneous theory).<sup>1</sup> With this temple was afterwards connected the Greek story of the daughter who supported her imprisoned father with milk from her own breasts (Fest. 209 ; Val. Max. v. 4. 7 ; cf. Mitt. 1901, 351 ; 1904, 259-263 ; 1905, 188-192, for a Pompeian fresco and epigram). Possibly the COLUMNA LACTARIA (q.v.) in the forum Holitorium may have caused the localisation of this legend in the temple (HJ 510 ; WR 331, 332 ; Rosch. iii. 2500-2501 ; Gilb. iii. 94).

PIETAS AUGUSTA, ARA : an altar voted by the senate in 22 A.D. on the occasion of the severe illness of Livia, but not dedicated until 43 (Tac. Ann. iii. 64 ; CIL vi. 562 ; ILS i. 202). Nothing further is known of it (WR 332 ; Rosch. iii. 2503), though it has been conjectured that the five Valle-Medici reliefs formerly thought to have come from the ara Pacis may possibly belong to it (Studniczka, Zur Ara Pacis 10 ;<sup>2</sup> OJ 1907, 190 ; SScR 101, n. 4).

PILA HORATIA : a memorial of the victory won by the Horatii over the Curiatii. The spoils of the latter were said to have been fastened eo loco qui nunc pila Horatia appellatur (Liv. i. 26. 10), loco celebri cui pila Horatia nomen est (Schol. Bob. Cic. pro Mil. p. 277). In the Augustan period the pila was the corner column of one of the two basilicas at the entrance of the forum, on which the spoils of the Curiatii had once been hung, and which had retained the name after the spoils had disappeared (Dionys. iii. 22. 9).<sup>3</sup> Whatever may have been the original form of the monument it was evidently represented at this later time by a pillar or column at the south-east or south-west corner of the basilica Aemilia, or at the north-east corner of the basilica Iulia (Jord. i. 2. 394-395 ; Thédenat 105-106, 213-214 ; RE viii. 2325 ; Gilb. ii. 67-70 ; cf. Rev.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, Hellenistische Bauten ii. 43, where he accepts the conclusions of Wissowa in Gött. Gel. Anz. 1904, 560, 561.

<sup>2</sup> =Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. 1909, 908.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Prop. iii. 3. 7.



de l'hist. d. rel. 1907, 316; Rh. Mus. 1909, 468; AR 1909, 233; WS 1912, 321; BC 1914, 104; DR 465).

**PILA TIBURTINA**: a monument on the northern slope of the Quirinal, near the temple of Flora (Mart. v. 22. 3). There may have been a vicus named from this pila, in which the temple of FLORA (q.v.) stood (HJ 427; RhM 1894, 397).

**PINCIUS MONS**: a hill divided from the Quirinal by the valley occupied by the Horti Sallustiani, running in a westerly direction from the Porta Salaria of the Aurelian Wall, and then north-north-west from the Porta Pinciana to the Muro Torto and then west again to the Porta Flaminia. It thus formed the east part of the seventh region. It was known in the early imperial period as Collis Hortulorum (Suet. Nero, 50; in Hist. Aug. Gord. iii. 32 it is simply called collis—'in campo Martio sub colle') and the post-classical name Mons Pincius comes from its owners in the fourth century A.D.: see DOMUS PINCIANA, HORTI ACILIORUM, HORTI LUCULL(1)ANI. The substructions of the last-named altered the contour of the hill considerably, and were made use of by Aurelian, who included them in his hastily erected enceinte. See HJ 444-450.

**AD PIRUM**: a street on the Quirinal, where Martial lived at one time (Mart. i. 117. 6), and from which the trees in the campus Agrippae could be seen (ib. i. 108. 3). It was probably on the western slope of the hill (RhM 1894, 397). For the use of the name in 1199: Jord. i. 1. 72; ii. 668; and on the contrary, Hülsen in Mitt. 1891, 121, n. 3).

**PISCINA AQUAE ALEXANDRINAE**: a distributing reservoir, probably for the aqua Alexandrina, situated on the east side of the thermae Helenae, a little south-west of the porta (Maggiore) Labicana. Remains of at least twelve compartments of this piscina have been found (HJ 247-248; LA 387, and pl. viii. 5; LF 32).

**PISCINA AQUAE VIRGINIS**: a distributing station of the AQUA VIRGO (q.v.) on the west slope of the Pincian hill, just north of the modern Spanish Steps (LA 336).

**PISCINA PUBLICA**: a public bath and swimming pool (Fest. 213), first mentioned in 215 B.C. (Liv. xxiii. 32. 4), situated in the low ground between the via Appia, the Servian wall, the north-east slope of the Aventine, and the area afterwards occupied by the baths of Caracalla (Liv. Fest. locc. citt.; Cic. ad Q. Fr. iii. 7. 1; Jord. ii. 106-107; HJ 183-184). Near it was the headquarters of the lanii piscinenses (CIL vi. 167; cf. Plautus, Pseud. 326-328). This pool later gave its name to the vicus piscinae Publicae (CIL vi. 975; Amm. Marcell. xvii. 4. 14), which led from the south end of the circus Maximus across the depression on the Aventine to the porta Raudusculana. The piscina itself was probably fed by local springs, not by the aqua Appia (LA 234-245; cf. Jord. i. 1. 447, 458), and had ceased to exist in the second century (Fest.

213), but the name clung to the locality (cf. *ad piscinam publicam* Hippolyt. philos. ix. 12, p. 552; cf. BC 1914, 353), and it was popularly given to Region XII of the city of Augustus. This region was bounded on the north-east by the *via Appia*, on the south-east by a line extending from the junction of the *via Appia* and the *vicus Sulpicius* to the *porta Raudusculana*, on the south by the line of the Aurelian wall, and on the west and north-west by the *vicus portae Raudusculanae* and the *vicus piscinae Publicae*, thus including a very small area inside the line of the Servian wall (BC 1890, 115-137). *Piscina Publica* was not an official name for Region XII, and we do not know how early it came into use (Pr. Reg. 71-72).

PISCINA THERMARUM DIOCLETIANARUM : see THERMAE DIOCLETIANAE.

PLATANONIS : a name that occurs but once (Not. Cur.) to designate a locality on the Aventine in Region XIII. *Platanon* means a grove of plane trees and with this genitive *vicus* is perhaps to be understood. This cannot be the *platanon* mentioned by Martial (iii. 19. 2) which was in the *campus Martius* near the *Hecatostylon* (cf. Pr. Reg. 203). There was probably yet another on the Esquiline, from which the church of S. Eusebio was called 'in *platana*' in the tenth and eleventh centuries (HCh 251).

PLATEA TRAIANI : a street or square mentioned only once (Sym. Ep. vi. 37) in 398 A.D. It may very probably have been near the forum of Trajan.

POMERIUM : the boundary line of the site destined for a city, which site, according to the rules of augural procedure, was inaugurated as a *templum*, or rectangular area, within which auspices could be taken, marked off from the *ager publicus* by a line of stones at regular intervals. The formal founding of a city is thus described by Varro (LL v. 143) : *oppida condebant in Latio Etrusco ritu multi, id est iunctis bobus, tauro et vacca, interiore aratro circumagebant sulcum (hoc faciebant religionis causa die auspicio), ut fossa et muro essent muniti. terram unde exculperant, fossam vocabant et introrsus iactam murum; post ea qui fiebat orbis, urbis principium, qui quod erat post murum, postmoerium dictum, eoque auspicia urbana finiuntur*. Thus the furrow represented the moat; and the earth thrown up by the plough, the wall of the city. The line *urbis principium* or *pomerium*, behind (i.e. within) the *murum*, marked the limit of the inaugurated district within which auspices could be taken. The word *pomerium* was soon transferred to the strip of land between this line and the actual city wall, and was then used in both senses (Dionys. i. 88); while at a later period it seems to have been still further extended in application and to have been incorrectly used of the strip on both sides of the wall (Liv. i. 44).

In Rome the first *pomerium* is that of the Palatine city, the wall of which must have been built on the slope of the hill; but its line can only be a matter of conjecture, and that which Tacitus (Ann. xii. 24)

describes as marked out by Romulus (a foro boario . . . sulcus designandi oppidi coeptus, ut magnam Herculis aram amplecteretur; inde certis spatiis interiecti lapides per ima montis Palatini ad aram Consi, mox curias veteres, tunc ad sacellum Larum) is evidently the course followed by the Luperci in his day. It does not agree with Varro ap. Solin. i. 17 (cf. ROMA QUADRATA (I)). At three points in the circuit, the plough was carefully lifted up, and carried for a few feet. These breaks in the furrow marked the position of the three gates required for every settlement by Etruscan ritual (Varro cit. 142; Serv. ad Aen. i. 422; Dionys. ii. 50; Fest. 144; Solin. i. 24; Jord. i. 1. 162-178; AJP 1901, 420-425; Richter, *Älteste Wohnstätte des röm. Volkes* (Berlin 1891); Mitt. 1892, 292-295; HJ 35-45; AJA 1908, 172-183; Carter, *Journ. Brit. Am. Arch. Soc.* iv. 246-254; Pl. 35-38; Ausonia 1912, 177-198; TAPA 1913, 19-24; AJA 1918, 176).

The successive stages in the growth of the city (see SEPTIMONTIUM, REGIONES QUATTUOR) mark corresponding enlargements of its pomerium, but when the Servian wall was constructed the line of the pomerium was not extended to coincide with it, but remained as it had been during the previous period, the Esquiline remaining outside it (for the Aventine, which was probably not included within the wall until after 390 B.C., see CP 1909, 420-432). And so it remained until the time of Sulla. He was the first Roman to extend the pomerium, and he based his action on this principle (Gell. xiii. 14. 3): habebat autem ius proferendi pomerii qui populum Romanum agro de hostibus capto auxerat. In his time this referred to territory in Italy (Sen. de brev. vit. 13; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* ii. 738), but later it was expanded to cover the ager barbaricus (Hist. Aug. Aurel. 21). Of Sulla's extension nothing is known, nor of similar action ascribed to Julius Caesar (Cass. Dio xliii. 50), Augustus (Tac. Ann. xii. 23; Cass. Dio v. 6), Nero, Trajan and Aurelian (Hist. Aug. Aurel. 21).

A recent attempt has been made (BC 1919, 24-32) by Laffranchi to show that Augustus' extension of the pomerium occurred thrice, in 27, 18 and 8 B.C., from an examination of his coins. Those used as evidence are Cohen, Aug. 114, 116, 117 (not 177); Babelon, *Iulia* 153, 155, 156; BM. Imp. i. p. 102, Nos. 628-630; 104, Nos. 637-642; cf. p. 29.

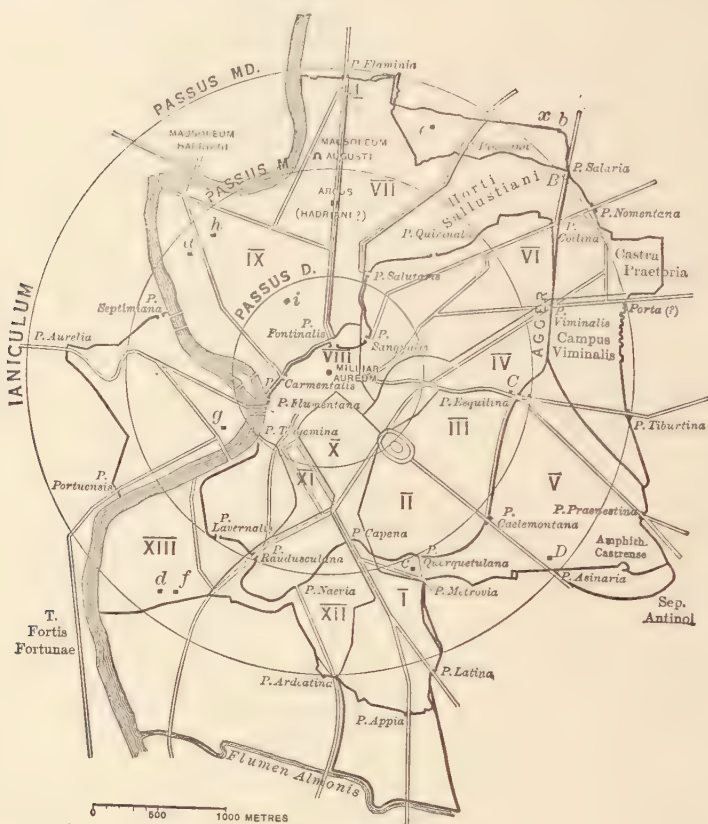
An extension by Claudius in 49 A.D. is proved by unimpeachable literary testimony (Tac. Ann. xii. 24; Gell. xiii. 14. 7) and by the discovery of inscribed terminal cippi. These rectangular cippi bear on the top the word Pomerium, on the front the inscription recording the fact of the extension, and on the left side the number of the stone. This number is found on four of the eight cippi so far discovered; on the others it has been obliterated or was never cut.

The numbered cippi are:

(a) CIL vi. 31537 a, found in situ south-east of monte Testaccio, with the number VIII. (d in text fig. 4).

(b) CIL vi. 1231 *b*=31537 *b*, found near the porta Metrovia inside the Aurelian wall, probably not far from its original site, with the number xxxv. (*c* in text fig. 4).

(c) NS 1909, 45 ; BC 1909, 130, found in situ about 70 metres west of the Via Salaria and about 400 north of the Porta Salaria, with the number ciix. (*x* in text fig. 4).



TEXT FIG. 4.

(d) NS 1913, 68 ; BC 1913, 67 ; AJA 1914, 400, found in situ 32.50 metres west of the Via Flaminia and 330 metres north of the Porta del Popolo, with the number cxxxix.

The unnumbered cippi are :

(e) NS 1909, 44 ; BC 1909, 132, a fragment found close to the Tre Archi, where the railway lines pass through the Aurelian wall north of the Porta Maggiore. This cippus was probably very near its original site.

(f) CIL vi. 1231 *c*=31537 *c*, found in 1738 in the Vigna Nari outside the Porta Salaria, very near (c). It was not reported as found in situ.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *b* in text fig. 4.



(g) CIL vi. 1231 *a*=31537 *d*, found in the campus Martius near S. Lucia della Chiavica, not absolutely in situ, but probably not far removed from its proper place (*a* in text fig. 4).

(h) NS 1912, 197; BC 1912, 259-260; AJA 1913, 444: another cippus corresponding in form to those of Claudius but without any inscription except the word *pomerium* on the top, found under the new Palazzo delle Ferrovie, at the corner of the Viale del Policlinico, just outside the Porta Pia, not exactly in situ.

If we suppose that the line began at the river south of the Aventine, where the Aurelian wall afterwards commenced, the distance to (*a*), marked VIII, is approximately 570 metres, almost exactly eight times 71 (568). 71 metres equal 240 Roman feet, the bini actus, which was the length of the long side of a iugerum, the distance between the openings in the specus of the aqueducts (Vitruv. viii. 6. 3), and the distance between their terminal cippi, so that it is quite probable that the cippi of the pomerium were at the same distance apart. From (*a*) to (*b*), marked VIII and xxxv, is about 1920 metres, which again nearly equals  $71 \times 27$  (1917); and from (*c*) to (*d*), clix and cxxxix, the distance might easily be made about 2201 metres, that is,  $71 \times 31$ . If this line continued to the Tiber directly from (*d*), about 300 metres, there would have been three or four more cippi, 142 or 143 in all (BC 1913, 68-70). Further, if the pomerium passing through these four numbered points followed in general the line afterwards taken by the Aurelian wall, leaving out such projections as that made by the wall south of the baths of Caracalla, (*e*) would naturally fall into it, and (*f*) and (*h*) might be supposed to have been moved somewhat from their proper places. The line on the western side of the city is, however, entirely uncertain, for (*g*) is probably near its original position, and the Iseum and the porticus Octaviae were outside the pomerium in the time of Tiberius (Cass. Dio lv. 8), and when Vespasian celebrated his triumph in 71 A.D. (Josephus, Bell. Iud. vii. 5. 4 (123 sqq.)).

Vespasian also extended the pomerium. Permission was given him in the lex de imperio (CIL vi. 930, 14-16), and three inscribed cippi of his line have been found (*e*, *f*, *g* in text fig. 4):

(i) CIL vi. 31538 *a*; BC 1882, 154, found about 1540-1550 outside the porta Pinciana with the number xxxi. The original is lost and its exact position cannot now be determined, but it was probably about 150 metres in a west-north-west direction from the gate (Hermes 1887, 621-622).

(k) CIL vi. 1232=31538 *b*=NS 1886, 232, found in 1856 near the porta Ostiensis, just inside the Aurelian wall and 60 metres from (*a*), with the number XLVII on its left side and P. CCCXLVII on the right.

(m) CIL vi. 31538 *c*; NS 1900, 15-17; BC 1899, 270-279, found under the church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, built into a late wall and probably not in its original position. This cippus has no number, and

the face where the distance to the next stone was inscribed has been broken off.

The termination of Trajan is thought to be recorded in a coin of 107 (?) (Cohen, Trajan 539), which was restored in two contorniates (BC 1919, 35-38).

Under Hadrian in 121 A.D. the line was again marked out, and four of his cippi have been found, but they record a restoration and not an extension :

(*n*) CIL vi. 1233 *a*=31539 *a* ; NS 1887, 181 ; BC 1887, 149, found in 1867 under No. 18 Piazza Sforza Cesarini, with the number VI on the left side and P . CCCCLXXX on the right (*h* in text fig. 4).

(*o*) CIL vi. 31539 *b*, found in 1732 or 1735 in the foundations of a wall near S. Stefano del Cacco (*i* in text fig. 4).

(*p*) CIL vi. 1233 *b*=31539 *c*, copied in the sixteenth century " ante domum Caesiam," which gives no evidence of its original locality.

(*q*) There seems to be good reason for accepting the account of Ligorio (Taur. xv. 205) of the discovery of a cippus near the so-called Porta Chiusa (marked *Porta* (?), just south of the Castra Praetoria in text fig. 4) ; the text is identical with that of CIL vi. 31539 *a* (LS ii. 248).

For Commodus we have Cohen, Comm. 39, 40, 181-185 (BC cit. 39-43).

For a full discussion of the pomerium during the empire, see Jord. i. 1. 319-336 ; Hermes 1886, 497-562 ; 1887, 615-626 ; Mél. 1901, 97-99 ; CIL vi. pp. 3106-3107 ; BC 1896, 246-248 ; NS 1913, 69 ; Homo, Aurélien 224-231.

A comparison of the cippi thus far found seems to justify certain conclusions :

(1) that north of the Pincian the pomerium of the empire lay somewhat beyond the line of the Aurelian wall ; (2) that the thirteenth, and most of the twelfth, region of Augustus lay within it ; (3) that at some points (cf. (*b*), (*e*), (*h*)) pomerium and wall coincided ; (4) that, whatever may have been the case with the line of Claudius (see above), the pomerium of Vespasian and Hadrian crossed the campus Martius approximately from the ara Ditis to the south end of the Saepta (cf. (*n*), (*o*)), and that the part of the campus north of this line was outside the pomerium ; (5) that the discovery of one stone (*m*) does not, under the circumstances, make it probable that Vespasian extended the pomerium across the Tiber ; (6) that the distances from the next cippi which are indicated on two stones (*k*, *n*), and the inscribed numbers do not afford sufficient data to enable us to draw the rest of the line except possibly for part of that of Claudius.

For the octroi line of M. Aurelius and Commodus, see REGIONES QUATTUORDECIM (p. 444), MURI AURELIANI ; BC 1892, 93 ; Mitt. 1897, 150.

PONS AELIUS : the modern Ponte S. Angelo, built by Hadrian in connection with his mausoleum (cf. Ill. 34) and finished in 134 A.D. (Cass. Dio

lxix. 23 ; CIL vi. 973 ; Not. app. ; Pol. Silv. 545). It is represented on a bronze medallion of Hadrian which is accepted as genuine by Gnechi (Med. ii. 42. 4). Besides this official name the bridge was called pons Hadriani (Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19 ; Prud. Peristeph. xii. 61 ; Mirab. 11 ; Pol. Silv. 545 ; Ordo Bened. pass.), and in the Middle Ages Pons S. Petri (Anon. Magl. 158 ; Eins. pass. ; Jord. i. 1. 416). It had three main arches 18.39 metres in diameter, with three smaller arches on the left, 3, 3.5 and 7.59 metres in diameter respectively, and two on the right, 7.59 and 3.75 in diameter. From the central part, over the main arches, the bridge sloped down at an angle of  $15^{\circ}$ , and the approach on the left side was by a long ramp. The total width was 10.95 metres, and the material travertine with peperino between the arches. The inscription (CIL vi. 973) was seen, probably on the parapet,<sup>1</sup> in 1375 (Mitt. 1893, 321-323), so that apparently this bridge suffered no great injury until December 1450, when the parapet was broken by the throngs of pilgrims, and restored by Nicholas V. In 1527 the statues of S. Peter and S. Paul were erected by Clement VII, and in 1669-71 Clement IX placed on the parapet the famous statues representing angels (Mem. A.P. i. 1. 224). Two of the arches on the left side had become covered up, but the structure remained intact until the building of the present embankment in 1892 necessitated the reconstruction of the ends of the bridge, so that only the three central arches are now standing.

(For description and plans of the original bridge and an account of the changes and discoveries in 1892, see NS 1892, 231-233 ; 412-428 ; BC 1888, 129-130 ; 1893, 14-26 ; Mitt. 1893, 321-323 ; LR 22-24 ; JRS 1925, 75-98.)

PONS AEMILIUS : the official name (hemerol. Amit. Vall. Allif. ad Kal. Sept., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. pp. 217, 240, 244 ; Not. app. ; Pol. Silv. 545 ; Hist. Aug. Elag. 17) of the first stone bridge across the Tiber, said to have been built *ὑπ' Αἰμιλίου ταμειώντος* (Plut. Numa 9). A comparison of the citations just made with other passages (Ov. Fast. vi. 477-478 ; Serv. Aen. viii. 646 ; Aethicus, Cosmog. 28 (ed. Riese 83) ) indicates that this bridge was close to the pons Sublicius and crossed the river from the forum Boarium (cf. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 325). According to Livy (xl. 51. 4) M. Fulvius Nobilior when censor in 179 B.C. contracted (undoubtedly with his colleague M. Aemilius Lepidus) for the placing of 'pilas pontis in Tiberi,' and P. Scipio Africanus and L. Minucius, the censors of 142 B.C., built arches (*fornices*) on these piers. This statement is now generally believed to refer to the pons Aemilius, and Plutarch's attribution of the building of the bridge to a quaestor, Aemilius, is interpreted as a mistake or on the hypothesis that the *fornices* of 142 were of wood and that the stone

<sup>1</sup> Mr. S. R. Pierce informs me that he has noticed a few letters of a large inscription on the upstream side, in the archivolt moulding of the central arch. All that could be read was N (?) . . . LI.

arches were laid by a later Aemilius in his quaestorship. That the upper part of the bridge was of wood, until 142 at least, is certain, and therefore a statement in *Obsequens* (16) under date of 156 B.C., *pontis maximi tectum cum columnis in Tiberim deiectum*, is cited as evidence that *pons maximus* was then a name in common use, although Mommsen's conjecture *pontificis* may be correct.

In the fourteenth century an arch was standing in the forum Boarium in front of the Ponte Rotto described as *arcus marmoreus in platea pontis S. Mariae* (Anon. Magl. 155), on which was an inscription (CIL vi. 878) referring to a restoration by Augustus after 12 B.C. It is possible that this restoration may have been that of the bridge. Besides *pons S. Mariae* (LS ii. 22-28; iv. 49, 84) this bridge was called in the Middle Ages *pons Senatorum* (Mirab. 11), and *pons Maior* (Eins. 7. 4; cf. Delbrück, *Hellenistische Bauten i.* 14). In the seventh century Aethicus (loc. cit.) writes: *pontem Lepidi qui nunc abusive a plebe lapideus dicitur iuxta forum boarium transiens*. Both these early variants of Aemilius are easily explained, Lepidi from Aemilius, and lapideus from the tradition that it was the first stone bridge (Plut. loc. cit.). The identification of the *pons Aemilius* of the empire with the present Ponte Rotto may be regarded as certain. This bridge was partially destroyed by the flood of 1557 (cf. Mél. 1906, 189-193) and repaired by Gregory XIII (Ill. 37). In 1598 the eastern half was carried away, and in 1887 two of the three remaining arches were removed, so that only one now stands in midstream. Recent investigation has shown that the ancient pier of this arch is not the earliest, as the remains of the abutment are earlier and belong to a bridge slightly further north which crossed the river at a slightly different angle. This was therefore the bridge of the second century B.C. and the existing arch and pier belong to a second structure, probably that of Augustus (Delbrück, op. cit. i. 12-22; ii. taf. 2; Richter, *Befestigung d. Ianiculum* 18-20; Jord. i. 1. 409-414; 420-421; RE i. 593; Mél. 1906, 180-181, 189-193; Gilb. iii. 257-260; Ber. d. sächs. Gesell. 1850, 320-326; Besnier 128-130; BC 1914, 390; DuP 58, and fig. 31; TF 139-141). Cf. Ill. 32: and see *FORNIX AUGUSTI*.

For a viaduct on the road leading from the bridge to the Janiculum, cf. *VIA AURELIA*.

**PONS AGRIPPAE**: a bridge 160 metres above the Ponte Sisto, known from an inscribed cippus set up by the *curatores riparum* in the principate of Claudius (CIL vi. 31545; see *TRIGARIUM*), and the discovery of the remains of four piers at the bottom of the river (NS 1887, 323; BC 1887, 306-313; 1888, 92-98, pls. iv., v; Mitt. 1889, 285-286; 1891, 135-136).

**PONS ANTONINUS**: see *PONS AURELIUS*.

**PONS AURELIUS**: mentioned only in documents of the fourth and fifth centuries (Not. app.; Pol. Silv. 545), but doubtless the same bridge as that which was known in the Middle Ages as *pons Antoninus* (Mirab.





37 PONS AEMILIUS AND INSULA TIBERINA  
*From an engraving by WILLEM VAN NIEUWLANDT (p. 398)*



38 PORTA PRAENESTINA  
*From a drawing in the CADASTRAL SURVEY OF ALEXANDER VII, 1660 (p. 413)*



9. 11): pons Antonini in arenula (Graphia 10), pons Ianicularis id est pons ruptus vulgariter nominatus et tremulus et Antoninus (Anon. Magl. 158, Urlichs). This was partially destroyed in 772, hence the name *ruptus*, and rebuilt in 1475 in its present shape by Sixtus IV, from whom comes its modern name, Ponte Sisto. The start of the first arch of the older bridge may still be seen. If this identification be correct, the bridge must have been built by an emperor who bore both names, Marcus Aurelius or Caracalla, and perhaps by the latter rather than the former, as he could thus bring the buildings of Severus (Hist. Aug. Sev. 19) into closer connection with the campus Martius.

In 1878, in the river immediately below the first arch of the Ponte Sisto, were found remains of an earlier bridge and also of a memorial arch which stood at its entrance (BC 1878, 241; 1881, 11; cf. NS 1892, 50, 234-235; Mitt. 1911, 238-259). On some of these remains are fragmentary inscriptions (CIL vi. 31402-31412; ILS 769) which record the rebuilding of arch and bridge by Valentinian I in 365-366 A.D. Some pieces of bronze statues were also found (PT 179, 195, 197). This proves that the pons Antoninus was restored by Valentinian, and explains a reference in Ammianus (xxvii. 3. 3). The name, pons Valentinianus, must have been in use to some extent in later times, together with the earlier, for in the Mirabilia (11) both names are found, although, by an error, they are used of different bridges. It is apparent that the impression made on the Romans by the rebuilding of Valentinian was not strong enough to cause the displacement of the earlier names, pons Antoninus, pons Aurelius, by the new official designation (Jord. i. 1. 417-420; ii. 192-195, 436; Mayerhöfer, Gesch.-Topograph. Studien 44-46, 114; DuP 58). A fragment of a fluviometer was also found (BC 1892, 139-145).

**PONS CALIGULAE**: a foot bridge built by Caligula over the temple of Augustus and across the valley between the Palatine and Capitoline, to connect his own palace with the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Suet. Cal. 22). This was removed after his death, and nothing is known of its size or appearance (HJ 85; LR 125; Pagan and Christian Rome 101-102; Mitt. 1893, 264; see DOMUS TIBERIANA).

**PONS CESTIUS**: the modern Ponte S. Bartolomeo, the first stone bridge from the island to the right bank of the river. It is mentioned only in Not. app. and Pol. Silv. (545), but probably was built soon after the pons Fabricius. Several Cestii of some prominence are known in this period, and the bridge was probably constructed by one of them, while curator viarum, between 62 and 27 B.C.

In the fourth century the pons Cestius was replaced by what was practically a new structure, which the Emperors Valentinian I, Valens and Gratian finished in 369 (Sym. Pan. in Grat. p. 332) and dedicated in 370 as the pons Gratiani. There were two inscriptions recording this event, each in duplicate, the first cut on marble slabs placed on the

parapet on each side of the bridge, the second beneath the parapet (CIL vi. 1175, 1176). One of the former<sup>1</sup> is still in situ. The pons Gratiani was 48 metres long and 8.20 wide, with one central arch, 23.65 metres in span, and a small arch on each side, 5.80 metres wide. The material was tufa and peperino with facing of travertine, and the pedestals of the parapet probably supported statues of the emperors as those of the pons Fabricius did hermae. The construction was rough and characteristic of the decadence, and very little of the earlier pons Cestius could have survived in the later structure, although the general appearance and form of the two bridges were doubtless about the same.

The pons Gratiani was restored at various times between the twelfth century and 1834, but in 1888-1892 the building of the new embankment and the widening of the channel made it necessary to take down the old bridge and erect a new one, 80.40 metres long, with three arches. The central arch of the new structure reproduces the original exactly, although only about one-third of the old material could be used again (Jord. i. 1. 418-420; Mitt. 1889, 282-285; Besnier 106-119, and literature there cited).

**PONS FABRICIUS** : the stone bridge between the left bank of the river and the island, named from its builder, L. Fabricius, curator viarum in 62 B.C. (Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 35-36; and Porphyr. ad loc.; Cass. Dio xxxvii. 45). The erection of this bridge is recorded in duplicate inscriptions, over the arches on each side, and a restoration in 21 B.C. after the flood of 23 B.C. (Cass. Dio liii. 33) by the consuls, Q. Lepidus and M. Lollius, in another inscription over the arch nearest the city (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 751 = vi. 1305 = 31594). It is probable that this stone bridge replaced an earlier one of wood. In the Middle Ages it was known both by its official name (Not. app.; Pol. Silv. 545; Mirab. 11) and as the pons Iudaeorum (Graphia 10) because it was close to the Ghetto.

This is the best preserved bridge in Rome, being practically the original structure. It is built of tufa and peperino faced with travertine, part of which has been replaced with brick, and has two semi-circular arches with a smaller one between. The bridge is 62 metres long, and the arches are 24.25 and 24.50 metres wide. The present parapet was constructed in 1679 by Innocent XI, but the original was divided into panels by pilasters supporting four-faced hermae and connected by a bronze balustrade. The two pilasters and hermae at the east end are original, and from them the modern name of the bridge, Ponte dei Quattro Capi, is derived (Jord. i. 1. 418-419; HJ 632; Mitt. 1891, 135; Besnier 93-105; TF 142; for an erroneous identification with the pons Aemilius, CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 325; Mayerhöfer, Gesch.-topograph. Studien ü. d. alte Rom, ch. I pass.). See Ill. 32, 37.

**PONS GRATIANI** : see PONS CESTIUS.

<sup>1</sup> So also are both the latter (cf. ib. 31250, 31251).



PONS HADRIANI : see PONS AELIUS.

PONS IANICULENSIS : see PONS AURELIUS.

PONS LAPIDEUS : see PONS AEMILIUS.

PONS LEPIDI : see PONS AEMILIUS.

PONS MAXIMUS : see PONS AEMILIUS.

PONS NAUMACHIARIUS : see NAUMACHIA AUGUSTI.

PONS NERONIANUS : a bridge mentioned in the *Mirabilia* (11), and with further detail in its later editions—pons Neronianus ad Sassiam (*Graphia* 10), pons Neronis id est pons ruptus ad s. Spiritum in Sassia (*Anon. Magl.* 158, *Ulrichs*). It was therefore in a ruined condition in the fifteenth century, and probably in the fourth, as it is not mentioned in *Not.* Some remains of its piers still exist at the bottom of the river (*NS* 1909, 13 ; *BC* 1909, 124-125), and may be seen when the water is very low.<sup>1</sup> It crossed the river immediately below the new Ponte Vittorio Emanuele but at a slightly different angle, and connected the campus Martius with the Vatican meadows, the horti Agrippinae and the circus of Nero (cf. *ARCUS ARCADII HONORII ET THEODOSII*, and see *LF* 14 ; *KH* ii.). It was probably built by Nero to facilitate communication between this district and the city, but whether the name is ancient or only mediaeval, is uncertain. The *VIA TRIUMPHALIS* (1) ran north from it ; and in the sixteenth century it was called pons Triumphalis ; and Pope Julius II intended to restore it and connect the Via Giulia with it (*Albertini de Mirabilibus u. R.* (1510), c iii<sup>v</sup>, & iii<sup>v</sup> ; (1515), 11<sup>v</sup>, 95<sup>v</sup>).

PONS PROBI : a bridge mentioned only in the *Notitia* (app.) and *Pol. Silvius* (545). It was probably a new construction of the Emperor Probus (276-282) rather than a rebuilding of an older bridge, and situated below the other bridges as it stands last in the list.

It is now generally identified with a still later bridge, which crossed the Tiber a little south of the north corner of the Aventine, and was called in the Middle Ages pons marmoreus Theodosii (*Mirab.* 11) and pons Theodosii in ripa r(o)mea (*Graphia* 10). From the letters and reports of Symmachus (*Ep.* iv. 70 ; v. 76 ; *Relat.* 25, 26) it appears that work was begun on this bridge before 384 but not completed in 387, and while the structure is called novus, it is usually believed to have been a rebuilding of the pons Probi. This bridge was partially destroyed in the eleventh century and almost entirely in 1484. The last traces of its piers were removed from the bed of the river in 1878 (*Jord.* i. 1. 421-422 ; *Gilb.* iii. 262 ; *Mitt.* 1893, 320 ; *BC* 1877, 167 ; 1892, 261, 262 ; *LR* 16, 17 ; *DuP* 86).

PONS SUBLICIUS : the oldest and most famous of the bridges across the Tiber, built, according to tradition, by Ancus Martius (*Liv.* i. 33 ; *Plut.*

<sup>1</sup> *DuP* 52, 53, and fig. 25.

Numa 9). Its name was derived from *sublica*, a pile (Fest. 293),<sup>1</sup> and it was constructed of wood without metal of any sort whatsoever (Plut. loc. cit.; Dionys. iii. 45; ix. 68; Plin. NH xxxvi. 100; Serv. ad Aen. viii. 646). It was under the direct care of the college of pontiffs, its preservation was a matter of religion, and any injury caused by floods was regarded as a prodigium. Such injuries seem to have been not infrequent (Cass. Dio xxxvii. 58; l. 8; liii. 33; lv. 22), but the bridge was always repaired and was standing as late as the fifth century (Hist. Aug. Ant. Pii 8; Not. app.; Mythol. Vat. i. 74). It is represented on a coin of Antoninus (Cohen, Ant. Pius No. 127) with the contest of Romans and Etruscans, and Horatius swimming in the river. There is no doubt about the antiquity of the bridge, and its method of construction is generally regarded as evidence that it dated from the period before the inhabitants of Latium had developed the working of iron far enough for use in bridge building, a period that may perhaps correspond to the second stage in the growth of the city when it spread out beyond the limits of the Palatine (Mitt. 1895, 160-162). It is possible that iron was not used simply that it might be easier to pull down the structure when danger threatened from the Etruscan side (cf. the story of Horatius, Liv. ii. 19; Dionys. v. 22; Stuart Jones, Companion 76).

The position of the pons Sublicius has been the subject of much dispute, for the passages in ancient literature, describing its defence by Horatius and the flight of Gaius Gracchus (Liv. ii. 10. 7; v. 40; Val. Max. i. 1. 10; iii. 2; iv. 7. 2; de vir. ill. 65; Plut. Gracch. 17; App. BC i. 2. 6 and 58), merely represent it as the ordinary and shortest way from the left bank to the Janiculum. The strongest evidence indicates that it crossed from the forum Boarium just below the later pons Aemilius, the only point where its approach would have been protected by the city wall: and in this case it would have been built in the slack water just below the island, where the original ford was probably situated (see VICUS IUGARIUS).

(For discussions of the position of the pons Sublicius, see Jord. i. 1. 402-407; HJ 632; Gilb. ii. 171-183; Richter, Befestigung 14-15; Mommsen, Sächs. Ber. 1850, 320-326; Urlichs, Bayr. Sitzungsab. 1870, 459-499; Wecklein, Hermes 1872, 178-184; Besnier 123-132; Kummer, de urbis Romae pontibus antiquis, Progr. 1889; Mayerhöfer, Gesch.-topographische Studien ü.d. alte Rom, München 1887, 6-32 pass.; Mitt. 1891, 134-5; cf. DAP 2. vi. pl. iv.; KH iv.)

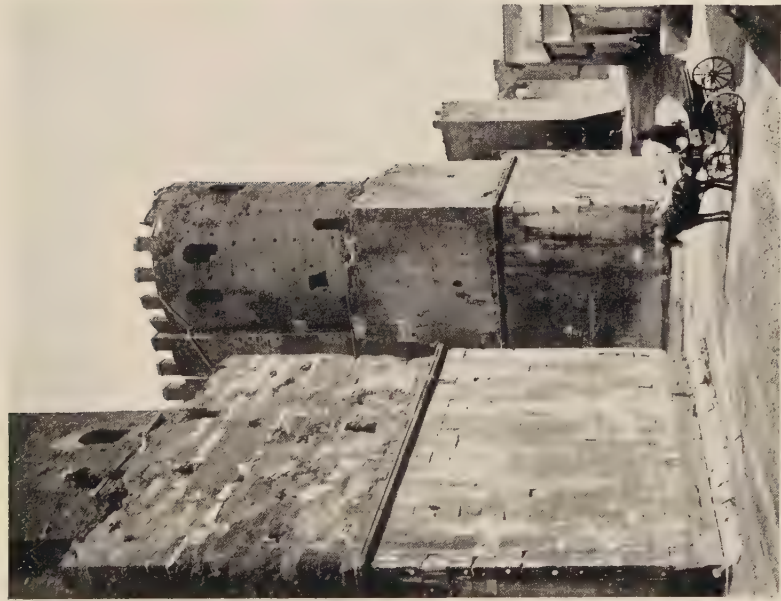
PONS THEODOSII: see PONS PROBI.

PONS TRIUMPHALIS: see PONS NERONIANUS.

PORTA AGONENSIS: see PORTA COLLINA.

PORTA APPIA: the modern Porta S. Sebastiano (Ill. 39), a gate in the Aurelian wall through which the VIA APPIA (q.v.) passed (DMH). All the

<sup>1</sup> The passage is fragmentary, but the restoration seems certain.



39 PORTA APPIA (p. 402)



40 PORTA LATINA (p. 408)  
The archway has now been opened





41 PORTA OSTIENSIS, INTERIOR (p. 411)



42 PORTA ASINARIA (p. 404)



gates in this wall were named from the roads which passed through them with the possible exception of the PORTA METROVIA (q.v.). Its name is still given correctly in the twelfth century by Magister Gregorius (JRS 1919, 21, 46).

It is mentioned frequently during the Middle Ages under several variant names, corruptions of Appia (T ix. 32-35). The existing structure dates for the most part from the rebuilding of Honorius, with various later additions (Jord. i. 1. 366; LS ii. 59; Reber 538). The lowest part consists of an arch, flanked by square towers, faced with marble blocks that were evidently taken from other buildings, perhaps in part from the neighbouring temple of MARS (q.v.). Both the porta Appia and the porta Flaminia originally had double arches of blocks of travertine, divided by a central pier (as in the porta Portuensis), traces of which may be seen on the right going out), and semi-circular brick towers (ZA 317; Town Planning Review xi. (1924), 76-79; Richmond in Discovery vi. (1925), 293-295). Almost semicircular towers succeeded these: then came the rectangular bastions faced with white marble blocks (with circular bosses upon them, the object of which is uncertain<sup>1</sup>) which were probably added by Honorius, and the tombs of the via Appia were, no doubt, pillaged, just as were those of the via Flaminia. There is a simple cornice around the whole structure, and on the keystone of the arch is cut the monogram of Christ and three inscriptions in Greek—Θεοῦ χάρις, ἀγίε Κῶνον, ἀγίε Γεωργί. Above this marble structure is another of brick and tufa faced concrete which continues the square towers below, and which, like the lower part, has been rebuilt or refaced at least once. The curtain over the arch is pierced with two rows of seven small arches each, now walled up, that open into chambers within. Above the top of this part, again, the towers rise in almost circular form to a height of two stories, with rows of five windows in each story. The height of the towers is about 28 metres, and they, as well as the central portion, are surmounted with crenellated battlements (ZA 316-319; cf. Ephemeris Dacico-Romana, i. (1923) 3, 4). In one of the later restorations the ARCO DI DRUSO (q.v.) was made to serve as the entrance to a vantage court. See also BC 1927, 59-63.

PORTA ARDEATINA: assumed to be the gate through which the VIA ARDEATINA (q.v.) passed, although such a gate is nowhere mentioned in ancient or mediaeval literature. The most probable line of the road from the porta Naevia of the Servian wall passes through the part of the wall which was destroyed by the erection of the bastione di Sangallo in 1538, and there are indications in the architect's drawings of a small gate at this point. Whether it was like the other principal gates or merely a postern (*posterula*) is uncertain. Poggio says that it had an inscription of Honorius upon it, but no copy is known (Jord. i. 1. 367; Mitt. 1894, 320-327; RE ii. 613; T ii. 410-411). See VIA LAURENTINA.

<sup>1</sup> ZA 318-319 suggests an explanation.

PORTA ARGILETANA : mentioned only once (Serv. Aen. viii. 345), but evidently an entrance into the ARGILETUM (q.v.).

PORTA ASINARIA : a gate in the Aurelian wall on the Caelian, just south-west of the Porta S. Giovanni (Ill. 42), through which the VIA ASINARIA (q.v.) passed (DMH ; Procop. BG i. 14. 14 ; iii. 20. 15). This road was of no importance, and the massiveness of the gate may be due to the vicinity of the Lateran palace. The name is given correctly by Magister Gregorius (JRS 1919, 19, 46) ; by other writers of the Middle Ages it was called Porta Asinaria Lateranensis (Mirab. 4) and Porta S. Johannis (GMU 88 ; R ii. 406, who distorts the ancient name into Assenarica). It was closed in 1408, but probably opened again, and not permanently closed until the modern Porta S. Giovanni was built in 1574.

The existing structure of brick-faced concrete is not later than Honorius. It shows traces of several changes of plan or additions in the same material, and is one of the best preserved of all the gates. It has two long bastions with semicircular fronts and three rows of windows, and these bastions are flanked by square staircase towers : and above the archway is the usual long chamber in the masonry with two rows of windows, of which the lower interrupts an earlier embattled breastwork (Jord. i. 1. 363 ; RE ii. 1581 ; PBSR iv. 42-43 ; Reber 535-536 ; T ii. 28-31 ; xi. 20-27 ; BC 1917, 194 ; 1927, 64 ; Discovery cit.). For a relief which may represent it, see Lauer, Le Latran, p. 19, fig. 7.

PORTA AURELIA (1) : the modern Porta S. Pancrazio, a gate in the Aurelian wall on the summit of the Janiculum, through which the VIA AURELIA (q.v.) issued. The original name occurs in DMH and later documents (Eins. 7. 1 ; Mirab. 4), but by the sixth century it was also called Pancratiana and Transtiberina (Procop. BG 18. 35 ; 23. 12 ; 28. 19) from the neighbouring church of S. Pancratius (Porta Aurelia, quae modo porta Sancti Pancratii dictum, GMU 88, R. ii. 408). The original structure<sup>1</sup> was replaced by Urban VIII in 1644 (Jord. i. 1. 375 ; T ix. 465-466) and this, after being damaged in the siege of 1849, was removed, and the modern gate erected.

PORTA AURELIA (2) : mentioned by Procopius (BG i. 19 ; cf. 23, 28) as being known in his time as Porta S. Petri ; τὴν Αὐρηλίαν (πύλιν) ἢ νῦν Πέτρου . . . ἅτε που πλησίον κειμένου, ἐπώνυμός ἐστι. It is mentioned under this name in DMH (403 A.D.) and also in Eins. 1. 1 ; 2. 1 ; 8. 1 ; 13. 1. It is now commonly (contrast De Rossi, Inscr. Christ. ii. 38 ; 99. 7 ; 324. 6) placed at the east end of the pons Aelius, on the left bank of the river (Richter 72 ; HF iii) ; and Jord. (i. 1. 378-390), who shares this view, further identifies it with the porta Cornelia, holding that the passage through the fortifications of the MAUSOLEUM HADRIANI (q.v.) was not viewed as a city gate at all ; but in this he has not been generally followed.

<sup>1</sup> This is, of course, shown in all the plans and bird's-eye views of the city previous to 1644, but no detailed drawing of it is known.

He is, however, right in pointing out that it is incorrect, as Richter and Lanciani (*Mon. L.* i. 447) still do, to call it *Porta S. Petri in Hadrianeo* (DMH) and that the two phrases should be divided. If, however, there was only one *Porta S. Petri*, the inscriptions published by De Rossi would have belonged to the gate on the left bank of the river. It occurs in the form *Porta Aurea* in *Magister Gregorius* (JRS 1919, 19, 46), in the *Mirabilia* and in *LPD* i. 152. See also *T ix.* 472; JRS 1925, 81, n. 2.

**PORTA CAELIMONTANA**: a gate in the Servian wall on the Caelian, probably the next south of the *porta Esquilina* (*Cic. in Pis.* 55, 61; cf. *Liv.* ii. 11; *App. BC* i. 58). It is generally supposed that the mediaeval *Arcus Basilidis* (q.v.), an arch in the *rivus Herculeus* over the line of an ancient street a short distance north-west of the Lateran, replaced the old *porta Caelimontana* as a similar arch did the *porta Capena* (*Gilb.* ii. 291; *LA* 376; *RE* iii. 1246), but the line of the wall is uncertain here, and the gate may have been somewhat farther west and nearer *SS. Quattro Coronati* (*Jord.* i. 1. 225; *BPW* 1913, 977).

**PORTA CAPENA**: a gate in the Servian wall on the south-west slope of the Caelian. It was near the grove of the *Camenae*, and from it the *via Appia* issued (*Liv.* i. 26. 2; iii. 22. 4; *Serv. Aen.* vii. 697; *Frontinus*, aq. i. 5, 19; *Ov. Fast.* iv. 343; v. 673; vi. 192; *Dionys.* viii. 4; *Fest.* 110, 115, 347). The ancient derivation of the name from the Etruscan *Capena* (*Serv. loc. cit.*) is highly improbable, and no satisfactory explanation has been found (*Jord.* i. 1. 270-271). The discovery of several portions of the wall in 1867-1868, and of what is probably a pier of the gate itself during the recent construction of the *Passeggiata archeologica*, has definitely established its location (see *Jord.* i. 1. 228; *Gilb.* ii. 293, for references to the literature of earlier excavations; *NS* 1909, 427; *BC* 1908, 109-150; *Bartoli, Rassegna Cont.* iii. No. 2, 1910, 19; *T ix.* 19). *Domitian* is said to have restored the *porta Capena* (*Chron.* 146), but as a mere gateway would have had no meaning then, the restoration was probably in connection with the extension of the *aqua Marcia*, which was brought across the Caelian by a branch, the *rivus Herculeus*, and ended *supra portam Capenam* (*Frontinus* i. 19). This aqueduct was at too low a level to have crossed to the *Aventine*; but there was another and higher branch which crossed the gateway, as is clear from references in literature (*Frontinus* ii. 76—the Caelian and *Aventine priusquam Claudia perduceretur, utebantur Marcia et Iulia*; *Mart.* iii. 47; *Iuv.* iii. 11 and *Schol.*). The latest investigation, however, of the remains of the arches of this branch shows them to be of the time of *Nero*. See p. 23, n. 1, p. 26; and cf. *ARCUS STILLANS*.

**PORTA CARMENTALIS**: a gate in the Servian wall which derived its name from the neighbouring shrine of *CARMENTA* (q.v.) at the south-west corner of the *Capitoline* (*Dionys.* i. 32; x. 14; *Solin.* i. 13; *Liv.* xxiv. 47; xxv. 7; xxvii. 37; *Plut. Cam.* 25). The location of this gate was very



near the intersection of the present Via della Consolazione and the Via della Bocca della Verità. It appears to have had two openings (Liv. ii. 49; Ov. Fast. ii. 201), and one of these openings was called porta Scelerata because the ill-fated Fabii marched through it into Etruscan territory in 306 B.C. (Ov. Fast. ii. 203; Fest. 285, 334, 335; Verg. Aen. viii. 337, and Serv.; Jord. i. i. 238-239; Hermes 1870, 234; 1882, 428; Gilb. ii. 299; RE iii. 1596, Suppl. iii. 1183; Elter, Cremera u. porta Carmentalis, Progr. 1910; AR 1909, 71; BC 1914, 77; CR 1918, 14-16; Fowler, Gathering of the Clans 36; for an erroneous view of the position of this gate, cf. Mél. 1909, 103).

**PORTA CATULARIA**: known only from a statement in Festus (45): catularia porta Romae dicta est quia non longe ab ea ad placandam caniculae sidus . . . rufae canes immolabantur. Its size is quite uncertain, as well as its purpose (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 317; Gilb. i. 90-91; Richter 385; WR 196); and it certainly was not in the city wall.

**PORTA CHIUSA**: the modern appellation of a nameless postern in the Aurelian wall immediately to the south of the CASTRA PRAETORIA (q.v.), which served for the exit of the road from the porta Viminalis of the Servian wall (see VIA TIBURTINA). It has a stone curtain with six windows like those of the porta Latina, and is still in a good state of preservation (Jord. i. i. 355; NS 1899, 403; PBS iii. 86, 199, 200).

**PORTA COLLATINA**: \* mentioned only by Festus (37): Collatia oppidum fuit prope Romam . . . a qua porta Romae Collatina dicta est, who has probably confused Collatina with Collina. The via Collatina diverged to the southward from the via Tiburtina outside the porta Tiburtina (Jord. i. i. 245; Richter 385; PBS i. 139; RE iv. 364; BC 1915, 79-80).

**PORTA COLLINA**: a gate in the Servian wall at the north end of the agger, named Collina, because it was on the collis Quirinalis (Liv. ii. 11. 7, 9; 64. 3; iii. 51. 10 et passim; Dionys. ii. 67; ix. 24. 68; App. BC i. 58, 93; Plut. Numa 10, Cam. 22, Sulla 29; de vir. ill. 75; Censorin. d.d. nat. 17. 8). At this gate the via Salaria and the via Nomentana divided (Strabo v. 234; Fest. 326). Some remains of it were found in 1872 in the Via Venti Settembre under the north-east corner of the Ministero delle Finanze (Mem. L. 2. ii. (1874-1875), 417-435, pl. iv.; BC 1876, 165-166, pl. xix.; Rosa, Relazione 1873, 33-34; Jord. i. i. 216-217, 221-222, 249, 252; RE iv. 481; Gilb. ii. 284). The porta Collina of the Middle Ages is defined as ad Castellum Adriani, and is a gate of the Leonine city. (It occurs under the form Collatina in Magister Gregorius, cf. JRS 1919, 20, 46.)

**PORTA CORNELIA**: mentioned only in a seventh (?) century document (GMU 87; R. ii. 404; Jord. ii. 580). It was on the right bank of the Tiber, near the south-west corner of the mausoleum of Hadrian, and spanned the VIA CORNELIA (q.v.), which ran west from the head of the pons Aelius.



The date of the first porta Cornelia is not known, but in the time of Procopius (BG i. 22) a portico was already in existence from near the mausoleum to S. Peter's, by which time also the fortifications of the mausoleum were continued down to the bank of the river, and the porta Cornelia must have formed a passage through them (Jord. i. 1. 375-377, 390; ii. 166; T ix. 473; cf. also PORTA AURELIA). It seems very doubtful whether any remains of this gate survived as late as the sixteenth century (Richter 72).

PORTA ESQUILINA: a gate in the Servian wall, on the Esquiline, at the south end of the agger (Liv. ii. 11. 5; Dionys. ix. 68; Flor. ii. 9. 6; App. BC i. 58; Censorin. d. d. nat. 17. 8; Frontinus i. 21). It is mentioned several times in ancient literature (Liv. pass.; Cic. pro Clu. 37; de orat. ii. 276; in Pis. 55, 61, 74; Tac. Ann. ii. 32). According to Strabo (v. 234) the via Labicana and the via Praenestina began at this gate (ἡ Λαβικανὴ ἀρχομένη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑσκυλίνης πύλης, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ἡ Πραινεστινή, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δ' ἀφείσα καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἑσκυλίνον). The divergence of the two roads, however, took place only just before the Porta Praenestina of the Aurelian wall (PBS i. 150, n. 1). The porta Esquilina itself, the site of which is marked by the existing Arcus GALLIENI (q.v.), had probably been removed by the end of the republic (Jord. i. 1. 221-222; RE v. 683; for excavations on this site, see BC 1875, 191, pl. xx). It is probable that the VIA TIBURTINA (q.v.) also issued from this gate (PBS iii. 86).

PORTA FENESTELLA: a gate of some sort, not in the city wall, that seems to have stood on or near the summa Sacra via, close by a shrine of Fortuna, but is otherwise unknown (Ov. Fast. vi. 578; Plut. q.R. 36; Gilb. iii. 427; Jord. i. 1. 245; RE vi. 2180). Fenestella may simply mean 'postern' (Rose, Plutarch, Roman Questions, in loc.).

PORTA FLAMINIA: a gate in the Aurelian wall through which the VIA FLAMINIA (q.v.) issued from the city (DMH; Procop. BG i. 14. 14; 23. 2). In the Middle Ages it was also known as Porta S. Valentini, Porta S. Mariae de Popolo, and Porta Flumentana,<sup>1</sup> and after the fifteenth century by its present name Porta del Popolo (T x. 202-206). It is generally thought that Sixtus IV destroyed the old gate and built that which is now standing, replacing the semi-circular towers of Honorius by square bastions. These bastions, however, were faced with blocks of marble, which had upon them circular bosses similar to those on the bastions of the PORTA APPIA (q.v.). Several of them bore inscriptions (CIL vi. 13552, 28067, 30464, 31455, 31689, 31714, 31771) and most, if not all, were taken from tombs; see SEPULCRUM P. AELII GUTTAE CALPURNIANI, SEP. GALLONIORUM, SEP. L. NONII ASPRENATIS. It seems therefore very doubtful whether the inscriptions would not have been copied by the

<sup>1</sup> Owing rather to its nearness to the river than to an erroneous identification with the gate of the Servian wall.

antiquaries of the period, had they come to light in the time of Sixtus IV ; and it is probably better to suppose the bastions to belong to the time of Honorius, while the semi-circular brick towers which were discovered in 1877 within them may then be attributed to the original gate of Aurelian (BC 1877, 186-213 pass. ; 1880, 169-182 ; 1881, 174-188 ; cf. Jord. i. i. 353 ; Reber 516 ; LS i. 80 ; iii. 234, 235 ; Town Planning Review xi. (1924), 76-79 ; Discovery vi. (1925), 294 ; cf. supra, 403).

**PORTA FLUMENTANA** : a gate in the Servian wall, near the Tiber (Fest. 89), from which fact the name is derived. It was without doubt in that part of the wall which connected the Capitoline with the river, as the district known as *extra portam Flumentanam* was evidently in the southern part of the *campus Martius*, and was occupied, at least in part, by the houses of the wealthy (Liv. vi. 20 ; xxxv. 9 and 21 ; Cic. ad Att. 3. 9 ; Varro, RR iii. 2 ; CIL vi. 9208 ; Jord. i. i. 240 ; Gilb. ii. 299-301 ; BC 1914, 79 ; cf. Mél. 1909, 140-141).

**PORTA FONTINALIS** : a gate known only from two passages in literature (Fest. 85 ; Liv. xxxv. 10. 12) and three inscriptions (CIL vi. 9514, 9921, 33914), but assumed to have been in the Servian wall. In 193 B.C. a porticus was built a *porta Fontinali ad Martis aram qua in campum iter esset* (Liv. loc. cit. ; CP 1908, 73), and this is the only topographical indication that we have, apart from the connection with springs indicated by the name itself. The exact site of the *ARA MARTIS* (q.v.) is in dispute, but it was in the *campus Martius*, west of the *via Lata*, and therefore the view most generally held at present is that the *porta Fontinalis* was on the north-east side of the Capitoline, between it and the Quirinal, where a road<sup>1</sup> certainly connected the campus with the forum (RhM 1894, 410-412 ; Richter 44). It has also been placed farther west, near the Piazza Magnanapoli<sup>2</sup> (Jord. i. i. 209 ; Wissowa, Hermes 1891, 142-143 ; BPW 1912, 1734 ; for a very doubtful identification with the *porta Capena*, see Morpurgo, BC 1906, 209-223 ; for further discussion, see CP 1908, 67-68, 73). The occurrence of this gate in inscriptions indicates that it continued to exist in some form during the empire and was apparently a well-known locality.

**PORTA IANUALIS** : see *IANUS GEMINUS*.

**PORTA LABICANA** : see *PORTA PRAENESTINA*.

**PORTA LATINA** : a gate in the Aurelian wall through which passed the *VIA LATINA* (q.v.) (DMH). It has a single arch (Ill. 40) of irregular blocks of travertine, with a row of five windows above on the outside, and a sixth in brick, at the south end, surmounted by stone battlements, and flanked by two semi-circular towers of brick-faced concrete (almost

<sup>1</sup> The later *VIA FLAMINIA* (q.v.). For the gate thought to have been found here (in *Via di Marforio*) see Bull. d. Inst. 1870, 112 ; BC 1888, 14.

<sup>2</sup> For the small arch now in the Palazzo Antonelli, see BC 1875, 35 ; its span is only 1.95 m. (not 1.05, as TF 120 has it), so that it can hardly be more than a postern.

entirely rebuilt), which do not rise above the top of the central section. The north tower rests on a foundation of masonry which may have belonged to a tomb (PBS iv. 13). Most of the structure dates from Honorius, including the voussoirs of the arch; though they are often (wrongly) attributed to a restoration of the sixth century, because a cross and circle is sculptured on the inner keystone, and on the outer the monogram of Christ between A and Ω. It retained its name throughout the Middle Ages (T ii. 18-24; xi. 6-10; Jord. i. 1. 366; Reber 537; ZA 320; BC 1927, 57).

PORTA LAVERNALIS: a gate in the Servian wall, named from a neighbouring altar and grove of Laverna (Varro, LL v. 163; Fest. 117; CIL i.<sup>2</sup> 446<sup>1</sup>; Rosch. ii. 1917-1918). It is mentioned by Varro after the Naevia and Raudusculana, and is therefore generally supposed to have been west of these two on the Aventine, where an ancient road, corresponding to the present Via del Priorato, passed through the wall (Jord. i. 1. 234; HJ 168; Merlin 119-121). According to a scholiast (Ps. Acro ad Hor. ep. i. 16. 60): Laverna viae Salariae lucum habet, and this has been used to support a theory that this gate was in the northern part of the city and not on the Aventine at all (BPW 1913, 980-1). See also WR 236; RE xii. 998, 999.

PORTA MAIOR: see PORTA PRAENESTINA.

PORTA METROVIA, METROBI, METRONIA, METRONI, METROSI, etc. (the various forms of the name are discussed by T loc. cit.), is first mentioned in DMH (Metrovia) and then by Gregory the Great (Ep. vi. 44, Metroni). Cf. GMU 88; R. ii. 406, Metrosi. The metropi via mentioned in the Sylloge Turonensis (De Rossi, Inscr. Christ. ii. 64. 15) is the road from this gate to the via Latina. It was in origin only a postern, as it has no towers, and no important road left it; it corresponded to the PORTA QUERQUETULANA (q.v.) of the Servian wall. It was blocked up at an uncertain date—certainly before the middle of the fifteenth century. The Marrana, a stream which passes under the Aurelian wall at this point, was brought into the city by Calixtus II in 1122, and he must have closed the gate at the same time,<sup>2</sup> even though it continues to be mentioned throughout the Middle Ages. An inscription of 1157 recording the restoration of the walls at this point is built into the interior of the tower which blocks it (Jord. i. 1. 364; T ii. 6-17; xi. 13-17; PBS iv. 40-42; BC 1927, 63).

PORTA MINUCIA: a gate that is said to have derived its name from its proximity to a shrine or altar (*sacellum*, *ara*) of Minucius (Minutus) quem deum putabant (Fest. 122, 147). Nothing is known of any such god, and the name may have arisen from confusion with that of Minucius Augurinus

<sup>1</sup> =ib. xi. 6708.

<sup>2</sup> It has been pointed out by Lais (Rivo dell' Acqua Mariana (Grottaferrata, 1925), 27 n.) that there are only 2.50 metres between the intrados of the arch of the gate and the level of the water, and that there are no signs of the channel having been covered.



whose monument (see *STATUA MINUCII*) was outside the porta Trigemina (WR 245 ; Rosch. ii. 3011-3012). By some the porta Minucia is regarded as another name for the Trigemina (Jord. i. 1. 236 ; Pais, *Storia di Roma* i. 1. 546, who regards Minucius as an epithet of Hercules ; Merlin 124-125).

**PORTA MUGONIA** : one of the three gates of the early Palatine city (Varro, LL v. 164), also called *vetus porta Palatii* (Liv. i. 1. 12 ; 3. 9). It was on the north side of the hill, near the temple of Jupiter Stator (Liv. locc. citt. ; Solin. i. 24 ; Dionys. ii. 50 ; Non. 531 ; cf. Ov. Trist. iii. 1. 31), where the ridge of the Velia joins the Palatine and the cattle of the early settlers must have been driven in and out (Jord. i. 1. 174, 176, 177 ; Richter 34, 133, 140, 145 ; Gilb. i. 159, 309 ; iii. 46, 423). The existing street of imperial times (see *CLIVUS PALATINUS*) corresponds in general with the early one.

The name appears in several variants—Mugionis (Non.), Mugionia (Festus 144), Mucionis (Varro), Mugonia (Solin.), and is derived by Varro from the lowing (*mugitus*) of the cattle, but by Festus a Mugio quodam qui eidem tuendae praefuit. The true derivation is not known (Jord. i. 1. 176, n. 39 ; cf. BC 1914, 78-79).

**PORTA NAEVIA** : a gate in the Servian wall on the Aventine near the silva (*nemora*) Naevia (Varro LL v. 163 ; Fest. 168-169 ; Liv. ii. 11 ; Obseq. Prod. 44). It gave its name to the vicus portae Naeviae (CIL vi. 975), of which the via Ardeatina was probably the continuation beyond the wall. The point where this ancient road seems to have crossed the line of the Servian fortifications is on the east slope of the Aventine, a little south of the church of S. Balbina (Jord. i. 1. 233 ; HJ 185 ; Merlin 119-121 ; Mitt. 1894, 327 ; BC 1914, 81-82).

**PORTA NAVALIS** : see *NAVALIA*.

**PORTA NOMENTANA** : a gate in the Aurelian wall from which the VIA NONENTANA (q.v.) issued (DMH), 75 metres to the south-east of the modern Porta Pia, which was erected by Pius IV in 1564. It retained its ancient name until the thirteenth century (T in loc.) ; it occurs under the form of Numantia in Magister Gregorius (JRS 1919, 19, 46). It had two semi-circular towers, the left-hand one of which, in brickwork attributable to Aurelian, stands on a square brick tomb, while the right-hand one, removed in 1827, stood upon the tomb of one Q. Haterius (CIL vi. 1426 ; see *SEPULCRUM Q. HATERII*). The analogy of the porta Salaria suggests that the curtain had three large windows over a single arch ; and it is the only example of one of Aurelian's original gates which has not been re-faced. Immediately to the south-east there is a small postern (LF 3 ; Jord. i. 1. 355 ; T iii. 8 ; PBS iii. 38 ; x. 20 ; Discovery vi. (1925), 293-295 ; BC 1927, 55, 56).

**PORTA OSTIENSIS** : a gate in the Aurelian wall through which passed the VIA OSTIENSIS (q.v.) (Amm. Marcell. xvii. 4. 12—the obelisk now at the



Lateran 'per Ostiensem portam piscinamque publicam circo illatus est maximo'—DMH). It had acquired the name which it still bears, under the modern form Porta S. Paolo, as early as the sixth century (Procop. BG ii. 4. 3, 9; iii. 36: *πύλη ἡ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι*; Aethicus, p. 716 Gronov. (83 Riese): Ostiensem portam quae est domni Pauli apostoli). It seems to be mentioned as porta Latina by Magister Gregorius, who describes what should be the pyramid of Cestius in conjunction with it (JRS 1919, 20, 46, 56).

It is probable that, like the porta Appia and the porta Flaminia, it originally had a double arch; and this explains why there are two arches of travertine side by side in the inner gateway (Ill. 41), which belongs to a later restoration, as Aurelian does not appear to have constructed any of his gates with courtyards. The two arches of the outer gateway were suppressed at some unknown date, and replaced by a single arch in travertine with a very wide curtain, flanked by two semi-circular brick towers. Such towers should as a rule be attributed to Aurelian, but here they have been strengthened at a later date, and there are considerable traces of alterations throughout, though parts of the original curtain still remain. The rise in level at the time of Honorius has been greatly overestimated (LD 54, fig. 13). See BC 1927, 57-59.

Adjacent to the gate on the right is the SEPULCRUM C. CESTII (q.v.), and beyond it again was a postern for the exit of the road from the porta Trigemina, which fell into the via Ostiensis. Some of its pavement, discovered in 1824, may be seen in the ditch of the old Protestant cemetery. This postern was, according to some authorities, closed by Honorius (Jord. i. 1. 368; Mon. L. i. 512; LF 44; T iv. 7-13); but it can well have happened much earlier (PBS x. 21).

PORTA PANCRATIANA: see PORTA AURELII (I).

PORTA PANDANA: a gate in the fortifications of the Capitoline hill, which was said to have been called porta Saturnia at first, as the hill was called mons Saturnius (Varro, LL v. 42; Solin. i. 13). According to one story (Fest. 220, 363) the name was changed because Tatius forced Romulus to an agreement that this gate should always be open to the Sabines—quod semper pateret; according to another version (Polyaen. viii. 25) the attack on the Capitoline was made by the Gauls, and the agreement was with them. This gate is referred to by Dionysius (x. 14) as *ἄκλεισται πύλαι*, through which Appius Herdonius stormed the Capitol in 460 B.C., although he confuses it with the porta Carmentalis. Evidently it was on the Capitolium (*ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀπροσβάτου*, Polyaen. loc. cit.), not on the Arx, and presumably near the south corner and the Tarpeian rock. In historical times it can hardly have been anything else than a gate in the enclosure of the area Capitolina, perhaps used principally by those who ascended and descended by the CENTUM GRADUS (q.v.) (Jord. i. 2. 122; Gilb. i. 229-230; Richter 118; University of

Michigan Studies i. 34-39; cf., however, BC 1914, 77-78, for a theory that it opened on the *clivus Capitolinus*).

PORTA S. PETRI: see PORTA AURELIA (2).

PORTA PIACULARIS: so-called *propter aliqua piacula quae ibidem fiebant* (Fest. 213), but otherwise wholly unknown. It can hardly have been a gate in the city wall.

PORTA PINCIANA: a gate in the Aurelian wall, famous for its defence by Belisarius. On the keystone is a Greek cross (Procop. BG i. 19, 23, 24, 29; ii. 1, 2, 5, 9, 10; seven times *πυλῖς*, five times *πύλη* or *πύλαι*). It was still open in the eighth century, but was closed in the ninth century (DMH: *porta Pinciana clausa*; the addition of the last word must have been made at a later period, unless with Lanciani, we refuse to attribute the DMH to Honorius).

The name had already become corrupt in the seventh century (*tertia porta Porciniana* (Portitiana, al.) *et via eodem modo appellata, sed cum pervenit ad Salariam nomen perdit*; GMU 87; R. ii. 404).

It was closed in 1808 and re-opened in 1887. It was originally a postern, and was transformed into a gate by Honorius, who converted the square tower on the right into a semi-circular one, and added the round tower on the left. At one time it had three stories, as older views show. The arch is of travertine and so was the threshold; one of the slabs of the latter bore the fragmentary sepulchral inscription CIL vi. 35170 (Jord. i. 1. 354; BC 1892, 102; 1917, 214-216; T iii. 12; PBS iii. 10. 11).

PORTA PORTUENSIS: a gate in the Aurelian wall, rebuilt by Honorius in 403 A.D. (CIL vi. 1188: *ob instauratos . . . muros portas atque turres*; DMH). Through it ran the VIA PORTUENSIS (q.v.). It had semi-circular brick towers and two arches, and thus resembled the original form of the *portae Appia, Flaminia, and Ostiensis* as built by Aurelian (see the view in Nardini, *Roma Antica* (1666), p. 36); so that it is not easy to see in what Honorius' restorations consisted.<sup>1</sup> The church of S. Lorenzo de Porta, of which nothing is known, took its name from the gate (HCh 295). It was destroyed by Urban VIII, whose successor, Innocent X, completed the new gate, 453 metres nearer to the city (Jord. i. 1. 371; T v. 7-12; LF 36; Roma iii. (1925), 317).

PORTA PRAENESTINA: the present Porta Maggiore, a double arch of the Aqua Claudia and ANIO NOVUS (q.v.), built by Claudius over the VIA PRAENESTINA (q.v.) and the VIA LABICANA (q.v.), and afterwards incorporated in the wall of Aurelian (DMH). These two roads separated just before passing under the aqueduct, the Labicana branching off to the right and the Praenestina to the left, and the two archways are

<sup>1</sup> The excellent representation in Maggi's large bird's-eye view of Rome (published in facsimile by Ehrle, *Roma nel tempo di Urbano VIII*, Rome, 1914) shows a vantage court at the back, as at the Porta Appia, etc.

at a very slight angle with each other, inasmuch as the course of the roads is at first almost parallel. The whole structure is of travertine, 32 metres high and 24 wide, and the two principal arches are 14 metres high, 6.35 wide and 6.20 deep. In the central pier is a small archway, 5.10 metres high and 1.80 wide, now closed and almost entirely below the present level of the ground. Above this, and at the same level in the north and south piers, are other arched openings, with engaged Corinthian columns and an entablature. The attic is divided longitudinally by string courses into three sections, each of which has an inscription (CIL vi. 1256-1258), the upper one recording the original construction by Claudius but probably revised by Trajan (Mél. 1906, 305-318), and the other two, restorations by Vespasian and Titus.<sup>1</sup> Immediately outside this gate, between the two roads, is the SEPULCRUM EURYSACIS (q.v.), belonging to the end of the republic. It stood about 3.50 metres below the modern level.

Aurelian incorporated this double arch in his wall, and Honorius<sup>2</sup> changed it very considerably: he certainly built a curtain wall with two openings (on the right-hand one was CIL vi. 1189), thus forming a courtyard. With this building scheme seem to go the square towers at each end on the outside; while the semicircular tower in the middle over the tomb of Eurysaces may belong to Aurelian. The latest ancient road level is 1.50 m. below the modern.

The right-hand opening was blocked at a later date (Ill. 38). In 1838 these fourth-century additions were removed and the arches of the aqueduct exposed to view (Jord. i. 1. 357; Reber 528-532; PBS i. 150). The gate appears in the sixth century (Procop. BG i. 18), when we have our first record of it, as the porta Praenestina. This name continued in use during the Middle Ages, along with Sessoriana and Labicana, but gradually gave way to Maior, which has survived in its modern designation (T x. 380-383; DuP 92-93; D'Esp. Fr. i. 81; BC 1917, 195-207).

PORTA QUERQUETULANA: a gate—probably in the Servian wall—which derived its name from a neighbouring oak grove (Plin. NH xvi. 37; Fest. 260, 261: Querquetularia; BC 1905, 201). For the Querquetulanae virae (nymphs presiding over this grove), see Rosch. iv. 9; BM. Rep. i. 569, 4211-4.<sup>3</sup> According to tradition the Caelian was once called mons Querquetulanus, and whether this be true or false, the porta Querquetulana was undoubtedly on this hill, very likely between the porta Capena and the porta Caelimontana, where an ancient road issued from the city, just south of the present S. Stefano Rotondo (Jord. i. 1. 226; HJ 221).

<sup>1</sup> Of these three sections only the upper two were used for the two aqueducts, the lower one being purely ornamental.

<sup>2</sup> The statement that the arch was closed by Honorius (PBS cit.) is erroneous; cf. Gell and Nibby, Mura di Roma, 349, and pl. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Babelon, i. pp. 98-100.



**PORTA QUIRINALIS** : a gate in the Servian wall which is mentioned only once (Fest. 255 : Quirinalis porta dicta sive quod ea in collem Quirinalem itur seu quod proxime eam est Quirini sacellum). The gate was probably just north of the temple of QUIRINUS (q.v.), where an ancient street, corresponding to the modern Via delle quattro Fontane, crossed the line of the wall (Jord. i. 1. 221 ; HJ 399, 411 ; RhM 1894, 411 ; Hermes, 1891, 141-144 ; BC 1914, 80). On this site remains of steps have been found which may have belonged to the approach to the gate (BC 1892, 271-275, pl. xv. ; Mitt. 1893, 303-304).

**PORTA RATUMENNA** : a gate said to have been named after an Etruscan charioteer, whose horses, after having won a race at Veii, were frightened, ran to Rome, threw their driver out and killed him at this gate, and finally stopped on the Capitolium in front of a terra cotta statue of Jupiter (Fest. 274, 275 ; Plin. NH viii. 161 ; Solin. xlv. 15 ; Plut. Poplic. 13). It has been explained by some as a gate in the Servian wall between the Capitoline and the Quirinal,<sup>1</sup> by others as an entrance into the Capitoline enclosure, but its site is entirely a matter of conjecture (Jord. i. 1. 209-210, 271 ; RhM 1904, 412-413 ; Richter 44 ; Gilb. ii. 280), and it was probably not a city gate at all.

**PORTA RAUDUSCULANA** : a gate in the Servian wall, mentioned next to the porta Naevia by Varro (LL v. 163), who says that it was called raudusculana quod aerata fuit. Festus (275) gives alternative explanations : Rodusculana porta appellata, quod rudis et inpolita sit relicta, vel quia, raudo, id est aere, fuerit vincta, while according to Val. Maximus (v. 6. 3) the name came from bronze horns affixed to the gate in memory of the praetor Genucius Cipus, from whose forehead horns had sprung as he was passing through it on his way to war. This was interpreted as an augury that he would be king if he returned to Rome, and to avoid this disaster to his country, he remained abroad. The most probable explanation of the name is that the gate was strengthened with plates or hinges of bronze.

The existence of a vicus portae R(a)udusculanae in Region XII (CIL vi. 975) is evidence for the location of this gate on the eastern part of the Aventine. The vicus is generally thought to be a continuation of the VICUS PISCINAE PUBLICAE (q.v.), and if so, the porta was in the depression between the two parts of the hill, at the junction of the modern Viale Aventino and the Via di Porta S. Paolo (Jord. i. 1. 234 ; HJ 184 ; Gilb. ii. 295-296, 308-309 ; Merlin 120, 129 ; BC 1891, 211 n.).

**PORTA ROMANA** : one of the three (?) gates of the early Palatine city (Varro, LL v. 164 : alteram Romanulam ab Roma dictam, quae habet gradus in nova via ad Volupiae sacellum (see PALATIUM, p. 376) ; vi. 24 : Velabro

<sup>1</sup> This view is maintained in BPW 1912, 1734—despite the fact that at that time there was no via Flaminia nor pons Mulvius, and that the road from Veii probably crossed the pons Sublicius—considerations which would not have occurred to those who handed down the story. For the name cf. Rosch. iv. 62.



... sepulchrum Accae ... qui uterque locus extra urbem antiquam fuit non longe a porta Romanula; Fest. 262: Romanam portam vulgus appellat ubi ex epistylío defluit aqua; qui locus ab antiquis appellari solitus est statuæ Cinciae, quod in eo fuit sepulchrum eius familiae. Sed porta Romana instituta est a Romulo infimo clivo Victoriae; qui locus gradibus in quadram formatus est. Appellata autem Romana a Sabinis praecipue quod ea proximus aditus erat Romam; ib. 263: Romana porta apud Romam a Sabinis appellata est quod per eam proximus eis aditus esset; ib. 269 is quite fragmentary). *Romanula* is, however, clearly an incorrect form (Jord. i. i. 176; Glotta i. 295). The topographical indications (infimo clivo Victoriae—proximus aditus Romam—quae habet gradus in nova via ad sacellum Volupiae) point to a site on the west side of the Palatine at the foot, or lower part, of the CLIVUS VICTORIAE (q.v.), where steps led down to the Nova via. The sacellum Volupiae is wholly unknown. Although the original course of the clivus Victoriae is uncertain, the gate was probably situated a little south of the church of S. Teodoro (Jord. i. i. 176; Gilb. i. 42, 121-122; ii. 114-115; Ann. d. Inst. 1884, 203-204; RE i. A. 2189; Richter 34; for the presentation of another view according to which the gate was at the north corner of the hill, at the junction of the three existing ramps, or stairways, from the Nova via, the forum, and the Velabrum see WR 241; Mél. 1908, 256-258). Support of this view is sought in the statement of Festus 'qui locus gradibus in quadram formatus est,' which seems to mean that the gate stood on a raised stone area approached by steps on all sides.

According to another explanation than that given by Festus (Kretschmer, Glotta i. 295), the name porta Romana is evidence that the Palatine settlement was not called Roma, since this designation of this gate indicated that it opened towards Roma which was then the district of the Velabrum and forum Boarium. Platner (in CP 1917, 196) pointed out that had this been so, some trace of the transfer of the name to the Palatine would have been found in tradition. The old view, according to which Roma could be connected with *ruma*, *rumon*, 'a stream,' made it easy to explain the gate as the river-gate; but if the name is a tribal name, 'why can we not explain the porta Romana most easily by supposing that this powerful Etruscan clan, or family, dwelt at this north-west corner of the hill—where tradition puts the first settlement, and that the gate, as well as the whole enclosure, got its name from this fact?' A still later view is that of Herbig (BPW 1916, 1440 ff., 1472 ff., summarised by Nogara in DAP 2. xiii. 279 and BC 1916, 141), that Roma is the latinized form of the Etruscan *ruma*, 'breast' (cf. Varro, RR ii. 11. 5: *mamma enim rumis sive ruminare*) and as a proper name means 'large breasted,' i.e. strong or powerful.

Another inference from Festus' statement is that the real site of the gate had been forgotten, and identified with that of the tomb of the Cincii, probably not far away.

**PORTA SALUTARIS**: a gate on the *COLLIS SALUTARIS* (q.v.), said to have derived its name from the temple of *Salus* (Fest. 326, 327). The *CLIVUS SALUTARIS* (q.v.) probably led up to it, and its site was therefore just south-west of the temple, at the upper end of the present *Via della Dataria* (Jord. i. i. 213; ii. 264; HJ 399; Hermes 1891, 142-144; RhM 1894, 405, 411; BC 1876, 126).

**PORTA SANQUALIS**: a gate, undoubtedly in the Servian wall, named from the temple of *Semo Sancus* (Fest. 343, 344, 345). It is therefore generally located south of the site of this *TEMPLE* (q.v.) on the *COLLIS MUCIALIS* (q.v.), near the present *Piazza Magnanapoli* (RhM 1894, 410-411; HJ 399; Richter 44, 290; cf. Jord. i. i. 213; Hermes 1891, 142-144).

**PORTA SALARIA**: a gate in the Aurelian wall, by which the *VIA SALARIA* (q.v.) left the city (DMH; Procop. Bell. Vandal. i. 2. 17, 22; BG i. 18. 19, 39; 19. 14; 22. 1-9; 23 passim; 27. 6; 22. 27. In the first passage of BG some MSS. and most editors read ἡ Βελισαρία ὀνομάσται νῦν and in BG 22. 12. Βελισαρία; but Comparetti prefers Σαλαρία; contrast Jord. i. i. 354, n. 23). The two being mutually exclusive, Βελισαρία, as Jordan notes, may equally well mean *Porta Pinciana*.

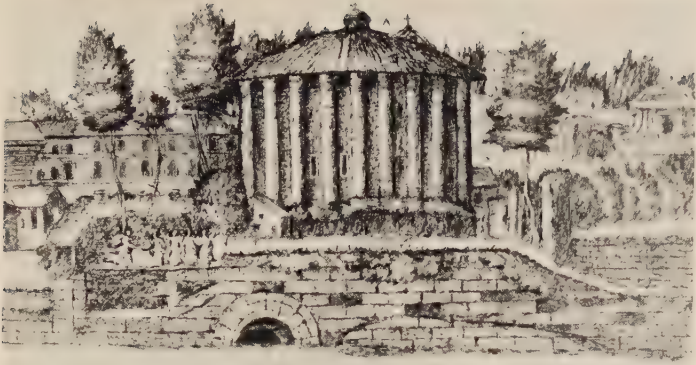
In GMU 87; R. ii. 405, it is called *Porta Sancti Silvestri*, because it led to the catacombs of *S. Priscilla*, where he was buried, though *Magister Gregorius* gives it under its correct name (JRS 1919, 19, 46). It was flanked by two semi-circular towers of brickwork, that of the west tower being perhaps the original work of Aurelian, below which were tombs faced with marble, wrongly described by Nibby (*Mura di Roma* 321) as bastions. The arch was of stone, with a brick arcade repaired in opus mixtum above it.

It was seriously damaged in the capture of Rome in 1870; and the removal of its remains led to the discovery under the eastern tower of the tomb of *Q. Sulpicius Maximus* (see *SEPULCRUM Q. SULPICII MAXIMI*); while under the western tower was the round tomb of *Cornelia L. Scipionis f. Vatieni* (CIL vi. 1296). The modern gate, built in 1873, was removed in 1921 (Jord. i. i. 354; T iii. 10-11; PBS iii. 11; Mitt. 1908, 286-290).

**PORTA SATURNIA**: see *PORTA PANDANA*.

**PORTA SCELERATA**: see *PORTA CARMENTALIS*.

**PORTA SEPTIMIANA**: the modern gate of the same name, just south of the *Palazzo Corsini*, on the right bank of the river. The first mention of this gate by name is in the twelfth century (Mirab. 4), where a fanciful etymology is given—*septem Naiades iunctae Iano*—which later gave rise to still more fanciful ideas (Jord. i. i. 373; ii. 378; Pr. Reg. 216-217; Urlichs 92, 115, 127, 143 (*Septinea*), 151; BC 1914, 83. It was rebuilt in 1498 by *Alexander VI a fundamentis* (LS i. 161), and given its present form in 1798. It is stated that there was an inscription of *Septimius* (Severus) on the arch before its reconstruction, and it is probable, there-



#### 43 PORTUNIUM

*From an engraving by ALDÒ GIOVANNOLI, 1615 (p. 431)*



#### 44 PORTA TIBURTINA

*From a drawing by JOHN SMITH (582 F.A.) in the Victoria and Albert Museum (p. 417)*





fore, that this was the gate referred to by Severus' biographer (Hist. Aug. Sever. 19) : *balneae in Transtiberina regione ad portam nominis sui*, that is, a gate opening into the area occupied by the buildings of Severus (cf. Septimianum, HJ 656) in this region, and afterwards incorporated in the wall of Aurelian. That it is not mentioned in DMH, GMU, or any early mediaeval documents, is strange, but there must have been at least one gate in the wall between the porta Aurelia and the river, and this lies on the line which the wall would naturally have followed (HJ 650 ; Richter 72, 281 ; T ix. 476). For the church of S. Johannes de Porta, cf. HCh 275, and for S. Silvester iuxta Portam Septimianam *ibid.* 468 (1123) ; cf. also *ciii.*

PORTA STERCORARIA : a gate on the *clivus Capitolinus*, opening into an alley (*angiportus*). It was opened once a year, on 15th June, in order that the *stercus*—ashes, rubbish, etc.—from the temple of Vesta might be removed and thrown into the Tiber (Fest. 344 ; cf. *ib.* 258 ; Varro, LL vi. 32 ; Ov. Fast. vi. 713 ; Fast. ap. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 319, and NS 1921, 98). It was probably about halfway up the *clivus*, but there is no clue to its exact location (Jord. i. 2. 64 ; Gilb. ii. 316 ; Richter 117).

PORTA TAURINA : see FORUM TAURI.

PORTA TIBURTINA : a gate in the Aurelian wall (Ill. 44), by which the VIA TIBURTINA (q.v.) left the city (DMH). In the eighth century it was known as Porta S. Laurentii, because it led to the church of that name (GMU 88 ; R ii. 406). There seems to be no trace in the present gate of any work by Aurelian, who may have simply restricted himself to flanking with two towers the arch by which the aquae Marcia, Tepula and Iulia crossed the road. This was rebuilt by Augustus in 5 B.C., and also bears inscriptions of Vespasian and Septimius Severus, relating to the aqueducts (CIL vi. 1244-1246). From the bull's head on the keystone of the arch came the name porta Taurina, which we find in the Liber Pontificalis in the lives of Alexander I (LPD i. 127) and Anastasius I (*ib.* 258) as well as in the Mirabilia (Jord. ii. 319-328) ; while Magister Gregorius (JRS 1919, 20, 46) gives both porta Tiburtina and porta Aquileia, *que nunc Sancti Laurentii dicitur*, in his list.

The gate was restored by Honorius, as the inscription over the stone outer arch records (CIL vi. 1190).<sup>1</sup> He also built the inner arch<sup>2</sup> in stone, most of which was removed by Pius IX in 1869, and, according to Lanciani, raised the level, here and elsewhere, from 9 to 13 feet ; but the difference between the levels of the Augustan and Flavian periods has now been more accurately determined as 1.38 metre (4½ feet), while there was a rise of only 1 cm. up to the time of Honorius (Jord. i. 1. 356-358 ; LR 76-77 ; PBS iii. 85-88 ; T viii. 9-14 ; BC 1892, III ; 1917, 207-214).

<sup>1</sup> To him probably belong the large square towers outside the gate, which may, as elsewhere, replace the original semicircular towers of Aurelian.

<sup>2</sup> This arch formed a *vantage court*, as at Porta Appia, and elsewhere.

PORTA TRIGEMINA: an important gate, and one frequently mentioned in ancient literature, in the Servian wall between the Aventine and the Tiber, in Region XI (Not.; Frontinus i. 5; Solin. i. 8; Dionys. i. 32. 2, 39. 4; de vir. ill. 65; Liv. xli. 27. 8). The exact site is a matter of dispute, since the line of the wall has not yet been determined in this quarter. Some place it below the present church of S. Sabina (LF 34; Jord. i. i. 235; Gilb. ii. 296); others about 40 metres south of S. Maria in Cosmedin, where an arch of tufa, 3.30 metres wide, over a paved road, was found in 1886 (NS 1886, 274; BC 1888, 20-22; Mél. 1909, 129-132; AJA 1918, 175-176; TF 95, 96); and others still at the north corner of the Aventine, near S. Anna dei Calzettari, about halfway between the other two points (KH i.; Mitt. 1889, 260; for a presentation of all the different views and their literature, see Merlin, 96-97, 125-126, and cf. *MURUS SERVII TULLII*). The last of these theories is the most probable.

The name is best explained by supposing that the gate had three openings, to accommodate the heavy traffic of this district and of the VIA OSTIENSIS (q.v.) (cf., however, Richter 46). Just outside it was a favourite resort for beggars (Plaut. Capt. 90), and a statue of L. Minucius (Liv. iv. 16. 2; vid. s.v.), which has led some to identify porta Trigemina with PORTA MINUCIA (q.v.); see also porticus extra portam Trigemina. A few inscriptions, on which the name of this gate occurs, have been found (CIL vi. 9488, 9515,<sup>1</sup> 9618; for forged lamps with similar inscriptions, see Mitt. 1892, 144).

PORTA TRIUMPHALIS: \* a gate through which a Roman general, who was celebrating a triumph, passed at the beginning of his march. It is mentioned in five passages (Cic. in Pis. 55; Tac. Ann. i. 8; Cass. Dio lvi. 42; Suet. Aug. 100; Joseph. Bell. Iud. vii. 5. 4), but only the last contains any topographical indications. These seem to point to a location in the campus Martius, not far from the circus Flaminius and the villa Publica. Four views have been held as to the character of this gate and its site: (1) that it was a gate in the Servian wall between the porta Flumentana and the porta Carmentalis (Nibby, *Mura di Roma* 1821, 132-134; Piale, *Delle porte del monte Aventino e delle altre occidentali di Roma*, 1834, 19-27; LR 64); (2) that the circus Maximus abutted on the city wall and that the porta Triumphalis was its principal entrance at this point (Bunsen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* i. 630-633; ii. i. 439-441; Mél. 1909, 135-140); (3) that it was merely a name given to any gate through which the victorious general entered the city, or to a temporary arch erected at any point along the line of march (Morpurgo, BC 1908, 107-150); (4) that it was an arch or gate standing by itself in the campus Martius, according to the indications of Josephus noted above (Becker, *Topogr.* 149-154; HJ 495; Richter 124). This is the generally accepted explanation at present. For a full discussion and citation of literature, see Morpurgo op. cit.; v. Domaszewski, AR 1909, 70, 73, who thinks

<sup>1</sup> This mentions a librarius ab extr(a) Porta Trigemina (CP 1914, 78).

the porta Triumphalis was built to take the place in the triumph which previously was held by the porta Carmentalis; and Makin in JRS 1921, 25-36.

PORTA VETUS PALATII: see PORTA MUGONIA.

PORTA VIMINALIS: a gate on the Viminal, in the middle of the Servian agger (Strabo v. 234; Fest. 163, 376, 377; Frontinus, de aq. i. 19). Some remains of it are still to be seen just north of the railway station. The road which issued from it appears to have been of minor importance and passed through the Aurelian wall by a postern south of the Praetorian camp (BC 1876, 168-170; 1914, 80; PBS iii. 85-86; LF 17), the so-called PORTA CHIUSA (q.v.).

PORTICUS: the Roman adaptation of the Greek *στοά*, varying more or less in detail, but consisting in general of a covered colonnade formed by a wall and one or more parallel rows of columns, or less frequently by columns alone. There were two prevailing types, one enclosing a rectangular area, either open and laid out like a garden, or occupied by a temple, and the second a long gallery bordering on a street. In either case the porticus might be an independent structure, or attached to adjacent buildings. In the gardens of the rich Romans even the driveways seem to have been under such colonnades.

The earliest porticus known to us were built in 193 B.C. by two members of the gens Aemilia, but the period of rapid development in numbers and use began in the last century of the republic and continued in the Augustan era (Stuart Jones, Companion 108-110). The earlier porticus were devoted mainly to business purposes, but during the empire they were intended primarily to provide places for walking and lounging that should be sheltered from sun and wind. For this reason the intercolumnar spaces were sometimes filled with glass or hedges of box. Within the porticus or the apartments connected with them, were collections of statuary, paintings, and works of art, as well as shops and bazaars. A porticus took its name from its builder, its purpose, the structure to which it was attached or of which it formed a part, or sometimes from some famous statue or painting preserved within it (e.g. PORTICUS ARGONAUTARUM).

The campus Martius was particularly well adapted to the development of the porticus, and by the second century there were upwards of twelve in Region IX, some of them of great size, and it was possible to walk from the forum of Trajan to the pons Aelius under a continuous shelter (Vitr. i. 3. 1; v. 9. 1-5; Ann. d. Inst. 1883, 5-22; DS iv. 586; LR 447; Lanciani, Anc. Rome, 94).

PORTICUS ABSIDATA: mentioned only in the Notitia (Reg. IV) and in the Ordo Benedicti of the twelfth century<sup>1</sup> (Urlichs 81; Jord. ii. 664). The

<sup>1</sup> Lib. Cens. Fabre-Duchesne, ii. 148. Benedict is simply borrowing the name from the Curiosum (Mitt. 1907, 429-430).



name indicates that it was built around the inner curve of an apse or exedra, perhaps that adjacent to the eastern end of the forum of Augustus, part of which is still in existence. If so, it formed a sort of pendant to the forum Transitorium (Jord. ii. 99-100, 319, 474; HJ 328; Mél. 1889, 350; Mon. L. i. 528-530; for a similar use of the name in Dacia, see CIL iii. 7729).

**PORTICUS AEMILIA:** (a) *extra portam Trigeminam*, built by the aediles L. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus in 193 B.C. (Liv. xxxv. 10. 12), and restored in 174 by the censors Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus (Liv. xli. 27. 8). Livy also says (ib.) of these censors—*et extra eandem portam in Aventinum porticum silice straverunt et eo publico ab aede Veneris fecerunt*, which seems to mean that they paved another porticus running from the *porta Trigemina* to the temple of VENUS OBSEQUENS (q.v.), on the slope of the Aventine, near the lower end of the *circus Maximus*. Five years earlier, in 179 B.C., the censor M. Fulvius Flaccus is said to have contracted for a *porticus extra portam Trigeminam* (Liv. xl. 51. 6). What connection these had with each other, or with the *Aemilia*, is unknown (HJ 173, 174; Merlin 251). For remains attributed to this building, see **EMPORIUM**.

(b) *A porta Fontinali ad Martis aram* (Liv. xxxv. 10. 12) built at the same time as (a). Its exact location depends upon that of the *PORTA FONTINALIS* (q.v.) and of the *ARA MARTIS* (q.v.), and in any case would not be far north of the Capitoline hill, nor far from the line of the *via Lata* (CP 1908, 66-73).

**PORTICUS AGRIPPIANA:** see **PORTICUS ARGONAUTARUM**.

**PORTICUS APOLLINIS:** see **APOLLO PALATINUS, AEDES**.

**PORTICUS ARGONAUTARUM:** built by Agrippa in 25 B.C. (Cass. Dio liii. 27), probably near (or, as Hülsen thinks, enclosing) the temple of HADRIAN (q.v.). It derived its name from the paintings on its walls of the adventures of the Argonauts, and seems to have been also called the *porticus Agrippiana* (Schol. Iuv. vi. 154). Cassius Dio (loc. cit.) calls it *στοὰ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος*, and elsewhere (lxvi. 24) speaks of a *Ποσειδώνιον*, which is probably the same building. It is sometimes identified with the *BASILICA NEPTUNI* (q.v.), although both names occur in the *Curiosum in Reg. IX*. It is possible that the *porticus* may have belonged to a temple of Neptune, although *Ποσειδώνιον* does not necessarily refer to a temple, and there is no other evidence for the existence of one in this region. This *porticus* was one of the most frequented in Rome (Mart. ii. 14. 6; iii. 20. 11; xi. 1. 12; HJ 574; Lucas, *Zur Geschichte der Neptunsbasilica in Rom*, Berlin 1904; OJ 1912, 132 ff.).

**PORTICUS IN AVENTINO:** see **PORTICUS AEMILIA**.

**PORTICUS BONI EVENTUS:** either built or restored by a certain Claudius, prefect of the city in 374 A.D. (Amm. Marcell. xxix. 6. 19), around the temple of *BONUS EVENTUS* (q.v.). Five large capitals of white marble,



1.70 metre high, found between the present church of S. Maria in Montebione and the Teatro Valle, may belong to this porticus and thus mark its position. This site was probably part of the area occupied earlier by the stagnum and horti of Agrippa (HJ 581; Hülsen, *Thermen des Agrippa* 33, 43; BC 1891, 224-227; 1914, 388; LS iii. 127, 232).

PORTICUS IN CAPITOLIO: see AREA CAPITOLINA.

PORTICUS CATULI, built by Q. Lutatius Catulus next to his house on the Palatine, after his victory over the Cimbri in 101 B.C. Clodius enlarged the area of this porticus during Cicero's exile,<sup>1</sup> but it was afterwards restored to its original dimensions by decree of the senate (Cic. *de domo* 62, 102, 114, 116, 137; *de Har. resp.* 58; *ad Att.* iv. 2. 5; 3. 2; Val. Max. vi. 3. 1; HJ 57, 58).

PORTICUS CLAUDIA: see DIVUS CLAUDIUS, TEMPLUM.

PORTICUS IN CLIVO CAPITOLINO: see CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS.

PORTICUS CONSTANTINI: mentioned only in Not. (Reg. VII), but undoubtedly built by Constantine in connection with his THERMAE (q.v.). Its exact location is uncertain (LF 15; HJ 460; Mon. L. i. 474; BC 1914, 91).

PORTICUS CORINTHIA: see PORTICUS OCTAVIA.

PORTICUS CREP(EREIA?): possibly mentioned in one inscription (CIL vi. 675=30810), but very doubtful.

PORTICUS CURVAE: see DOMUS PALMATA, FORUM TRAIANI (p. 241), AD PALMAM.

PORTICUS DECII: \* a possible porticus of the Emperor Decius, the existence of which is based on a conjectural restoration of a fragmentary inscription (CIL vi. 1099; LF 21). This inscription was found between the end of the circus Flaminius and the Capitoline hill, together with some architectural remains which were not excavated (HJ 555).

PORTICUS DEORUM CONSENTIUM: originally built perhaps in the second or third century B.C., as a fragment of tufa walling may show (TF 55, 56), but in its present form due to one of the Flavian emperors, as is shown by the construction (AJA 1912, 411, 414), and restored in 367 A.D. by Vettius Praetextatus, prefect of the city and a vigorous supporter of paganism. This restoration is recorded by an inscription on the architrave (CIL vi. 102). The existing remains are built at an angle against the rock beneath the Tabularium and the supporting wall of the clivus Capitolinus, and consist of two parts, a substructure containing seven small rooms, unlighted and of uncertain use, and above them a platform paved with marble, on which is a row of small rooms, 4 metres high and 3.70 deep, made of brick-faced concrete. Seven of these rooms have been excavated, and there are probably five more still buried. In front of them is a

<sup>1</sup> He actually substituted his own name. For the situation of the porticus, see CICERO, M. TULLIUS, DOMUS.

porticus of Corinthian columns supporting an entablature. The colonnade has been restored, but most of the entablature and four of the columns are ancient. The statues of the *dei consentes* probably stood in the intercolumniations of this colonnade. According to Varro (RR i. 1. 4) gilded statues of these twelve gods stood in the forum itself in his time (Jord. i. 2. 366; HC 90; Théd. 162, 360; DR 233-236; RE Suppl. iv. 496-497; HFP 20).

PORTICUS DIVORUM: see DIVORUM TEMPLUM.

PORTICUS EUROPAE: near the Saepta, mentioned only by Martial (ii. 14. 3, 5, 15; iii. 20. 12; vii. 32. 11; xi. 1. 11). It derived its name from a painting of Europa on its walls, or perhaps from a sculptured group by Pythagoras (Neapolis ii. 231-253; AJA 1915, 483). Hülsen (HJ 458) identifies it with the porticus Vipsania, apparently because there is little room for a second porticus in this immediate vicinity. Martial's topographical descriptions show that it was not identical with the PORTICUS POMPEI (q.v.).

PORTICUS FABARIA: mentioned only in the Notitia in Region XIII. It was probably the headquarters of the dealers in beans, and situated in the district of the warehouses, south-west of the Aventine.

PORTICUS GAI ET LUCI: see BASILICA AEMILIA.

PORTICUS GALLIENI: the Emperor Gallienus is said to have planned a porticus outside the porta Flaminia, that should extend to the pons Mulvius, but this plan was never carried out (Hist. Aug. Gall. 18).

PORTICUS GORDIANI: a structure that Gordianus III is said to have intended building at the foot of the Pincian hill, 1000 feet in length, large enough to extend to the via Flaminia (Hist. Aug. Gord. 32). According to Domaszewski (SHA 1916, 7. A, 9), this is simply an invention (the length being taken from Suet. Nero 31), though the site corresponds to that of the templum Solis. Cf., however, Mem. L. 5. xvii. 531.

PORTICUS GYPSIANI: see PORTICUS VIPSANIA.

PORTICUS HERCULEA: see PORTICUS POMPEI.

PORTICUS ILICII: built in the fifth century by the presbyter Ilicius on the vicus Patricius, between the early church of S. Pudenziana and the site of the later S. Lorenzo in Fonte. Some remains still exist under the houses in the Via del Bambin Gesù (LR 393; HJ 340; BCr 1867, 53).

PORTICUS IOVIA: see PORTICUS POMPEI.

PORTICUS IULIA: see BASILICA AEMILIA.

PORTICUS INTER LIGNARIOS: built in 192 B.C. extra portam Trigeminam (Liv. xxxv. 41. 10) from the fines paid by convicted usurers, and evidently intended for those engaged in the trade in wood which was unloaded at this point on the river bank (HJ 174; Merlin 251).

**PORTICUS LIVIAE**: begun by Augustus on the site of the house of **VEDIUS POLLIO** (q.v.) in 15 B.C., and finished and dedicated to Livia in 7 B.C. (Cass. Dio liv. 23; lv. 8;<sup>1</sup> Suet. Aug. 29; Ov. Fast. vi. 639). It is represented on three fragments of the Marble Plan (10, 11, 109), and was situated on the north slope of the Oppius on the south side of the clivus Suburanus, between this street and the later baths of Trajan. The porticus was rectangular, about 115 metres long and 75 wide, with an outer wall and double row of columns within. In each of the long sides were three niches, the central one square, the others semi-circular. There was also a semi-circular apse on the south side. The entrance was on the north, where a flight of steps, 20 metres wide, led down to the clivus Suburanus. In the centre of the area was something that appears to have been a fountain, but may possibly be the **AEDES CONCORDIAE** (q.v.) built by Livia. This porticus was very popular and magnificent (Ov. AA i. 71; Plin. NH xiv. 11; Plin. Ep. i. 5. 9; Strabo v. 236), the most important in the city after those of the campus Martius (HJ 315-316; BC 1886, 270-274; DE ii. 2160).<sup>2</sup> It is still mentioned in Not. (Reg. III), but no remains of it have ever come to light.

**PORTICUS MARGARITARIA**: mentioned only in Not. (Reg. VIII). As there are numerous inscriptions referring to jewellers (CIL vi. 9207, 9221, 9239, 9418, 9419), including margaritarii (9545-9549), who had shops 'de Sacra via,' it is often supposed that the porticus Margaritaria may have been on the Sacra via, though the inscriptions are all of the early imperial period. In the space between this street and the Nova via, and east of the Atrium Vestae, are massive foundations of the time of Nero (AJA 1912, 406; 1923, 383 sqq.; Mem. Am. Acad. v. 115-126) and remains of later brick walls. The former belong to a very large porticus, which served as the approach from the forum to the vestibule of the domus Aurea. The floor of this building was originally undivided, except by its piers of travertine, but partition walls of brick were afterwards put up (LR 210-211; BC 1899, 256; 1900, 11, pls. i., ii.; CR 1900, 238; 1905, 75-76). Though the main structure was certainly converted into horrea, it is possible that a part of it, as Lanciani thinks, still later became the porticus Margaritaria, in spite of the objections of Hülsen (AA 1900, 9; 1902, 51; Mitt. 1902, 95; HJ 15), who agrees with Jordan (i. 2. 476) in placing the porticus on the boundary of Region VIII, between the forum Boarium and the forum Holitorium.

**PORTICUS MAXIMAE**: built about 380 A.D. along the street, possibly the **VIA TECTA** (q.v.), leading from the theatre of Balbus to the pons Aelius (CIL vi. 1184). Fragments of granite columns have been found in the Via dei Cappellari and near Piazza Farnese (Ann. d. Inst. 1883, 21; NS 1880, 81; LF 20; HJ 597) as well as in the Piazza del Pianto and the

<sup>1</sup> In ib. lvi. 27. 5 *Λιουλία* has been emended into *Ἰουλλία*, as the date there given is 12 A.D. (See **BASILICA IULIA**, **BASILICA AEMILIA**.)

<sup>2</sup> See also Mem. L. 5. xvii. 515.



Via della Reginella, which may belong to these porticus (see also BC 1911, 88), and numerous columns and architectural fragments between the Corso Vittorio Emanuele and the Vie Sora and del Pellegrino (NS 1919, 39-40; 1923, 247; PT 62).

**PORTICUS MELEAGRI**: mentioned only in the Notitia in Region IX. It was near the Saepta, to which it may have belonged, and probably derived its name from a statue or painting.

**PORTICUS METELLI**: built in 147 B.C. by Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus around the temples of JUPITER STATOR and JUNO (q.v.), which he erected at the same time (Vell. i. 11; ii. 1; Vit. iii. 2. 5). It was between the circus Flaminius and the theatre of Marcellus, and contained many works of art (Plin. NH xxxiv. 31; xxxvi. 42). It was removed to make room for the PORTICUS OCTAVIAE (q.v.).

**PORTICUS MILIARENSIS**: see HORTI SALLUSTIANI.

**PORTICUS MILIARIA**: built by Nero within the precincts of the domus Aurea (Suet. Nero 31: tanta laxitas ut porticus triplices miliarias haberet). This reading seems to oblige us to suppose that the porticus was triple and a mile long, or that there were three porticoes, in each of which a walk of a mile could be taken (see PORTICUS TRIUMPHI).

**PORTICUS MINUCIA**: built by M. Minucius Rufus, consul in 110 B.C. (Vell. ii. 8. 3: per eadem tempora clarus eius Minuci qui porticus, quae hodieque celebres sunt, molitus est, ex Scordiscis triumphus fuit). This use of the plural is no evidence that the porticus was double, or that there were two buildings, for Velleius uses it elsewhere of a single porticus (ii. 1. 2), as do other writers (e.g. Plin. NH xxxv. 114). In it Antonius, and probably other officials, set up their tribunals (Cic. Phil. ii. 84: in porticu Minucia), and it is mentioned in Apuleius (de mundo 35: alius ad Minuciam frumentatum venit) and in the Historia Augusta (Commod. 16: Herculis signum aeneum sudavit in Minucia per plures dies). In the calendars it occurs twice (Praen. ad xi Kal. Ian., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 238: laribus permarinis in porticu Minucia; Filoc. ad prid. Non. Iun., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 266: ludi in Minicia; cf. p. 338), and in several inscriptions of the first four centuries (see below), but always alone and in the singular.

Chron. (p. 146) places a Minucia vetus among the buildings of Domitian, and Reg. has (Reg. IX) porticus Philippi Minuciam veterem et frumentariam (Cur. Minucias duas veterem et frumentariam), cryptam Balbi. Apparently, therefore, by the time of Domitian at least a Minucia vetus was distinguished from a newer Minucia, presumably the frumentaria of the Notitia. From the time of Claudius the distribution of grain to the populace took place in the porticus Minucia (cf. Apuleius, loc. cit.), the earliest evidence being an inscription of his reign or Nero's (CIL vi. 10223: Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Ianuarius curator de Minucia die xiii ostio XLII). This together with two others of pueri alimentarii (CIL



vi. 10224 : frumentum accepit die x ostio xxxix ; 10225<sup>1</sup> : frum(entum) ac(cepit) d(ie) vii ostio xv), the late ascription of frumentatio to Servius Tullius preserved in the Chronograph (p. 144 : hic votum fecit ut quotquot annos regnasset tot ostia ad frumentum publicum constitueret), and a lead tessera (Rostowzew, Sylloge No. 336 ; Klio, Suppl. iii. 21-22) with Minucia on the reverse side, show that the porticus Minucia was divided into 45 ostia or sections, in which definite groups of people received their doles in definite days in the month. The officials of this department are mentioned in three other inscriptions of the second century (CIL xi. 5669 : proc. Aug. ad Minuciam ; vi. 1648 : proc. Mini(ciae) ; iii. 249 : proc. Min(uciae) ), and perhaps in two more (vi. 1408 : cur. Min(uciae) ; xi. 4182 : prae(fectus ?) Minicia).

Beginning with the time of Severus the name of the porticus appears in inscriptions of officials of the water department (v. 7783 : curator aquarum et Minuciae ; vi. 1532 : cur. aquar. et Miniciae ; x. 4752 : consulari aquarum et Minuciae ; xiv. 3902 : curator aquarum et Miniciae ; NS 1901, 129-131 ; cf. Mommsen, Staatsrecht ii. 1053-1054). Whether this indicates that one man held both offices, or that the Minucia now belonged to the department of water and not of grain, or that both offices were housed in one building, or that the Minucia of the inscriptions is the Minucia vetus, while the distribution of grain still took place in the frumentaria, is doubtful. The relation of the vetus and frumentaria is very uncertain, whether they were separate buildings, or parts of one ; and when the second building or part was erected. It is natural to assign the frumentaria to Claudius, but the absence of any differentiation, except in the Chronograph and Regionary Catalogue, is curious (Hirschfeld, Phil. 1870, 63-67 ; Kaiserl. Verwaltungsbeamten<sup>2</sup> 238 ; Klio, ii. 244, 271 ; Suppl. iii. 15-16 ; DE iii. 268-269 ; RE vii. 177-178 ; Marquardt, Staatsverwaltung ii. 128-130 ; Gilb. iii. 144, 286).

There is also divergence of opinion as to the site of the porticus. The prevailing view at present is that there were two separate buildings, near the porticus Philippi and theatre of Balbus (cf. Not.), one of which, the vetus, enclosed the temple of the Lares Permarini (fast. Praen.) and perhaps that of Hercules Custos (cf. Hist. Aug. Com. loc. cit.), and therefore was situated north of the circus Flaminius and east of the porticus Pompei, on both sides of the Petronia stream (AR 1909, 76, pl. i. ; KH ii.). The frumentaria Hülsen then places about 200 metres south of the vetus, and identifies with ruins that lie close to the probable site of the crypta Balbi (Sangallo, p. 9, 47). In the Via dei Calderari, No. 23, two travertine pilasters with engaged columns and the entablature are built into the front of the house, and there are traces of a second row of columns and a wall behind. Drawings of the sixteenth century show that this colonnade had an upper story, with columns standing on the centre of the arches below. There are also blocks of travertine pavement (NS 1891,

<sup>1</sup> =ib. 33991.

336; 1892, 265; Mitt. 1892, 321; 1893, 318; this view of Hülsen's is expressed on his map of 1912). Hülsen is further inclined to derive the name of S. Maria de Publico (so called in a bull of 1186 and generally till the end of the fifteenth century), now known as S. Maria in Publicolis,<sup>1</sup> from the *frumentum publicum* distributed here (HCh 361; BC 1927, 94-100).

Another theory (Canina, Edif. ii. pl. 149; LR 513; LF 28; Delbrück, *Die drei Tempel am Forum Holitorium*, Rome 1903, 1) is that the porticus lay between the foot of the Capitol and the theatre of Marcellus, thus identifying the two buildings with ruins on the east side of the Piazza Montanara and in the Vicolo della Bufala (NS 1879, 314; 1891, 316; Mitt. 1892, 292). This view, however, Lanciani has recently abandoned, chiefly because of the small area available, and thinks that the porticus was farther north-west, between the hill and the porticus Octaviae (BC 1917, 187-192). There is no conclusive evidence for any of the views that have been held.

**PORTICUS AD NATIONES:** built by Augustus, and given this name because it contained statues of all nations (Serv. Aen. viii. 721). A statue of Hercules stood before its entrance (Plin. NH xxxvi. 39). Its location is unknown, unless it was connected in some way, as an addition or restoration, with the theatre of POMPEIUS (q.v.), in which were set up the statues by Coponius of the fourteen nations over which Pompeius had triumphed (Suet. Nero 46; Plin. NH xxvi. 41). It is, however, uncertain whether these fourteen statues stood inside the theatre, or outside in the PORTICUS POMPEI (q.v.). The porticus ad Nationes of Augustus was probably a new building (HJ 525).

**PORTICUS POST NAVALIA:** built in 179 B.C. by the censor M. Fulvius Nobilior (Liv. xl. 51. 6; HJ 143), at the same time as the porticus extra portam Trigeminam and the porticus post Spei, behind the older NAVALIA (q.v.).

**PORTICUS OCTAVIA:** built by Cn. Octavius in 168 B.C. to commemorate a naval victory over Perseus of Macedonia (Fest. 178; Vell. ii. 1). It stood between the theatre of Pompeius and the circus Flaminius, and was also called porticus Corinthia from its bronze Corinthian capitals (Plin. NH xxxiv. 13), perhaps the earliest instance of the use of this order in Rome (for a possible identification with remains in the Via S. Nicola ai Cesarini, and representation in the Marble Plan (frg. 140), see BC 1918, 151-155). Augustus restored the building in 33 B.C. (Mon. Anc. iv. 3), and placed within it the standards which he had taken from the Dalmatians (App. Illyr. 28; Cass. Dio xlix. 43, where there is confusion between this and the porticus Octaviae). It was called *multo amoenissima* (Vell. loc. cit.), but has left no traces (HJ 488-489; AR 1909, 77).

<sup>1</sup> This form only came in during the sixteenth century when the Santacroce family traced their pedigree back to the Valerii Publicolae.

**PORTICUS OCTAVIAE** : \* built ostensibly by Octavia, the sister of Augustus (Fest. 178 ; Ov. AA i. 69), but really by Augustus and dedicated in the name of Octavia (Suet. Aug. 29 ; Cass. Dio xlix. 43 ; Liv. Ep. 138) at some time after 27 B.C. (cf. Vit. iii. 2. 5), in place of the **PORTICUS METELLI** (q.v. ; Vell. i. 11) around the temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno (Plin. NH xxxvi. 42). The statement of Cassius Dio that it was built after 33 B.C. from the spoils of the war in Dalmatia, is due to confusion with the porticus Octavia. It was burned in 80 A.D. (Cass. Dio lxvi. 24) and restored, probably by Domitian, and again after a second fire in 203 by Severus and Caracalla (CIL vi. 1034). It was adorned with foreign marble (Ov. AA i. 70), and contained many famous works of art (Plin. NH xxxiv. 31 ; xxxv. 114, 139 ; xxxvi. 15, 22, 24, 28, 34, 35 ; cf. Neapolis ii. 234 n.). Besides the **TEMPLES** (q.v.) there were within the enclosure a **BIBLIOTHECA** (q.v.) erected by Octavia in memory of the youthful Marcellus (Suet. de gramm. 21 ; Plut. Marc. 30), a curia Octaviae (Plin. NH xxxvi. 28), and a schola (ib. xxxv. 114) or scholae (ib. xxxvi. 22). Whether these were different parts of one building, or entirely different structures, is uncertain. It was probably in the curia that the senate is recorded as meeting (Cass. Dio lv. 8 ; Joseph. B. Jud. vii. 5. 4). The whole is referred to by Pliny as Octaviae opera (Plin. NH xxxiv. 31 ; xxxv. 139 ; xxxvi. 15).

This porticus is represented on the Marble Plan (frg. 33). It enclosed a rectangular area, 118 metres in width and somewhat more in length, and consisted of a colonnade formed by a double row of granite columns, twenty-eight in each row in front. The main axis ran from north-east to south-west, and the principal entrance was in the middle of the south-west side. This entrance, of which some ruins still exist (Bull. d. Inst. 1878, 209-219 ; BC 1887, 331 ; 1890, 66-67 ; Mitt. 1889, 264-265 ; NS 1912, 153), had the form of a double pronaos, projecting inward and outward. Across each front of this pronaos, between the side walls, were four Corinthian columns of white marble, supporting an entablature and triangular pediment. The entablature and pediment and two of the columns of the outer front still exist (the other two have been replaced by a brick arch, perhaps after the earthquake of A.D. 442), and of the inner front two columns and part of the third, with portions of entablature and pediment. The height of the columns of the pronaos is 8.60 metres. Some of the marble antefixae at the lower ends of the ridge tiles also exist. Parts of some of the columns of the south colonnade are also standing, and some of their capitals are built into the walls of neighbouring houses (HJ 541-544 ; D'Esp. Mon. ii. 131-133 ; Fr. i. 65, 66 ; ZA 225-231). For the entasis, see Mem. Am. Acad. iv. 122, 142.

**PORTICUS PALLANTIANA** : known only from one inscription (CIL vi. 9719 : olear(ius) de portic(u) Pallantian(a) Venitian(orum) parmulariorum(?)). The building seems to have been devoted to commercial purposes, but there is no indication of its location.



**PORTICUS PALMATA** : a portico near S. Peter's (porticus beati Petri quae appellatur ad Palmata, LP lxxii. 3) which gave its name to the church of S. Apollinaris ad Palmatam (HCh 201).

**PORTICUS PHILIPPI** : built without doubt around the temple of **HERCULES MUSARUM** (q.v.) by L. Marcius Philippus, the stepfather of Augustus, at the same time that he rebuilt the temple, although this is not stated in so many words (Mart. v. 49. 11-12 ; HJ 544-545). It is represented on the Marble Plan (frg. 33), and is mentioned in Not. (Reg. IX). It contained some famous pictures (Plin. NH xxxv. 66, 114, 144), and hair-dressers' shops (Ov. AA iii. 168).

**PORTICUS POLLAE** : see **PORTICUS VIPSANIA**.

**PORTICUS EXTRA PORTAM FONTINALEM** : see **PORTA FONTINALIS**.

**PORTICUS EXTRA PORTAM TRIGEMINAM** : see **PORTICUS AEMILIA**.

**PORTICUS PURPURETICA** : see **FORUM TRAIANI**.

**PORTICUS QUIRINI** : built around the temple of **QUIRINUS** (q.v.), probably by Augustus when he restored the temple in 16 B.C. It is mentioned only once (Mart. xi. 1. 9), but was evidently very popular.

**PORTICUS SAEPTORUM** : see **SAEPTA**.

**PORTICUS POMPEI** : built in 55 B.C. by Pompeius at the same time as his **THEATRE** (q.v.), and adjoining its scaena. The purpose of the porticus was to afford shelter for the spectators in case of rain (Vitr. v. 9. 1). It is represented on the Marble Plan (frgs. 30, 110, and p. 22), and was a rectangular court, about 180 metres long and 135 wide, in which were four parallel rows of columns. The central area was laid out as a garden with shady walks (Prop. ii. 32. 11-12) and contained various works of art (Plin. NH xxxv. 59, 114, 126, 132). Among these was a painting of Cadmus and Europa by Antiphilus, which is not to be identified with the representation of Europa which gave its name to the **PORTICUS EUROPAE** (q.v.) described by Martial, which, A. Reinach maintains (Neapolis ii. 237 sqq.), was a bronze group made by Pythagoras of Rhegium for Tarentum (Cic. Verr. iv. 135 ; Varro, LL v. 31). The **CURIA POMPEI** (q.v.) in which Caesar was murdered was probably an exedra in this porticus (Asc. in Mil. 67 ; cf. Gell. xiv. 7. 7 : propterea et in curia Hostilia et in Pompeia et post in Iulia, cum profana ea loca fuissent, templa esse per augures constituta ut in iis senatus consulta more maiorum iusta fieri possent). That the porticus was one of the most popular in the city is clear from the numerous incidental references (Cic. de fato 8 ; de off. ii. 60 ; Cat. 55. 6 ; Ov. AA i. 67 ; iii. 387 ; Prop. iv. 8. 75 ; Mart. ii. 14. 10 ; xi. 1. 11, 47. 3 ; Cass. Dio xlv. 16).

The porticus was burned in the reign of Carinus (Hist. Aug. Car. 19), and restored by Diocletian (Chron. 148 : porticos ii), under the direction of Aelius Helvius Dionysius, the prefect of the city (CIL vi. 255, 256), who called one side of the restored structure porticus Iovia, and the



other porticus Herculea, in honour of the two emperors Diocletian and Maximian. It may be referred to as the portica Nova, which was ruined by the earthquake of 442 (Consul. Ital. Chron. min. ed. Mommsen i. 30: terrae motus factus est Romae et ceciderunt statuæ et portica nova; cf. BC 1917, 11-13). No remains of this building are visible, and the discoveries on its site have been unimportant (Ann. d. Inst. 1883, 11-12; Mél. 1908, 225-228; LS iii. 122-124; HJ 531-532; Gilb. iii. 325-326; ASRSP 1887, 467; BC 1892, 146-148; 1917, 11-13; 1925, 271).

PORTICUS SEVERI: built by Severus and Caracalla but otherwise unknown (Hist. Aug. Sev. 21; Carac. 9). v. Domaszewski holds that it never existed and is an invention of the writer (SHA 1916, 7. A, 7; 1918, 13. A, 46).

PORTICUS POST SPEI: believed to have been built in 179 B.C. by the censor M. Fulvius Nobilior, at the same time as the porticus extra portam Trigeminam and the porticus post Navaliam (Liv. xl. 51. 6; HJ 509). It would have extended from the Tiber to the temple of APOLLO MEDICUS (q.v.), probably across the area afterwards occupied by the theatre of Marcellus; but its very existence depends on an alteration of the reading in the passage cited above (see also NAVALIA).

PORTICUS THERMARUM TRAIANARUM: mentioned in an inscription from Thrace (CIL iii. 12336), in which it is stated that a certain document was posted here in 238 A.D. This may be the same porticus as that which was connected with the *scrinia*, or archives, of the PRAEFECTURA URBANA (q.v.), and restored by a certain Junius Valerius Bellicius at some time in the fourth century (CIL vi. 31959).

PORTICUS TRI(UMPHI): a porticus supposed to have stood near the porta Triumphalis and the Saepta, forming perhaps a part of the latter, on the evidence of two inscriptions recording 'porticus triumphi,' one near Rome (CIL vi. 29776) and the other at Baiae (EE viii. 374), which were evidently small private imitations of a public structure at Rome (NS 1888, 709-714; BC 1889, 355-358; Mitt. 1889, 268; LR 475; JRS 1921, 28-29). In both of them the length is recorded, and the number of times necessary to go and return in order to complete a mile (or in the second case a little more). Cf. Atti Accad. Nap. 1924, 123-136 (where 'porticus tri(plex)' is proposed); NS 1926, 229; CIL vi. 29774-29778.

For a similar inscription from Hadrian's Villa, relating to the so-called Poikilé (really a huge gestatio in modum circi), in which, however, the name *triumphi* does not actually occur, see Jahrb. d. Inst. 1895, 140, and AA 234; AA 1896, 47. The insistence on a mile (or a little more) as a convenient measure for a walk (cf. PORTICUS MILIARENSIS, PORTICUS MILIARIA) does not imply that the original porticus Triumphi was a mile long (though it may very well have been some fraction of a mile); and it may therefore quite well have been wholly included in the Villa Publica (Makin in JRS cit.).

PORTICUS VIPSANIA: begun by Polla, the sister of Agrippa, and finished by Augustus (Cass. Dio lv. 8. 3-4). It extended along the east side of the via Lata, occupying the western part of the CAMPUS AGRIPPAE (q.v.). It was near the aqua Virgo (Mart. iv. 18. 1-2: *qua vicina pluit Vipsania porta columnis | et madet assiduo lubricus imbre lapis*), and therefore it has hitherto been supposed that it extended nearly as far south as that aqueduct, but recent excavations (NS 1915, 35, etc.; 1917, 9-20; BC 1914, 209; 1915, 218; 1917, 220) seem to indicate that a colonnade on the south side of the Via del Tritone was the southern end of the porticus. Farther south no traces of such a building have been found. Hülsen indeed identifies it with the PORTICUS EUROPAE (q.v.).

In this porticus was a map of the world, prepared by order of Agrippa (Plin. NH iii. 17); there were laurels in its garden (Mart. i. 108. 1); and detachments of the Illyrian army camped in it in 69 A.D. (Plut. Galba 25; Tac. Hist. i. 31). In the fourth century its name had been corrupted into porticus Gypsiani (Not. Reg. VII).

In construction it resembled the SAEPTA (q.v.) on the outer side of the via Lata, a little farther south, but it underwent changes in later times, as part of the remains date from the Flavian period, and in the second century the intercolumnar spaces were closed with brick-faced walls, thus making rows of separate chambers. At various points in the area parts of semi-circular arches with travertine pillars and pilasters with Doric capitals have been found, and a travertine pavement and cipollino columns with Corinthian capitals (BC 1887, 146-148; 1892, 275-279; 1895, 46-48; HJ 458-459; Gilb. iii. 246).

PORTUNIUM: \* the most certain occurrence of this word is in Fronto (Ep. i. 7 (Naber): *idem evenit floribus et coronis; alia dignitate sunt <in Portunio> (from marg.) quom a coronariis veneunt, alia quom a sacerdotibus <in templo> (from marg.) porriguntur*; cf. Jord. ii. 199), where, if the marginal readings be correct, Portunium must mean the immediate vicinity of the temple of Portunus, a place frequented by flower-sellers, rather than the temple itself, as in the case of Dianium, Minervium. It is probable that Portunium may also be the correct reading in Varro v. 146: *secundum Tiberim ad Portunium* (MSS. *ad iunium*) *forum piscarium vocant* (Jord. ii. 257); and that the Fortunium of Cur. (Reg. XI) should be changed into Portunium.

The temple of Portunus is mentioned in Varro (LL 22 vi. 19: *Portunalia dicta a Portuno, cui eo die aedes in portu Tiberino facta et feriae institutae*), and in the calendar, under date of August 17th, the Portunalia, its day of dedication (Fast. Allif. Vell. Amit. ad xvi Kal. Sept., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 217, 240, 244, 325: *Portuno ad pontem Aemilium*). *Portus Tiberinus* must mean here a quay along the river, not a warehouse (cf. PORTUS LICINI, etc.), near the pons Aemilius, and the temple was close by. (For the discussion of this question, see Mommsen, CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 325; Fowler, Roman Festivals 202-203; Besnier 307-312: Jord. i. 1. 432; Rosch.

iii. 2786-2787.) A relief on the arch of Trajan at Beneventum seems to represent Portunus and other gods at the portus Tiberinus (OJ 1899, 182-183; S. Sculp. 217; SScR 194).

This temple, among others, has been identified with the ancient circular temple (Ill. 43), which was occupied by the church of S. Stephanus Rotundus (1140), S. Stefano delle Carrozze (sixteenth century), and was later called S. Maria del Sole, in the Piazza Bocca della Verità (DAP 2. vi. 263; HJ 143; Mitt. 1925, 321-350). It is built of white marble, the blocks of the cella being solid, with a peristyle of twenty Corinthian columns. The cella is 10 metres in diameter and stands on a podium of tufa, 2 metres high, in the centre of which is a favissa (LR 518-520) which belongs to the period of the republic,<sup>1</sup> although the marble covering and the whole superstructure date from the early empire.<sup>2</sup> The entablature is missing, and the roof is modern. On the whole this identification is more probable than any other that has been suggested,<sup>3</sup> but far from certain (Jord. i. 2. 485; Altm. 22-30, 33-36; ZA 248-251 (whose attribution to the period of Severus is doubtful). See D'Esp. Fr. i. 40-43; DuP 72; TF 136).<sup>3</sup>

PORTUS CORNELI(I): a warehouse (cf. PORTUS LICINI) for the storage of brick, named after some Cornelius, and known only from its probable occurrence on an inscribed tile of 123 A.D. (NS 1892, 347; Mitt. 1893, 260).

PORTUS LICINI(I): a warehouse, named after some unknown Licinius and used for the storage of bricks 'ex praediis M. Aur. Antonini,' mentioned on numerous inscribed tiles of the time of Severus (CIL xv. 408), and later (Cassiod. Var. i. 25). There is no indication of its location, and portus in this sense (cf. P. CORNELI(I), PARRAE, etc.) had no necessary connection with the river (cf. the definition in Ulpian (Dig. l. 16. 59: portus appellatus est conclusus locus quo importantur merces et inde exportantur; and CIL xv. pp. 37, 121; BC 1878, 42-43; EE ii. p. 434; Pr. Reg. 103; HJ 175).

PORTUS NEAPOLITANUS: mentioned only in a graffito found in the catacombs of S. Sebastiano as a brick warehouse (CIL xv. 6123; Mitt. 1886, 188). Its situation is quite uncertain.

PORTUS PARRAE: a warehouse for bricks known only from its occurrence on inscribed tiles of the time of Hadrian (CIL xv. 409-412).

PORTUS TIBERINUS: see PORTUNUM.

PORTUS VINARIUS: a wine warehouse mentioned in three inscriptions, without topographical indications (CIL vi. 9189, 9190; AJP 1910, 35).

<sup>1</sup> One column is missing. For a plan and section of the foundations, see De Angelis, Relazione 1899-1902, 106, 107; and for the view that the podium is of an earlier date than the rest, see also Mitt. 1892, 108; 1893, 293. For the entasis, see Mem. Am. Acad. iv. 122, 142.

<sup>2</sup> So Jahrb. d. Inst. 1921, 68; Ath. Mitt. 1914, 25.

<sup>3</sup> Delbrück (Hellenistische Bauten, ii. 43) identifies it with the temple of Hercules erected about 130 B.C. by Aemilius Paullus (p. 257). Cf. also SOL ET LUNA, AEDES.



PORTUS XYSTI : a warehouse of unknown use and location that is mentioned only in the Codex Theodosianus (xiii. 3. 8), in connection with the archiatri.

Ποσειδώνιον : see ARA NEPTUNI.

POSTERULAE IN MURO AURELIANO : see MURUS AURELIANUS.

PRAEDIA GALBANA : the district occupied by the HORREA GALBAE (q.v.). This name occurs only once, in an inscription (CIL vi. 30983) of the second century A.D. (BC 1885, 51-53 ; Bull. d. Inst. 1885, 137 ; NS 1885, 157).

PRAEFECTURA URBANA : the general offices of the Praefectus urbi during the empire, which consisted of at least three parts—the *scrinia* or archives (Hist. Aug. Aur. 9), the *secretarium* or prefect's office, and the *tribunalia*, where he rendered his decisions. A restoration is recorded in the fourth century by the prefect Junius Valerius Bellicius (CIL vi. 31959 ; NS 1897, 60). The *secretarium* was called *tellurensis*, which indicates that the building stood in *Tellure*, or in *vico Tellurensi*, near the temple of TELLUS (q.v.). No trace of the prefecture remains, but the epigraphical evidence points to a site just west of the thermae Traianae on the Esquiline, within the area now bounded by the Vie di S. Pietro in Vincoli, della Polveriera and dei Serpenti (BC 1892, 19-37 ; Mitt. 1893, 298-302 ; RhM 1894, 629-630 ; NS 1922, 219 ; HJ 306-307 ; cf. 329, n. 15). Adjacent to the praefectura was a porticus (BC 1891, 342-358),<sup>1</sup> in which copies of the edicts preserved in the archives were set up for inspection (cf. PORTICUS THERMARUM TRAIANARUM).

PRAENESTIUS COLLIS : a late name for the mons Caelius, occurring only once in extant literature (Lydus, de mens. iv. 115 ; HJ 229 ; Wissowa, Ges. Abh. 233). Like TIBURTIUS COLLIS (q.v.) it is derived from the name of a gate (porta Praenestina) of the Aurelian wall, and is an antiquarian's invention.

PRATA FLAMINIA : according to Livy (iii. 54. 15 ; 63. 7), an earlier name of the district immediately to the west of the Capitoline hill, afterwards called CIRCUS FLAMINIUS (q.v.), and thickly covered with public buildings before they spread north into the campus Martius proper. It was evidently equivalent to CAMPUS FLAMINIUS (q.v.), but the derivation of the name, while probably connected with the gens Flaminia, is in dispute (HJ 484-485 ; Gilbert iii. 66-69).

PRATA MUCIA : a plot of ground on the right bank of the river that was said to have been given to Mucius Scaevola by the state in recognition of his heroism in the war with Porsenna (Liv. ii. 13 ; Fest. 144 ; Dionys. v. 35 ; de vir. ill. 12). The name was current in Augustus' time, but the location is unknown.

PRATA NERONIS : see CAMPUS NERONIS.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. CIL vi. 31893



**PRATA QUINCTIA**: four iugera of land on the right bank of the river, opposite the **NAVALIA** (q.v.), that were said to have belonged to L. Quinctius Cincinnatus (Liv. iii. 13. 10; 26. 8; Fest. 256; Plin. NH xviii. 20; RhM 1891, 128). Part of this area was probably open during the early empire, as the name was still in use (see also **VATICANUS AGER**, **VICUS RACILIANI**).

**PRATA VACCI**: see **DOMUS VITRUVII VACCI**.

**PRIVATA (DOMUS) HADRIANI**: the house of Hadrian in Region XII (Not.) in which he lived before his adoption, and where Antoninus Pius lived after his adoption by Hadrian (Hist. Aug. Marc. 5). Its place in the list of the Notitia would point to a site near S. Saba, probably towards the south-west (HJ 187; Merlin 326, 343).

**PRIVATA (DOMUS) TRAIANI**: apparently the house of Trajan in which he lived before his adoption by Nerva. It is mentioned only in the Notitia (not Curiosum) after the Dolocenum in Region XIII, and is therefore supposed to have been situated on the south-western part of the Aventine, perhaps near the monastery of S. Anselmo (HJ 168; Merlin 318; BC 1914, 347-348).

**PROVIDENTIA AUGUSTA, ARA**: an altar of the goddess who was the incarnation of the imperial care over the Roman empire, mentioned in the acta Arvalium of 38 A.D. (Henzen, Act. Arv. xlv. 74; CIL vi. 2028 *d* 15) and 39 (vi. 32346) and 43-48 (Henzen lvi.; CIL vi. 2033, 5); and on coins of the emperors from Nero to Vitellius (Cohen i. 296, No. 253; 329, No. 162; 361, No. 73; 397, No. 398-400; 444, No. 173-180; 508, No. 404-406; Rosch. iii. 3187).

**PUDICITIA, ARA**: an altar of Pudicitia (Augusta) erected in honour of Plotina, the wife of Trajan, of which nothing further is known (Cohen ii. 97, No. 6-7; WR 334; Rosch. iii. 3375).

**PUDICITIA PATRICIA, SACELLUM (templum, signum)**: a shrine in the forum Boarium (Liv. x. 23. 3 (296 B.C.): in sacello Pudicitiae patriciae quae in foro boario est ad aedem rotundam Herculis; 5: in patriciae Pudicitiae templum; Fest. 242: Pudicitiae signum in foro boario est, ubi Aemiliana aedes est Herculis.<sup>1</sup> eam quidam Fortunae esse existimant. item via Latina ad milliarium IIII Fortuna Muliebris, nefas est attingi nisi ab ea quae semel nupsit (cf. PBS iv. 79); ib. 243: Pudicitiae signum Romae celebratur quod nefas erat attingi nisi ab ea quae semel nupsit). There is no further record of this shrine, and the theory has been advanced that there never was any such, but that the veiled statue of Fortuna in her temple in the **FORUM BOARIUM** (q.v.) was mistaken for one of Pudicitia, and gave rise to the aetiological story told by Livy which

<sup>1</sup> This is a correction of Scaliger; Mommsen (CIL i.<sup>1</sup> p. 150) prefers ubi familia edisset Herculis. We have no evidence for the existence of an aedes Herculis Aemiliana (cf. **HERCULES VICTOR (INVICTUS), AEDES**).

made *Pudicitia patricia* a contrast to *Pudicitia plebeia* (WR 333-334 ; Wissowa, *Ges. Abh.* 254-260 ; Rosch. iii. 3273-3275). If the shrine did exist, it was a *locus sacratus*, not an *aedes*, and not to be identified with any existing remains (DAP 2. vi. 241, 269).

**PUDICITIA PLEBEIA, SACELLUM** (ara): a shrine and altar which a certain Virginia, of patrician birth, who had married a plebeian consul, L. Volumnius, is said to have dedicated in 296 B.C. in a part of her house in the *vicus Longus* on the Quirinal, after she had been excluded from the worship of *PUDICITIA PATRICIA* (q.v.) in the *forum Boarium* (Liv. x. 23. 6-10 ; Fest. 236, 237). This cult, becoming polluted, *postremo in oblivionem venit* (Liv. loc. cit.), but that the altar continued to stand seems to be indicated by a passage in Juvenal (vi. 308 : *Pudicitiae veterem cum praeterit aram*), where the context can hardly permit a reference to the *forum Boarium* (HJ 417-418 ; Rosch. iii. 3275).

**PULVINAR AD CIRCUM MAXIMUM** : see **CIRCUS MAXIMUS**.

**PULVINAR SOLIS** : apparently a sort of an annex to a temple or shrine of the Sun, or possibly the shrine itself, situated near the temple of Quirinus on the Quirinal. It contained an inscription relating to the evening star, *Vesperugo* (Quint. i. 7. 12), an evidence of Greek influence that puts the erection of the shrine not earlier than the third century B.C. The day of dedication was 9th August (Hemerol. Capran. Amit., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 324), and the exact site is unknown. C. F. Hermann's emendation of Varro, LL v. 52, by which *Solis pulvinar* is read in the list of *ARGEI* (q.v.), is very doubtful (HJ 406, WR 316 ; Rosch. iv. 1140).

**PUTEAL LIBONIS** or **SCRIBONIANUM** : \* a stone kerb, like that of a well, built around a spot in the forum, that had been struck by lightning, by a certain Scribonius Libo, to whom the senate had entrusted the business of looking up such spots and enclosing them in this way (Fest. 333). It was a resort of moneylenders (Pers. 4. 49, and Schol. ; Cic. *pro Sest.* 18 ; Ov. *Rem.* 561), and near the tribunal of the praetor (Hor. *Ep.* i. 19. 8, and Porphyrr. ; Sat. ii. 6. 35), the arch of Fabius (Pers. Schol. loc. cit.) and the porticus Iulia (supra, 73). It is shown on coins (Babelon, *Monnaies, Aemilia* 11 ; Scribonia 8),<sup>1</sup> and perhaps the round base from Veii in the Lateran Museum is an imitation of it (Benndorf und Schoene, *Die antike Bildwerke d. Lateran. Museums*, No. 440 ; HF 1210 ; CIL xi. 3799). Six blocks of travertine lying near the arch of Augustus, which seem to belong to a circular kerb, have been identified with this puteal, but without any good reason (Jord. i. 2. 210, 403-404 ; Gilb. iii. 159 ; HC 160 ; Théd. 147-148 ; DR 72 ; RE Suppl. iv. 511 ; BC 1914, 104). It has also been suggested with very considerable probability that it is the early well found in the basilica Aemilia, or porticus Gai et Luci (AJA 1913, 24, 27 ; 1928, 165-177 ; HFP 34).

<sup>1</sup> Babelon dates them about 54 B.C., while Grueber (BM. Rep. i. 419, 3377-3385) puts them about 71 B.C., following De Salis. For a restoration of the latter by Trajan, see Babelon, ii. p. 584, No. 47.

**PUTEAL IN COMITIO**, a spot in the Comitium which had been struck by lightning, marked by a wellhead; under this it was supposed that the razor and whetstone of Attus Navius were buried (Cic. de Div. i. 33). His **STATUE** (q.v.) stood not far off (Dionys. iii. 71; Liv. i. 36; Plin. NH xv. 77). See Jord. i. 2. 357-358; Mitt. 1893, 92.

**PUTICULI**: the contemptuous name given to the graves into which the bodies of slaves and paupers were thrown promiscuously and putrefied (Varro, LL v. 25: extra oppida a puteis puticuli quod ibi in puteis obruebantur homines, nisi potius, ut Aelius scribit, puticulae quod putescebant ibi cadavera proiecta, qui locus publicus ultra Esquilias; Fest. 216: puticuli sunt appellati quod vetustissimum genus sepulturae in puteis fuerit et dicti puticuli quia ibi cadavera putescerent), and to the district where they were situated (Comm. Cruq. Hor. Sat. i. 8. 10: a puteis fossis ad sepelienda cadavera pauperum locus dictus est puticuli. hic etiam erant publicae ustrinae). This lay outside the agger of Servius and presumably near the porta Esquilina, where public executions also took place (Tac. Ann. ii. 32; Suet. Claud. 25), and is described by Horace as occupying a rectangle 1000 feet long and 300 wide (Sat. i. 8. 8-13), but these dimensions can hardly be intended as exact. This cemetery belonged to the latter part of the republic, and having become a nuisance, was abated by Maecenas, who made it a part of his horti (Hor. loc. cit. 14-16). See **CAMPUS ESQUILINUS**.

In the block bounded by the Vie Napoleone III, Rattazzi, Carlo Alberto, and the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, an area about 60 metres square was excavated some fifty years ago (BC 1874, 42-53; 1875, 41 ff.), within which were found many rectangular pits, from 4 to 5 metres long, arranged in rows running north and south. These pits were lined with cappellaccio (LR 33), and were full of bones, ashes and organic matter, and have usually been identified as the puticuli of Horace; but this has been disputed by Pinza (BC 1912, 65, 82), who insists that they did not belong to slaves and members of the proletariat, but to citizens of some distinction (HJ 268-270; Gilb. iii. 310-311; Lanciani, Anc. Rome 64-65; LR 411-412).

## Q

**QUADRIGAE PISONIS** : a four-horse chariot erected by order of the senate in honour of a certain Piso Frugi, who is said to have been one of the thirty Roman tyrants. It stood within the area afterwards occupied by the *thermae* of Diocletian, and was removed when they were built (*vit. trig. tyr.* 21; *RE* iii. 1390). v. Domaszewski thinks that the whole story rests on an invention (*SHA* 1916, 7. A, 9; 1918, 13. A, 41-46).

**QUATTUOR SCARI** : probably a monumental fountain, representing four fish (*scarus*=wrasse?), or decorated by such a representation, which is said to have stood in the *Velabrum* (*CIL* vi. 9671), and in *Region VIII* (*Not.*). It must, therefore, have been on the boundary between *Regions VIII* and *XI*, perhaps a little south of the *Via dei Fienili* (*HF* iv. ; *Jord.* i. 2. 472).

**QUERQUETULANUS MONS** : according to Tacitus (*Ann.* iv. 65) the earliest name of the *MONS CAELIUS* (q.v.), derived from the oak trees with which the hill was covered. Whether this represents a true tradition (cf. *Querquetulani*, *Plin. NH* iii. 69), or was simply an invention of the antiquarians to explain *PORTA QUERQUETULANA*, *LAES QUERQUETULANI*, etc., is still a matter of dispute (*HJ* 221; *Pinza, Mon. L.* xv. 1905, 789-791). For a coin representing the *Querquetulanae virae*, see *PORTA QUERQUETULANA*.

**QUINQUE TABERNAE** : see *SEPTEM TABERNAE*.

**QUIRINALIS COLLIS** : the most northerly of the traditional seven hills of Rome, which stretched from the northern extension of the *Esquiline plateau* in a south-westerly direction. It is a narrow irregular tongue, separated from the *Viminal* on the south by the depression now traversed by the *Via Nazionale*, and sloping off more gradually on the north and north-west to the *campus Martius* and the valley occupied during the late republic by the *HORTI SALLUSTIANI* (q.v.). The length of this tongue from the *porta Collina* in the *Servian wall* to the *collis Latiaris* (see below) is a little more than two kilometres. While there was a fairly deep depression between the *Capitol* and the *Quirinal*, as is shown by the pavement of the street found beneath the column of *Trajan*, yet the complete division between the two was made by the great excavations



for the forum of Trajan. The highest point of the hill seems to have been within the area now covered by the Royal Gardens, for which considerable levelling off was done in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Hülse, *Röm. Antikengärten* 85 sqq.). In general, excavations indicate that marked changes of this sort were made both in antiquity (see *FORUM TRAIANI*) and in more recent times, which have modified both the height and contour of the hill. The height of the Royal Gardens is now 50 metres above sea-level, and that of the Treasury buildings 60 (A. Verri, *Il Colle Quirinale*, *Bull. Soc. Geol. Ital.* 1908; S. Agata dei Goti (by Hülse and others) Rome 1924, 3 sqq.).

On the north and west slope of the hill were at least four approaches through cuts or depressions, three of which were marked by gates in the Servian wall, *PORTA SANQUALIS*, *P. SALUTARIS*, and *P. QUIRINALIS* (qq.v.), corresponding to the modern *Vie Nazionale*, *Dataria*, and *Quattro Fontane*. The fourth led up to the top of the hill near the new tunnel under the Royal Gardens (BC 1926, 145-175).

Like the *Viminal*, the *Quirinal* was a *collis*, not a *mons* (for apparent exceptions—*Flor.* i. 7. 16; *Eutrop.* i. 7—see CP 1907, 463-464), and the description of the *Argei* (Varro, *LL* v. 51) preserves the names of the parts into which it was originally divided—*collis Latiaris*, the southern end; *collis Mucialis*, north of the *Latiaris* from the *Via di Magnanapoli* to the *monte Cavallo*; *collis Salutaris*, from *Monte Cavallo* to the church of S. Andrea; and *collis Quirinalis*, from this point east. The derivation of the first two names is unknown (HJ 399-400), and they, together with *Salutaris* (cf. *SALUS*), evidently passed out of use at an early date. *Quirinalis* then became the proper designation of the whole hill. This name was derived by Roman antiquarians from the inhabitants of the Sabine town *Cures*, who settled on this hill and were afterwards incorporated in Rome (Varro, *LL* v. 51; *Fest.* 10, 254; *Jord.* i. 2. 179-180), or from the god *Quirinus*, who was identified with *Romulus* (*Ov. Fast.* ii. 511; for the literature of the disputed etymology of *Quirinalis*, see WR 153; Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* s.v.).<sup>1</sup> Whatever the true derivation, there is no doubt that, during the historical period, the hill was regarded as having been named from the god *QUIRINUS*, whose temple (q.v.) stood near the *porta Quirinalis*. *Festus* states (10, 234) that this hill was first called *Agonus*, but this is probably only an invention of the antiquarians.

The *Quirinal* is not enumerated among the hills of the *Septimontium*, and did not become a part of Rome until the organisation of the Four Regions, when, with the *Viminal*, it formed the third, *Collina*. There are traces of primitive settlements on this hill, and the tradition that they belonged to Sabines is probably founded on fact (for a discussion

<sup>1</sup> *Quirinus* was itself derived from 'quiris,' the Sabine word for a lance (*Ov. Fast.* ii. 477, etc.). Others prefer to derive it from the place-name *Quirium* (WR cit.; Mitt. 1921, 16, 17). For the rejection of all these views and a proposed derivation from 'quernus' (oak), see Klio, 1926, 74-78.

of these primitive settlements,<sup>1</sup> see Pinza, *Mon. L.* xv. 776-781, pl. xxvi. ; *RE i. A.* 1016-1018, and for the early cemeteries, see HJ 397, 398 ; Pinza, *Mon. cit.* 248-264). The Servian wall ran along the north-west edge of the Quirinal from the *collis Latiaris* to the *porta Collina*, where the *agger* began, and ran almost due south (see *MURUS SERVII TULLII*). In the Augustan division of the city the Quirinal fell into Region VI, which was afterwards called *Alta Semita*, from the main street that ran along the ridge of the hill, and corresponded nearly to the *Via del Quirinale* and *Venti Settembre*. There were many temples on the Quirinal, and it became one of the principal residence districts for the wealthy (cf. *Domus*), while a very large portion of its entire area was occupied still later by the baths of Diocletian (for the complete topography and monuments of the Quirinal, see *RhM* 1894, 379-423 ; HJ 394-443 ; Pl. 484-506 ; *RE i. A.* 1016-1017).

**QUIRINENSES** : the name given to those who dwelt in a particular street or district, evidently on the Quirinal (cf. *PARIANENSES*, *CICINENSES*). They are mentioned only once (*CIL vi.* 9103=31895), but the same district is doubtless referred to in the '*vestiarius a Quirinis*' of another inscription (*CIL vi.* 9975). Probably this street or district was near the temple of Quirinus (HJ 409).

**QUIRINUS, SACELLUM** : an ancient shrine on the Quirinal, near the *porta Quirinalis* (*Fest.* 255 : *Quirinalis porta dicta sive . . . seu quod proxime eam est Quirini sacellum* ; cf. 254). Whether this was on the site of the later *aedes Quirini* is not known (HJ 407 ; *Rosch.* iv. 14).

**QUIRINUS, AEDES (templum, Cic. Fest. Cur. ; templa, Ovid ; *ναός*, Cass. Dio)** : a temple on the Quirinal hill, to which it gave the name (*Fest.* 255), said to have been vowed by L. Papirius Cursor when dictator in 325 B.C., and dedicated in 293 by his son, who adorned it with a profusion of spoils (*Liv. x.* 46. 7 ; *Plin. NH vii.* 213). After the Romulus legend was developed and he was identified with Quirinus, the building of the temple was said to have been commanded by Romulus when he appeared to Proculus Julius (*Cic. de re pub.* ii. 20 ; *de leg.* i. 3 ; *Ov. Fast.* ii. 511 ; *de vir. ill.* 2. 14). The record of a session of the senate held in *aede Quirini* in 435 B.C. (*Liv. iv.* 21. 9) is regarded as fictitious, but in any case the temple was one of the oldest in Rome (*Plin. NH xv.* 120 : *inter antiquissima delubra habetur Quirini*). Whether it stood on the site of an earlier *ara* (see above) cannot be determined. In front of it grew two myrtle trees, called *patricia* and *plebeia*, of which the former flourished as long as the senate retained its power unimpaired, but withered away during the Social war, while the other became healthy and vigorous (*Plin. loc. cit.*).

<sup>1</sup> For the erroneous theory that the earliest settlement of Rome was on the Quirinal, see BPW 1903, 1645 ; *Klio* 1905, 89, n. 2 : and contrast Hülsen in *Geogr. Jahrb.* xxxiv. (1911), 191, 192 ; Beloch, *Röm. Gesch.* 204.

In 206 B.C. the temple was struck by lightning (Liv. xxviii. 11. 4), and again in 49 when it was much injured if not almost destroyed (Cass. Dio xli. 14. 3). It must have been repaired almost at once, for the senate erected in it in 45 a statue to Caesar as the *θεὸς ἀνίκητος* (Cass. Dio xliii. 45. 3). A final restoration was completed by Augustus in 16 B.C. (Mon. Anc. iv. 5 ; vi. 32 ; Cass. Dio liv. 19. 4). The day of dedication of the original temple was not 29th June, the later date (Ov. Fast. vi. 795-796 ; Fast. Venus. ad III Kal. Mart., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 212, 250 ; Wissowa, Ges. Abh. 144-146, 268-270), but 17th February. Mommsen's view (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 310) has been proved to be correct by the discovery of the pre-Caesarian calendar at Antium, where we find the Quirinalia entered on 17th February (NS 1921, 87). The 29th of June, on the other hand, was only added to the calendar by Caesar. The same calendar, like that of the Arvales (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 326), records another festival of Quirinus on 23rd August, and (apparently ; it is fragmentary at that point) of Hora Quirini also (NS 1921, 109).

The temple was of the Doric order, dipteral-octostyle, with a pronaos, and a porch in the rear. It had seventy-six columns, two rows of fifteen each on the sides, and a double row of eight at each end, counting those on the sides again, and was surrounded by a porticus (Vitr. iii. 2. 7 ; Mart. xi. 1. 9). A relief of the second century,<sup>1</sup> found within the area of the baths of Diocletian, represents the façade of this temple as that of a Doric tetrastyle, with Romulus and Remus taking the auspices on the pediment (Mitt. 1904, 27-29, 157-158 ; SScR i. 72-74 ; PT 229). Occasional references to it are found in literature (Vitr. vii. 9. 4 ; Liv. viii. 20. 8 ; Plut. Cam. 20 ; cf. CIL vi. 9975), down to the fourth century (Cur. Reg. VI, om. Not. ; cf. CIL vi. 9103=31895). Its site is determined by the discovery of inscriptions to be on the north side of the Alta Semita and probably in the eastern part of the present gardens of the royal palace, near the edge of the hill (CIL vi. 475, 565<sup>2</sup> ; BC 1889, 336-339, 379-391 ; 1914, 372-373 ; RhM 1894, 405-407 ; HJ 409-410 ; for the temple in general, see HJ 407-410 ; Rosch. iv. 14-16 ; Gilb. i. 280 ; iii. 320 ; Hermes 1891, 137-144=Wissowa, Ges. Abh. 144-158. Contrast BC 1926, 172, 173).

<sup>1</sup> Others (HF 1418 ; Sieveking in Festschrift für P. Arndt, 136) assign it to the Flavian period.

<sup>2</sup> 565=1<sup>2</sup>. 803 ; ILS 3141.

## R

REGIA \* (τὸ βασιλειον, App. Cass. Dio ; τὸ βασιλειον οἶκημα, Plut. ; Ῥήγια, Plut. Cass. Dio) : the house (*regia domus*) which Numa is said to have built, and either lived in (Solin. i. 21 : Numa in colle primum Quirinali deinde propter aedem Vestae in regia quae adhuc appellatur ; Ov. Trist. iii. 1. 30 ; Fast. vi. 263-264 ; Serv. ad Aen. viii. 363 : quis enim ignorat regiam ubi Numa habitavit in radicibus Palati finibusque Romani fori esse ? ; vii. 153 ; Tac. Ann. xv. 41), or at least used as his headquarters (Cass. Dio, frg. vi. 2 : ὅτι ὁ Νουμάς ᾠκει ἐν Κολωνῷ τῷ Κυριναλίῳ . . . τὰ δὲ δὴ ἀρχεῖα ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ὁδῷ εἶχε καὶ τὰς τε διατριβάς πλησίον τοῦ Ἑστιαίου ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἔμενεν ; Plut. Numa 14 : ἐδείματο πλησίον τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ τὴν καλουμένην Ῥηγίαν ὁδόν τι βασιλειον οἶκημα· καὶ τὸ πλείστον αὐτόθι τοῦ χρόνου διέτριβεν). It is also said to have been the house of the pontifex maximus (Serv. ad Aen. viii. 363 : domus enim in qua pontifex habitat regia dicitur, *quod in ea rex sacrificulus habitare consuesset*, sicut flaminia domus in qua flamen habitat, dicebatur (the italicised words are interpolated) ; cf. Jord. i. 2. 299) ; and of the rex sacrorum (Serv. loc. cit. ; ii. 57 : flaminia autem domus flaminis dicitur sicut regia regis domus ; Cass. Dio liv. 27, where Augustus is said to have given the house of the rex to the Vestals because it adjoined theirs ; Fest. 279 : regia domus ubi rex habitat). This latter statement, however, is the result of confusion between rex and rex sacrorum (Jord. cit.), for the domus regis sacrorum or sacrificuli was on the Velia and had no connection with the regia (Fest. 293 : ne eatenus quidem sacra (via) appellanda est a regia ad domum regis sacrificuli sed etiam a regis domo ad sacellum Streniae). On the other hand, the regia could not have been the dwelling-house of the pontifex maximus, for in historical times it was a consecrated fanum containing sacraria (Fest. 278 : <Regia> . . . quod in fanum a pon<tifice> . . . tant quod in ea sa<cra fiunt quaedam a rege sol>ita usurpari ; cf. 329). The actual house of the pontifex was probably the domus publica, in the precinct of the Atrium Vestae (Suet. Caes. 46 ; Cass. Dio liv. 24 ; RE i. A. 466), until Augustus transferred this residence to the Palatine (Van Deman, The Atrium Vestae II, 12, 13).

During the republic, therefore, the regia was the official headquarters of the pontifex maximus, and its position, directly north-west of the aedes Vestae, is made certain by the existing ruins (cf. Hor. Carm. i. 2. 15 :



vidimus flavum Tiberim . . . ire deiectum monumenta regis templeaque Vestae). In it was a shrine of Mars, sacrarium Martis, in which were kept the hastae and ancilia of that god (Serv. *Aen.* vii. 188, 603; viii. 3; Gell. *iv.* 6. 1, 2; Cass. Dio *xliv.* 17; Iul. Obs. 6. 36, 44, 44 *a*, 47, 50 (ed. Rossbach); WR 503, 556; Jord. *ii.* 271-272; RE *i.* A. 1880; cf., however, Becker, *Top.* 229-232; RE *i.* 2113); and the sacrarium Opis Consivae (Varro, *LL* vi. 21: Opeconsiva dies ab dea Opeconsiva quouis in regia sacrarium quod ideo artum ut eo praeter virgines Vestales et sacerdotem publicum introeat nemo; Fest. 186, 249; Fast. Arv. a. d. viii Kal. Sept. vi. 32482, CIL *i*<sup>2</sup>. p. 237; WR 203, 502). Certain sacrifices are recorded as having been performed in the regia (Varro *vi.* 12; Fest. 329; Macrob. *i.* 15. 19, 16. 30), a sheep was offered to Janus on 9th January by the rex sacrorum (CIL *i*<sup>2</sup>. p. 306), and the blood of the October horse was sprinkled on its hearth and the head fastened on its wall (Fest. 178; Plut. *q. Rom.* 97; cf. Cass. Dio *xlili.* 24; and see BC 1920, 152-162). The archives of the pontifices were probably kept here, for the tablets from which the *annales maximi* were edited, were hung on the outer wall of the building (Cic. *de leg.* i. 2. 6; Gell. *ii.* 28. 6; Dionys. *i.* 76. 3), and it was the place of assembly of the college of pontiffs (Plin. *Ep.* *iv.* 11. 6; Cic. *ad Att.* *x.* 3 *a*, 1; WR 503), and at times of the *Fratres Arvales* (CIL *vi.* 2023. 9). ATRIUM REGIUM (*q.v.*) is referred to the regia by Jord. *i.* 2. 380, and Toeb. 3.

The regia was burned and restored in 148 B.C. (Obseq. 19; Liv. *epit.* Oxyrh. 127-129; Gilb. *iii.* 407 (for a possible burning by the Gauls in 390 B.C., see Mem. Am. Acad. *ii.* 59-60)); and again in 36 B.C., when the restoration was carried out by Cn. Domitius Calvinus who created a building, small but of unusual beauty (Cass. Dio *xlvi.* 42; cf. Plin. *NH* *xxxiv.* 48; CIL *vi.* 1301; EE *iii.* 266). The evidence of the ruins shows that the statement of Tacitus (*Ann.* *xv.* 41) that the regia was destroyed in the fire of Nero is greatly exaggerated (for possible injury by the great fire in Commodus' reign, see Herodian *i.* 14. 3). The building is represented on a fragment of the Marble Plan (21), and is mentioned in the third century (Solin. *loc. cit.*) and probably in the fourth (CIL *vi.* 511).

The existing ruins belong to three periods, the republican, the early imperial and the mediaeval. Of the superstructure of the first two periods almost nothing remains except the lowest courses of some of the walls and many architectural fragments. The republican remains are found only in the foundations of the imperial structure, the ground plan of which is practically identical.

There are traces of the repairs of 148, while the walls of cappellaccio probably date from well before the fire of 390 B.C. After the restoration of Calvinus the regia was shaped like an irregular pentagon, filling the space between the Sacra via, the temenos of Vesta, and the temple of Julius Caesar, and consisting of parts unsymmetrically joined together. The principal part was trapezoidal, with a mean length of about 22 metres

and a width of 8 metres, and was built of solid blocks of white marble, with a pavement of marble slabs. Some fragments of the cornice in this material are preserved.<sup>1</sup> On the west and south sides were inscribed in four double panels the *fasti consulares*, and on the pilasters of the south side, the *fasti triumphales*, and many of the fragments of these blocks have been preserved and are now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Mitt. 1904, 117-123; 1905, 77-80; NS 1904, 8-10; 1925, 376-382; 1926, 62-67; YW 1925-6, 111; BC 1904, 188; 1925, 238-270; WS 1902, 324-325; LS ii. 197-200; RE vi. 2027-2045).

The interior was divided into three rooms, in the largest of which was found a pavement of Anio tufa blocks (perhaps therefore post-Sullan), and in this a circular substructure of grey tufa, 2.53 metres in diameter, dating from the early period.<sup>2</sup> There was a doorway in the original building, but it was roughly widened for the mediaeval house, and two rude steps placed in front of it.

The irregular space between this part of the regia and the Sacra via was occupied by an open court, with a covered ante-chamber at the east end, where the main entrance seems to have been. The greatest width, north and south, of the area of the regia was about 27 metres, and the least about 12 metres. The court was paved with slabs of marble, and in it are two wells and a cistern, which may date from a very early time, though Frank assigns the greater age to the main (trapezoidal) building, and contained fragments of various kinds. Near the cistern is a base of tufa blocks, with traces of a circular superstructure. To this may belong the round block of peperino with the inscription A. COVRI (second century B.C.).<sup>3</sup> At the south-west end of the marble building is a small room, and near this in the wall was found the inscription (NS 1899, 128) of the SCHOLA KALATORUM (q.v.), but no identification of any of the existing divisions of the ruins with any of the parts of the ancient regia mentioned in classical literature is possible.

In the seventh or eighth century the regia was transformed into a private house, the traces of which are visible in all parts of the area, but especially along the Sacra via, where the house was approached by a flight of two steps roughly made of marble and travertine, on which stood a row of cipollino columns taken from some ancient building.

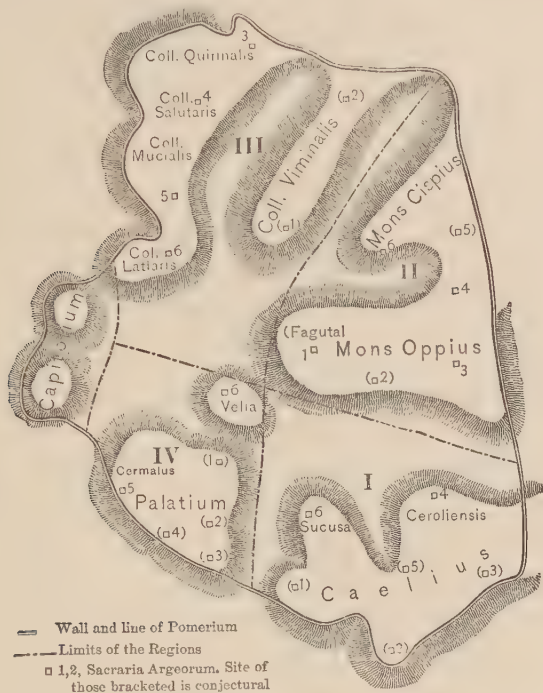
Literature: general—Jord. i. 2. 298-304, 423-429; Gilb. i. 225-227, 305-310, 341-352; iii. 407-410; Thédénat 91-94, 274-277; HC 180-185;

<sup>1</sup> They belong to the restoration of Calvinus (Toeb. cit.; ASA 23, 45), though they have hitherto been wrongly attributed to the period of Diocletian. Compare the similar cornices of the Templum Divi Iuli and the temple of Saturn and the Capitolium at Terracina (Forma Italiae, I. i. 1. 84). For the Doric fragments generally attributed to the Regia, see ARCUS AUGUSTI.

<sup>2</sup> This circular substructure has sometimes been identified with the sacrum Martis, being considered as the base of a conical chamber in which the spears were hung—a kind of primitive seismograph (Atti cit. infra); but it has recently been interpreted as the ancient hearth of the Regia (Mitt. 1921, 19-21).

<sup>3</sup> A fragment of a puteal was also found, bearing the name REGIA (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 1007, 1008).

RE i. A. 465-469; WR 502; LR 221-223; RL xix. 1910, 201-216, where Pais argues that the regia and Vesta cult were not established in the forum until the fourth century B.C.; for recent excavations—Mitt. 1886, 94-98, 99-111; 1902, 62-66; 1905, 77-80; 1921, 17-23; Archacologia, 1887, 227-250; Jahrb. d. Inst. 1889, 228-253; NS 1899, 220-223, 384-386, 486-488; BC 1899, 205-213; 1903, 42-55; 1920, 152-162; CR 1899, 322, 466; 1901, 139; AA 1900, 6-8; Atti 518-525; Toeb. 1-12; TF 81-85; DR 249-274; HFP 36, 37.



TEXT FIG. 5.

REG(10) MAR(TIS): a statue of the helmeted Mars, represented on a lead plate (Rostowzew, Syll. n. 495; Rev. Num. 1898, 473), which probably indicated (HJ xxii.) the neighbourhood of the TEMPLUM MARTIS (q.v.) outside the porta Capena, on the extreme south of the city (cf. AD NUCEM).

REGIONES QUATTUOR: the four regions—Suburana, Esquilina, Collina, Palatina—into which the city, within the pomerium, was divided during the republic (Varro, LL v. 45). Tradition ascribed to Servius Tullius (Liv. i. 43; Dionys. iv. 14; de vir. ill. 7; Fest. 368) the division of the inhabitants of Rome into four tribus, which, while purely a political division so far as our knowledge goes, are usually supposed to have been based on the earlier local division described by Varro. This city of the Four Regions (text fig. 5) was a stage of development intermediate between the Palatine settlement (or the Septimontium) and what is ordinarily



called the Servian city, a stage that was the result of the union of the Palatine and Esquiline settlements, that is shown by archaeological evidence to have taken place about the middle of the seventh century B.C. (Mon. L. xv. 764). The division into four regions remained in force until the reorganisation of Augustus.

All the area within the POMERIUM (q.v.) was included in the regions except, apparently, the Capitoline, perhaps because this hill was always regarded as the citadel and religious centre of the city, and not as a local division. Our knowledge of the area of the regions is derived principally from Varro's description (LL v. 46-54) of the location of the sacraria of the ARGEI (q.v.), a description based quite certainly on documents which represented the topographical conditions of the third century B.C. His incomplete and somewhat obscure account distributes twenty-seven sacraria among the four regions, eleven of which can be located with reasonable certainty, and thirteen are conjectural, while three are wholly unknown. The outer boundary of the regions was the pomerium, which coincided with the Servian wall down to the time of Sulla, except that the Aventine was excluded. Region I, Suburana, comprised the Sucusa, Ceroliensis and Caelius, according to the generally accepted view, although this is a matter of sharp dispute (see literature cited below); II, Esquilina, the Oppius and Cispius; III, Collina, the Quirinal and the Viminal; IV, Palatina, the Palatium, Velia and Cermalus. It is not possible to draw the inner boundaries of these regions with exactness, nor is it certain that all four met at a common point, near the Velia, as is sometimes maintained.

The discussion of the four regions involves that of the Argei, and the literature of the subject includes both topics to a greater or less degree. Cf. especially, Jord. ii. 237-290, 599-604; Gilb. ii. 329-375; Diels, Sybil. Blätter 43-44; DS iv. 817; Richter 9-10, 198-208; RE ii. 689-700; i. A. 1021-1024; Mommsen, Staatsrecht iii. 122-126; Marquardt, Staatsverwaltung iii. 190-194; Rosch. i. 496-500; KH i; Phil. 1889, 168-169; RhM 1894, 414-416; BC 1905, 198-208; Mél. 1908, 272-274; Mon. L. xv. 775-795; Wissowa, Satura Viadrina, 1-19=Ges. Abh. 230-252; Beloch, Röm. Gesch. 208.

REGIONES QUATTUORDECIM: \* the fourteen regions, or wards, into which Augustus divided the city when he reformed the municipal administration in 7 B.C. (Suet. Aug. 30; Cass. Dio lv. 8). Thereafter Rome was often designated as *urbs regionum xiv* or *urbs sacra regionum xiv* (text fig. 4). These regions were divided into *vici*, and a new set of magistrates, *magistri vicorum*, drawn from the common citizens, was instituted, originally four from each *vicus*, but afterwards forty-eight from each region regardless of the number of *vici*, and two *curatores*. These magistrates had to do mainly with the religious ceremonies of the regions, while the regular municipal administration was still in the hands of higher officials. (For the administrative organisation of the regions, see



Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung* iii. 203-207; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* ii. 1035-1037; iii. 119-122; BC 1906, 198-208; CIL vi. 975.) The regions were fourteen in number, twice as many as the traditional hills of Rome, and were known originally only by number (cf. Tac. Ann. xv. 40; Plin. NH iii. 66-67; Hist. Aug. Heliog. 20; Frontinus 79; Suet. Dom. I; CIL vi. pass.), but the names found in the Regionary Catalogue became current at various later periods, doubtless as a result of popular usage<sup>1</sup> (cf. REGIO PALATII, REGIO CAMPI MARTII, Suet. Caes. 39, Aug. 5, Nero 12, de gramm. 2; and TEMPLUM PACIS for Region IV, which could not have been used at all until after that building was erected by Vespasian.) This division into fourteen regions continued in force until the seventh century when an ecclesiastical division into seven regions was introduced and opened the way for the entirely different organisation of the Middle Ages.

From the Regionary Catalogue it is possible to determine with some precision, in most cases, the limits of these regions in the fourth century, but it is a different matter to do this for the Augustan division, inasmuch as it is certain that the outer boundaries at least had been extended at some points during the intervening three hundred years, and our additional information concerning earlier conditions is extremely scanty. What little there is must be derived from (1) the evidence of terminal cippi that have been found as to successive extensions of the POMERIUM (q.v.) under Claudius, Vespasian and Hadrian; (2) Pliny's description (NH iii. 66-67) of the area of the city in his day—a passage full of difficulty and uncertainty; (3) the customs boundary of the city, marked by cippi, of which five have been found, dating from the time of Commodus (CIL vi. 1016 *a, b, c*, 8594, 31227)<sup>2</sup>; (4) the list of vici on the so-called Capitoline Base, inscribed in 136 A.D. (CIL vi. 975; Jord. ii. 585-598). The line of the Servian wall was not always a boundary between adjacent regions, for while III, IV, VIII, XI appear to have always been limited by that line on the inside, and the same was true of V, VII, IX on the outside, I, II, VI, XII, XIII embraced ground on both sides. Nor did the wall of Aurelian and the Augustan or later outer boundaries everywhere coincide.

The following short description of the regions is based on the latest and most generally accepted view of their boundaries, as drawn by Hülsen (KH ii.).

I, Porta Capena, so called from the gate in the Servian wall, an irregularly shaped district, beginning at the east corner of the Palatine, bounded on the west by that hill, and running south to some distance

<sup>1</sup> Hülsen notes that these names occur in no ancient writer, in no official document or inscription, and not even in any sepulchral inscription: and he is therefore inclined to believe that they were simply the first names in each region in the original list, from which the Notitia and Curiosum were taken, and then were placed by careless editing at the head of the list of buildings in each region. It is further to be noted that, even when they are those of buildings, they are not repeated in these lists.

<sup>2</sup> Four of them are marked ABCD in text fig. 4 (p. 394).

beyond the porta Capena between two lines not more than 150 metres apart on the average. Beyond the Aventine it widened considerably and extended to the bank of the Almo, some distance beyond the Aurelian wall. It is possible that Regions I, II, III, IV and X all met at one point near the Meta Sudans.

II, Caelimontium, including most of the Caelian, and bounded by Region I, the Aurelian wall, and the straight street that ran from the Colosseum to the porta Caelimontana and the porta Asinaria.

III, Isis et Serapis, so called because of the temples to these two Egyptian deities erected within its area. It included the Colosseum valley and the Oppius, and was bounded by Region II, the Servian wall, the clivus Suburanus from the porta Esquilina west, and the prolongation of its line westward to a point north of the Colosseum, where it turned south to the Meta Sudans. This line from the porta Esquilina was the southern limit of Region IV.

IV, Templum Pacis (see above), including the Sacra via from its beginning to the atrium Vestae, the Subura, and the Cispius. Its boundaries were that just described, the Servian wall, the vicus Patricius from the porta Viminalis to a point near the Subura, where it seems to have curved to the north, then passed between the forum of Nerva and that of Vespasian, and embraced the northern part of the forum.

V, Esquiliae, the eastern district of the city, lying outside the Servian wall and north of the via Asinaria. In the time of Augustus the campus Viminalis, and probably all the district between the via Tiburtina and the via Salaria, lay outside the city (Plin. loc. cit.), and none of it was included in Region V until after the time of Vespasian. The boundary was about 300-400 metres beyond the Aurelian wall on the south (Mitt. 1896, 122-130), but in the fourth century coincided with it from a point south of the via Labicana to the south side of the castra Praetoria.

VI, Alta Semita, so called from a street that followed the ridge of the Quirinal, like the present Via Venti Settembre. Bounded on the south and south-west by Region IV it originally included the Quirinal from the imperial fora to the Servian wall between the porta Viminalis and the porta Collina, and extended far enough west to take in the horti Sallustiani, and north beyond the line of the Aurelian wall. In the fourth century, after the castra Praetoria had been made a part of the city, the boundary of this region coincided with the Aurelian wall from the porta Salaria south round the castra. From a point a little west of the porta Pinciana, the boundary ran almost due south to the forum of Trajan.

VII, Via Lata, so called from the name given to the southern end of the via Flaminia, between which and the western boundary of VI this region lay.

VIII, Forum Romanum vel Magnum, an irregular region, including the forum, though not the whole of the Sacra via, the imperial fora, the Capitol, and the district south of it, extending to a line drawn north

of the forum Boarium through the Velabrum and to the east end of the atrium Vestae.

IX, Circus Flaminius, including all the territory between the Servian wall, the via Flaminia and the Tiber.

X, Palatium, the Palatine, within the lines described by Tacitus (Ann. xii. 24) as those of the first POMERIUM (q.v.).

XI, Circus Maximus, a very irregular region, containing the circus Maximus, and bounded by the Tiber, and Regions IX, VIII, X, XII and XIII.

XII, Piscina Publica, so called from a district within its limits that had formerly contained a public reservoir or swimming bath. This region included the eastern part of the Aventine, and was bounded by the via Appia and Region I, the Aurelian wall, and the vicus portae Raudusculanae and the vicus Piscinae Publicae.

XIII, Aventinus, the Aventine and the district south of it, between the boundaries of XII and XI, the Aurelian wall, and the Tiber.

XIV, Trans Tiberim (Trastevere), all the city on the right bank of the Tiber, together with the insula Tiberina. The limits of this region cannot be determined, but it included much more than the territory within the Aurelian wall. It extended south as far as the temple of Fors FORTUNA (q.v.) and north far enough to include the Vatican district.

(For a full discussion of the fourteen regions, and necessarily of the Regionary Catalogues, see Pr. Reg., Jena, 1846; Jord. i. i. 296-339; ii. 1-236; De Rossi, *Piante icnografiche* 25-63; Homo, *Aurélien* 231-234; BC 1890, 115-137; 1892, 93-101; RhM 1894, 416-423; Mitt. 1892, 269-270; 1897, 148-160; Arch. Zeit. 1856, 147; RE i. A. 482-485.)

REGIUM ATRIUM: see ATRIUM VESTAE.

REMORA: the name which Remus would have given to Rome if he had been its founder (Enn. frg. 77 (Vahlen): *certabant urbem Romam Remoramve vocarent*). This is probably a mere variant for REMORIA (q.v.), required by the metre (Mommson, *Hist. Schr.* i. 15. a. 2; Glotta i. 294).

REMORIA: a locality connected with the Remus legend. According to what is probably the earliest form of the tradition (Dionys. i. 85; orig. gent. Rom. 23), it was a hill near the Tiber, five miles down stream from the Palatine, where Remus wished to build the future city, and where he was buried (Dionys. i. 87). The same tradition is preserved in Festus (276): *Remurinus ager dictus quia possessus est a Remo, et habitatio Remi Remona*, where Remona is only a variant for Remoria.

Uncertainty as to the place where Remus took the auspices is seen in the words of Festus, following those just quoted: *sed et locus in summo Aventino Remoria dicitur, ubi Remus de urbe condenda fuerat auspicatus*, and in Dionysius (i. 86), where we read that some believed the Aventine was the place appointed, others the Remoria.



Finally, in Plutarch's version (Rom. 9, 11), the highest part of the Aventine is the auguraculum and burial place of Remus, but under the names *Ῥεμώνιον*, *Ῥεμόνια*, or, 'as it is now called,' *Ῥιγνάριον* (HJ 174). Whatever the connection between these variants may be, in historical times Remoria was a part of the eastern Aventine near S. Balbina, and was apparently identified with Saxum, 'The Rock,' the spot where Remus took the auspices (Cic. de domo 136; Ov. Fast. v. 148-150; cf. BONA DEA SUBSAXANA).

See HJ 181-182; Gilb. ii. 201-204; Glotta i. 293-294; Hermes, 1881, 15-17; Merlin 108-109, and literature cited there; BC 1914, 344-345; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 971=vi. 566=30794.

*Ῥιγνάριον*: see REMORIA.

RIPA VEIENTANA: \* the right bank of the Tiber, northwards from the pons Aurelius. Although this name is found only in inscriptions of the empire (CIL vi. 31547, 31548b, 31555; BC 1887, 15; Mitt. 1889, 286-287), it was probably in use from very early times (cf. litus Etruscum, Hor. Carm. i. 2. 14; Lydia ripa, Stat. Silv. iv. 4. 4), and may then have included much of the right bank between Rome and the sea (HJ 651).

RIVUS HERCULANEUS: see AQUA MARCIA.

ROMA QUADRATA (1): a later name of the four-cornered Palatine city in augural theory. Varro ap. Solin. i. 17: dictaque primum est Roma quadrata, quod ad aequilibrium foret posita. ea incipit a silva quae est in area Apollinis, et ad supercilium scalarum Caci habet terminum, ubi tugurium fuit Faustuli. In this description the points where the augural circuit began and ended must be meant: they can only have been diagonally opposite if we accept Hülsen's theory as to the temple of Apollo (HJ 65). Cf. Plut. Rom. 9; Dionys. ii. 65 (the temple of Vesta τῆς τετραγώνου καλουμένης Ῥώμης ... ἐκτός ἐστιν); Appian, frg. i. 4; and see POMERIUM.

In the extended sense the term may be of comparatively late origin (BPW 1903, 1645), for it could not arise until Palatium and Cermalus were one; and in the lists of the ARGEORUM SACRARIA (q.v.), which date probably from the third century B.C., they are still separate. The comparison of the outline of the Palatine with that of the Terremare is specious, but is clearer in the plans than on the site, which has been much transformed by the great imperial buildings, which have given it a rectangular outline.

See Jord. i. 1. 162-178; Mitt. 1896, 210-212; 1926, 212-228; HJ 35; AJP 1901, 420-425; Pais, Ancient Legends, 224-234; AJA 1909, 172-183; JRS 1914, 222-225 (according to which the imperial Roma quadrata was a square plot of ground containing the temple of Apollo, the atrium beside it (see DOMUS AUGUSTI) and the area in front of it).

ROMA QUADRATA (2): a shrine in which were kept various sacred objects connected with the foundation of the Palatine city, which is probably



represented on a fragment of the Marble Plan, where a small four-sided structure stands in the AREA APOLLINIS (Mitt. 1896, 202-204; DAP 2. xi. 115, 118; Fest. 258: quadrata Roma in Palatio ante templum Apollinis dicitur, ubi reposita sunt quae solent bona ominis gratia in urbe condenda adhiberi, quia saxo munitus (?) est initio in speciem quadratam; Ov. Trist. iii. i. 31 sqq.: inde petens dextram 'Porta est,' ait, 'ista Palati; | hic Stator, hoc primum condita Roma loco est.' | singula dum miror, video fulgentibus armis | conspicuos postes tectaque digna deo. Cf. Fast. iv. 829 sqq.; Joseph. Ant. Iud. xix. 3. 2, 223: ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ τοῦ Παλατίου—πρῶτον δὲ οἰκηθῆναι τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως τοῦτο παραδίδωσιν ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος). This passage has generally been taken to fix Roma quadrata in the AREA PALATINA (q.v.). We may note that a number of dedications to early deities, Anabestas, Marspiter, Remuriene (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 969-971=vi. 21, 487, 566=30794) and the elogium of Fertor (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 202 n. xli.=vi. 1302), all of them archaistic inscriptions, perhaps of the time of Claudius, which have been connected, not unnaturally, with the site of Roma quadrata, were also found between the summa Sacra via and the mediaeval ruins which were formerly believed to belong to the temple of Jupiter Stator, but have since been excavated by Boni, and ascertained to be the foundations of two towers, which he conjectures to be the Turres Cencii, domnae Bonae et Unquitatis (Iniquitatis? in which Pope Gelasius II was imprisoned in 1118), which were demolished by Calixtus II in 1119 (LPD ii. 323, 324, n. 18). The foundations of a triumphal arch also came to light (see ARCUS DOMITIANI (2)). A statue of the fifth-fourth century B.C. (perhaps of the school of Timotheus) which has generally been interpreted as a Victory, was also found here (AJA 1918, 347); but the lack of wings is against the identification (DAP 2. xiv. 235-239).

As we have seen, the site of the AREA PALATINA (q.v.) has been generally connected with that of Roma quadrata (2); but inasmuch as the latter is stated by Festus to be ante templum Apollinis, it is difficult to find a place for it if we accept (as on other grounds we are probably right in doing) the theory of Pinza and Richmond as to the latter. Richmond's attempt to locate the area in front of the temple, and Lugli's placing of it to one side (ZA 175-176) do not seem successful. It may indeed be better to accept Reid's and Leopold's idea 'that the name *Roma quadrata*, as restricted to the *mundus*, is a purely antiquarian invention' (YW 1914, 12-13) founded only on Plutarch.

During the ludi saeculares of 204 A.D. a tribunal was erected 'ad Romam quadratam' for the distribution of *suffimenta* (incense); see CIL vi. 32327. As another was erected in area Apollinis, it is probable that Roma quadrata was at a little distance from it (HJ 43). See the references on ROMA QUADRATA.(1).

ROMULEUS MONS: a name found once in the third century (Hist. Aug. Salonini Gall. 1): statua in pede montis Romulei, hoc est ante sacram

viam inter templum Faustinae ac Vestam ad arcum Fabianum. It was probably a late colloquial designation of the Palatine, but if so, its use in this passage adds nothing to its precision, but rather detracts from it.

ROMULUS DIVUS, *TEMPLUM* : \* a building erected by Maxentius in honour of his deified son Romulus (Cohen, *Romulus*, 1-12. The coins show considerable variation, but probably all refer to this building ; Echkel, viii. 59) and generally identified, until recent years, with the circular brick structure on the east side of the Sacra via between the temple of Antoninus and Faustina and the basilica of Constantine. On the epistyle of the porch a fragmentary inscription, in which the name of Constantine occurred (CIL vi. 1147), which was still visible in the sixteenth century, has led to the supposition that he took possession of the building after the defeat of Maxentius (HJ 10 ; HC 232-236 ; HFP 48, 49) ; for other theories see *PAX, TEMPLUM* ; *PENATES, TEMPLUM* ; *URBIS FANUM*, and *ref.*).

ROMULUS, *AEDES* : see *CASA ROMULI*.

ROSTRA : the original platform from which the orators addressed the people. It took its name from the beaks of the ships captured from the people of Antium in 338 B.C. with which it was decorated (Plin. NH xxxiv. 20 ; Liv. viii. 14. 12). It was situated on the south side of the Comitium in front of the Curia Hostilia (Varro, LL v. 155 ; Diodor. xii. 26 ; Ascon. in Milon. 12 : ad comitium prope iuncta Curiae ; cf. Plin. NH vii. 212) in close connection with the *SEPULCRUM ROMULI* (q.v.), i.e. between the Comitium and forum, so that the speaker could address the people assembled in either. It is spoken of as the most prominent place in the forum (Plin. NH xxxiv. 24 : *senatus statuam poni iussit quam oculatissimo loco, eaque est in rostris* ; cf. Dionys. Hal. i. 87 : *ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ χωρίῳ παρὰ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις*). It was consecrated as a *templum* (Liv. ii. 56 ; Cic. in Vatin. 24), and on it were placed statues of famous men (Cic. Phil. ix. 16) in such numbers that at times they had to be removed to make way for others (Liv. iv. 17 ; viii. 13 ; Plin. NH xxxiv. 23-25 ; Velleius ii. 61, etc.) ; while the *COLUMNA ROSTRATA C. DUILII* (q.v.) stood on or close by it.

The name *rostra vetera* is only used in Suet. Aug. 100 : *bifariam laudatus est, pro aede divi Iulii a Tiberio et pro rostris veteribus a Druso* ; where it refers to the rostra transferred by Caesar to the north-west end of the forum in contradistinction to the rostra at the temple of Divus Iulius ; though it is commonly and conveniently used to signify the republican rostra in contradistinction to the rostra of Caesar.

Excavations in the Comitium have brought to light remains which must be attributed to the republican rostra, though much doubt attaches to their exact interpretation. It would appear that about the middle of the fifth century B.C. the Comitium was separated from the forum by a low platform, upon which stood the archaic cippus, the cone, and

probably an earlier monument, represented by the existing sacellum. After the fire that followed the Gallic invasion, the first platform was replaced by a higher, to which a straight flight of steps led up from the second level of the Comitium (q.v.). A wall, 3 metres in front of these steps, perhaps formed part of the rostra (Hülse in Mitt. 1905, 29-32 and pl. ii.—the best plan available of the rostra of both periods; cf. also HC pl. v.). In this platform was an irregular space, bounded by walls on each side, enclosing the monuments in question. Whether remains of the platform of this period exist, or whether the cappellaccio slabs which have been attributed to it are really the bedding for the tufa slabs of the next period, is a moot point. According to another theory, a kerb along the northern edge of the cappellaccio pavement in front of the basilica Aemilia marked the front line of the original rostra (CR 1901, 138; JRS 1922, 7).

There is no trace of any alteration in the rostra corresponding with the third level of the Comitium; but in correspondence with the fourth we have a reconstruction of the rostra on a new plan. 'Its remains consist (1) of a curved structure of large blocks of Monte Verde tufa, forming two steps about 35 cm. high, which rested on a foundation of cappellaccio (grey) tufa 15 cm. high; (2) of a low corridor or canalis, 1 metre wide and about 75 cm. high, parallel to the curved line of the steps and about 9 metres from them; (3) of a platform, or *suggestus*, to the west of the niger lapis, and (4) of a row of shafts, or *pozzi*, running east and west, about 6.75 metres distant from the platform. The portion of the platform . . . on which the curved flight of steps rested, lay about one metre above the floor of the Comitium.' It has a fine pavement of Monte Verde tufa, along the front of which runs a raised kerb. According to one view these monuments are attributable to the period of Sulla (JRS 1922, 21-25; Mitt. 1905, 32-39; TF 61-66). Whether the 'Tomb of Romulus' was hidden from view at this period or later, is uncertain.

The curved front of the rostra, as represented by the canalis with the beaks of ships with which it was adorned, is held to be represented in a coin of 45 B.C. of Lollius Palikanus (HC p. 69, fig. 26; BM. Rep. i. 517, 4011-3). The arcade at the back of the rostra Augusti, which Boni (NS 1900, 627-634) has called the rostra Caesaris, belongs to the time of Sulla, and is simply a low viaduct to support the CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS (q.v.) and a street branching off from it (Pl. 227-228; CR 1901, 87-89; HC cit., Mitt. 1902, 13-16; 1905, 14-15, 25; JRS 1922, 15-16).

On the rostra, see Jord. i. 2. 353-355; Petersen, Comitium, Rostra, Grab des Romulus (Rome 1904); Mitt. 1902, 36; 1905, 29-39; HC 105-116; RE i. A. 450-461; DR 347-358.

ROSTRA AEDES DIVI IULI: see AEDES DIVI IULI.

ROSTRA AUGUSTI: the rostra of the imperial period, situated at the north-west end of the forum. Caesar had decided on their removal, but his



definite plan seems not to have been carried out, or at least the dedication not to have taken place until after 42 B.C. (Cass. Dio xliii. 49; cf. Diod. xii. 26; Ascon. ad Mil. 12).<sup>1</sup> If we consider the point at which Caesar's body was burnt, it will seem natural that Mark Antony's oration should have been delivered at the opposite end of the forum (cf. Senec. Dial. iii. 1. 3: a rostris usque ad arcum Fabianum to express the whole length of the forum). Augustus completed them (Pomponius, Dig. i. 2. 2) and he is represented seated on the rostra in a coin (Cohen, Aug. 529 = BM. Aug. 115 = HC p. 75, fig. 32). A funeral oration in honour of Augustus was delivered from this rostra by Drusus (Suet. Aug. 100, where it is called *vetera* in contradistinction to the *Rostra aedis divi Iulii*).

Cassius Dio describes two magnificent ceremonies which took place on the rostra, the reception of Tiridates by Nero and the funeral ceremony of Pertinax (lvi. 34; lxxxiv. 3); cf. also Fronto ad Antonin. i. 2, p. 98, Nab.; Mamertin. genethl. Maximian. 19; Prudentius, Peristeph. xi. 45; Aur. Victor, epit. 19.

We know of the existence of statues in rostris of Augustus (Tac. Ann. iv. 67), where he speaks of the rostra elliptically 'celeberrimo fori,' just as the old rostra had been called *oculatissimus locus*; and even Ammianus Marcellinus (xvi. 10. 13) calls it *perspectissimum priscae potentiae locum*; Claudius Gothicus (Hist. Aug. Claud. 3), and Stilicho (CIL vi. 1731 = 1195<sup>2</sup>). In a relief on the arch of Constantine (supra, p. 27) columns with statues standing upon them are, as a fact, seen behind the rostra.<sup>3</sup>

The existing remains of the rostra belong to four main periods: (1) that of Caesar, the concrete core of whose rostra, 3.50 metres high, is preserved for a length of over 13 metres, built against, and in all probability on top of, the line of arches supporting the *CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS* (q.v.).

(2) that of Augustus, who incorporated the core of the rostra of Caesar in a larger and higher core, which served as the foundation for the curved flight of steps on the west extending across the whole length of the rostra, and forming a monumental approach to the platform itself. The front of this enlarged core was faced with a wall of the finest Augustan brickwork; and a wall faced with the same material is to be found in the foundations of the north side of the platform itself, and possibly in the front also. The platform extended 10 metres forward from the western brick wall, and its front was about 24 metres in length and 3 high. The front and side walls are built of *opus quadratum* of tufa, faced with marble; bronze beaks in two rows were let into this facing. These walls have been restored by Boni up to their original height. The travertine paving slabs of the platform were supported by beams of the same material resting on these walls and on three rows of travertine

<sup>1</sup> p. 37, § 3, of Kiessling and Schöll's edition.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 31913 a.

<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to see how they could have stood on the rostra (as in HC 72), for the foundations are not sufficiently massive to support them. For bookshops here, see Pseudo-Acro ad Hor. Epist. i. 20. 1.



piers, which were in later times partly replaced and partly strengthened by brick piers and walls. A marble balustrade extended along the sides and front, in the centre of which there was an opening.

The theory outlined above is confirmed by an interesting detail. The plans of the central area of the forum (HC p. 139, fig. 69; ZA p. 83, fig. 18) omit two more 'pozzi rituali' of the line in the right bottom portion, which take it down as far as the front of the original rostra of Caesar. When the rostra were enlarged by Augustus, these two last pozzi, together with the first shown in the plan, were suppressed, and a new line created, which ran along the front of the new façade. (According to the theory previously current, it was to Trajan that the rectangular platform should be attributed.)

(3) that of Septimius Severus, in connection with the erection of whose arch most of the north wall of the rostra was removed, the north part of the back wall of brick-faced concrete cut down to the level of the pavement, and the so-called hemicycle formed by cutting back the brick-faced core of the steps for at least more than half its length, so that its curve should correspond with that of the flight of steps behind.

The northern half of the hemicycle was decorated with slabs of Porta Santa marble, with pilasters of africano at intervals, and a plinth of Pentelic marble, while a richly decorated curved cornice probably belonged to a colonnade along the front of it (Mitt. 1902, 18, fig. 3). The work was not completed at the southern end. A small triangular court was thus formed, from which steps led up to the platform (HC p. 77, fig. 33); and this and the space under the rostra were paved with tiles overlying an earlier pavement of herring-bone brickwork; some of them bear stamps of the Severan period (CIL xv. 405). According to an older theory, now generally abandoned, the hemicycle was the Graecostasis of the time of Caesar (Nichols, *Notizie dei Rostri*), while Mau held it to be his rostra (Mitt. 1905, 230-266; Richter, BRT ii.; iv. 11; Delbrück, *Hellenist. Bauten*, ii. 89; BPW 1912, 1737).

(4) that of about 470 A.D. (?), when the rectangular part of the rostra was lengthened by a trapezoidal brick addition at the north end, the façade of which was also decorated with beaks. An inscription which ran the whole length of the enlarged platform recorded a restoration by the praefectus urbi, Junius Valentinus, in honour of Leo and Anthemius (?), possibly after a naval victory over the Vandals.

The two marble balustrades or *plutei* which now stand in the open area of the forum near the column of Phocas are generally supposed to have formed part of the rostra, standing either on each side of the approach or at the ends of the platform (for the latter, see HC p. 74, fig. 31; Pl. p. 223, fig. 45). They were, as a fact, found where they now stand, roughly erected on blocks of travertine (Jord. i. 2, p. 219, pl. iv. fig. 3).

They date, according to one view,<sup>1</sup> from the time of Domitian (so Cantarelli in BC 1889, 99-113; 1900, 145; 1920, 169; cf. also SScR 138-142, 418); but most authors refer them to Trajan,<sup>2</sup> and explain them as representing Trajan's charity in providing for the support of poor children, by investment of large sums in mortgages on farms, and the destruction by his orders of the registers of taxes on inheritances already due. They have recently been assigned to the reign of Hadrian and attributed to the enclosure of the STATUA MARSYAE (q.v.): see Mél. 1927, 154-183.

To topographers they are interesting mainly for the representation of the buildings of the forum in the background.

In the first relief (that facing down the forum) the emperor is seen on the rostra in the foreground. Then comes the temple of Vespasian (that of Concord was probably on the first section, which is lost), with six Corinthian columns, then the temple of Saturn, with six Ionic columns, and an arch of the Doric arcade of the Tabularium between them. Beyond are the lower arcades of the basilica Iulia; while the statue of Marsyas and a sacred fig-tree in an enclosure (both of which stood close by; see STATUA MARSYAE, FICUS, OLEA, VITIS) terminate the picture, as they begin the representation on the second relief, serving obviously as a *point de repère*. After them comes a series of arcades, like those on the first relief, representing the basilica Aemilia; then the Argiletum; then the Curia with a broad flight of steps in front of it (after its restoration by Domitian), wrongly represented as having a façade of five columns; and finally a triumphal arch, probably situated on the clivus Argentarius, with the rostra in the foreground once more. The recurrence both of the rostra and of the Marsyas shows that the two reliefs were intended to form a complete circle; while the temple of Caesar and the temple of Castor and Pollux, which are not represented, are precisely those which the speaker would have had before his eyes. It is also to be noticed that the reliefs on the other (outer) side of each pluteus, representing the sheep, swine, and bull, the animals sacrificed in the suovetaurilia, are on quite a different scale, and easily visible from the level of the forum; whereas the reliefs on the inner side are on a much smaller scale, and only visible from close by (AJA 1901, 58-82; Mitt. 1889, 239-240; 1897, 326; Petersen in Abh. A. v. Oettingen gewidmet (1898), 130-143; HC 97-102; ZA 75-76). The relief of the suovetaurilia was imitated on the base of a column erected close by to commemorate the decennialia of Diocletian (CIL vi. 1204), for the reliefs of which see AJA 1914, 146-155; SScR 317, 318; HC 95, 96.

The theory that the reliefs belonged to a monument erected in honour of Trajan and represent only the buildings on the east side of the forum

<sup>1</sup> It was first brought forward by C. L. Visconti (Deux Actes de Domitien, etc.: cf. AJA 1910, 310-317): but those who support it have not considered the improbability of so conspicuous a monument of Domitian having survived his assassination.

<sup>2</sup> Sieveking in Festschr. f. P. Arndt, 28, attributes them to the end of his reign.

is due to a misinterpretation of a passage of Pliny (Panegy. 36; cf. BPW 1906, 221; CR 1906, 132); while, according to another theory, this monument stood near the tribunal praetoris, and the reliefs represent the buildings on the west side of the forum (AJA 1910, 310-317).

For the rostra in general, see Jord. i. 2. 229 sqq.; Nichols, *Notizie dei Rostri* (Rome 1885); Richter, *Röm. Rednerbühne* 8-39; *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1889, 1-7; BRT ii.; HC 70-77; Mitt. 1895, 59; 1889, 238; 1902, 13-21; 1905, 15-28, 230-266; 1906, 57-63; AJA 1909, 170-186; RE i. A. 450 sqq.; CR 1899, 235; DR 359-381; HFP 22-25.

ROSTRA CAESARIS : see AEDES CASTORIS.

ROSTRA DIVI IULI : see AEDES DIVI IULI.

ROSTRA PALIKANI : see ROSTRA.

ROSTRA VETERA : see ROSTRA.

RUPES TARPEIA : see TARPEIA RUPES.

## S

SACRA URBS, TEMPLUM (so called) : see URBIS FANUM.

SACRA VIA : the oldest and most famous street in Rome. It and the Nova via were the only streets in the city called viae before the imperial period, when we hear of a VIA FORNICATA, VIA TECTA and VIA NOVA (qq. v.). Sacra via (*ἡ ἱερὰ ὁδός*) was the correct and well-nigh universal form of the name, and the reverse order, via Sacra, occurs, outside of poetry (e.g. Hor. Sat. i. 9. 1), with extreme infrequency (Plin. NH xix. 23 ; Not. Reg. IV ; Suet. Vit. 17 ; Ascon. Cic. pro Mil. 14<sup>1</sup> ; CIL vi. 9239, 9418, 9549). Further evidence for this is found in the word *sacravienses* (Fest. 178), and in the protest raised by the grammarians against the common practice of pronouncing the name as if it were a compound (Fest. 290 : *nec . . . appellari debere ait Verrius sed disiuncte, ut caeteras vias Flaminiam Appiam Latinam, ut ne Novamviam quidem, sed Novam viam*).

The Sacra via proper began at the top of the Velia, where it was called *summa Sacra via*, near the temple of the Lares (Mon. Anc. iv. 7), the house of the rex sacrorum (Fest. 290), the temple of Jupiter Stator (Plut. Cic. 16 : *ἰδρυμένον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀνιόντων*) and the later arch of Titus (Haterii relief, Mon. d. Inst. v. 7 : *arcus in sacra via summa*), and extended down to the east end of the forum, a point variously designated as near the regia, the temple of Vesta, or the arch of Fabius (Fest. 290 ; Mart. i. 70. 3-4 ; Cic. pro Planc. 17 : *si quando iactor in turba, non illum accuso qui est in summa sacra via cum ego ad Fabium fornicem impellor* ; Varro, RR i. 2). Thrice in poetry (Hor. Carm. iv. 2. 35 ; Mart. i. 70. 5 ; iv. 78. 7) this section seems to have been called *sacer clivus* (see CLIVUS SACER), and to go from the upper end to the lower was called *sacra via descendere* (Cic. ad Att. iv. 3. 3 ; Asc. in Scaur. 27 ; Hor. Epod. 7. 7), or *deducere* (Sall. Hist. ii. frg. 45). This street, from the top of the Velia to the entrance to the forum, is the Sacra via of all the sources, literary and epigraphical, down to the end of the empire, with two exceptions, Varro (LL v. 47 : *† Carinae postea Cerionia, quod hinc oritur caput sacrae viae ab Streniae sacello quae pertinet in arce(m), qua sacra quotquot mensibus feruntur in arcem et per quam augures ex arce profecti solent inaugurare. Huius sacrae viae pars haec sola volgo nota quae est a foro eunti primore clivo*), and Festus (290 :

<sup>1</sup> p. 23, § 45, in the edition of Kiessling and Schoell.



Sacram viam quidam appellatam esse existimant quod in ea foedus ictum sit inter Romulum ac Tatium : quidam quod eo itinere utantur sacerdotes idulium sacrorum conficiendorum causa. Itaque ne eatenus quidem, ut vulgus opinatur, sacra appellanda est a regia ad domum regis sacrificuli, sed etiam a regis domo ad sacellum Streniae, et rusus a regia usque in arcem). It is evident that Varro—and Festus following his authority—believed that the Sacra via owed its origin to the fact that it was the course of religious processions, and supposed that the street began at the shrine of STRENIA (q.v.), not mentioned elsewhere, but near the site of the Colosseum, ascended the slope of the Velia, and after descending to the regia, crossed the forum to the Capitol. This statement, however, is disproved by what he himself adds about common usage. There is therefore no reason for supposing that Sacra via ever meant more than the street from the Velia to the regia (cf. Plin. NH xix. 23 : *mox Caesar dictator totum forum Romanum intexit viamque sacram ab domo sua et clivum usque in Capitolium* ; Plut. Cic. 22 : *καὶ πρῶτον ἐκ Παλατίου παραλαβὼν τὸν Λέντλον ἤγε διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης*), although the term is now frequently used to include the stretch from Colosseum to forum, and sometimes of that within the forum also. The explanations given by Varro and Festus (cf. also Serv. Aen. viii. 641) are unsatisfactory, and probably the street was called sacra because on it stood the most sacred shrines of Rome, those of Vesta and the Lares, as well as the dwellings of the Vestals, the pontifex maximus and the rex sacrificulus (cf. Ov. Trist. iii. 1. 28 ; Binder, *Die Plebs* 62-64), although it may be that the street itself, from its position and early importance, was regarded as something intrinsically sacred (Mitt. 1895, 162).

The course and level (AJA 1923, 390 sqq.) of the Sacra via varied somewhat at different times. As it was the principal means of communication between the Palatine and the forum (Plut. Cic. 22 ; Tac. Hist. iii. 68 ; Cass. Dio lxiv. 20 ; lxxvii. 4), it probably began on the summit of the Velia, near the porta Mugonia and the temple of Jupiter Stator, and ran in a fairly straight line to the regia and temple of Vesta, but just at what point it approached them is not certain. After the building of the fornix Fabianus in 121 B.C. the street passed through it.

We have but scanty remains of the Sacra via of the period of Sulla. A street (which is perhaps the vicus Vestae) which diverged from it at the fornix has been found under the temple of Julius Caesar and the arch of Augustus, the pavement of which lies at 11.90 metres above sea-level (JRS 1922, 12-14) ; and a few blocks exist of its pavement below the steps at the north-east corner of the temple of Julius at 12.50 metres above sea-level. At the ' temple of Romulus ' it lay at about 14 metres and at the divergence of the clivus Palatinus at about 27 metres (AJA 1923, 397-8). For the remains of structures attributable to this

period (and to earlier times) along this portion of its course, mainly shops and wells, see TF 87, 88.

After the rebuilding of the regia in 36 B.C. and the building of the temple of Divus Iulius a few years later, it passed to the north of these structures, and then bent to the left to the temple of Castor (Mart. i. 70. 3-4: *vicinum Castora canae transibis Vestae virgineamque domum*). For the early empire the line is definitely established by the discovery of the Augustan pavement (Ills. 10, 45, 46), 5 metres wide, for a considerable part of this distance, which shows that the street curved to the north just east of the very top of the Velia, which it left very near the present arch of Titus. It falls from a level of 28.30 metres above sea-level at a point 7 metres east of the arch of Titus to 12.60 metres at the north-east corner of the temple of Julius. Some of this pavement has been found under the steps of the temple of Venus and Roma (AJA 1923, 399 sqq.—and also for what follows).

Opposite the middle of the basilica of Constantine this Augustan pavement is crossed by the massive concrete foundations of a series of arcades of the time of Nero (AJA 1923, 403 sqq.). These foundations run in parallel lines, first south-east and then, turning at right angles, south-west. This shows that Nero changed the line of the Sacra via, in connection with the building of the DOMUS AUREA (q.v.), and made it run between this portico and the one opposite it up to the vestibule and then around the north-west corner of that building with a sharp turn. On the north side of the Augustan pavement are the foundations and walls of later private houses and buildings, which were destroyed by the erection of arcades on this side also. The level at the east end of the forum remained as before. At the temple of Romulus it was about 16.70 metres above sea-level, in front of the basilica of Constantine 22.50 to 23.10, and at its junction with the clivus Palatinus about 27.60 metres. When Hadrian built the temple of Venus and Roma, some further alterations in the street in front of it must have been made, and thereafter the Sacra via from the Velia downwards to the regia appears to have been an avenue, about 30 metres wide, flanked on both sides by porticoes and shops, those on the north being finally destroyed by the erection of the basilica of Constantine. It was this avenue that was represented by the pavement, 23 metres wide including the side walks, which was removed in 1899<sup>1</sup> (LR 190; BC 1900, 11; Atti 516; Mem. Am. Acad. v. 115-126; see Ill. 7).

After the erection of the arch of Titus, the street passed through it and continued eastward in a straight line to the Meta Sudans, between the temple of Venus and Roma and the temple of Jupiter Stator and the buildings on the slope of the Palatine. The Nova via joined the

<sup>1</sup> Even if the actual paving-stones could be shown to have been laid in the Middle Ages, it would of course prove nothing against the road having originated in classical times: but it was only by its removal that the excavation of the Augustan pavement was rendered possible. Its level was at least 2 metres above the Sacra via of Nero.



45 SACRA VIA LOOKING UP TO VELIA (p. 458)



46 SACRA VIA LOOKING TOWARDS CAPITOL (p. 458)





Sacra via near the arch of Titus, and at about the same point the so-called *clivus Palatinus* branched off the south and ascended the Palatine at the *porta Mugonia*.

The *Sacra via* was also a residential quarter in regal and republican times (Gilb. iii. 360), and those who dwelt here were called *sacravienses* (Fest. 178). According to tradition, Numa, Ancus Martius and Tarquinius Superbus lived here (Solin. i. 21-23; Plin. NH xxxiv. 29), and Tullus Hostilius on the *Velia* (Cic. de rep. ii. 53). The houses of the VALERII (q.v.) (Liv. ii. 7) and of Cn. Domitius Calvinus (Fest. 154) were in *summa Velia*; and on the *Sacra via* itself were those of P. Scipio Nasica (Pomp. Dig. i. 2. 2. 37), Tettius Damio (Cic. ad Att. iv. 3. 3), of the Octavii (Sall. Hist. frg. ii. 45) and of the Domitii (CIL vi. 2041, 25; 2042 *d*, 32352). Many remains of these houses of the republican period have been found (Mitt. 1902, 94-95; 1905, 118) on the south side of the street in front of the atrium Vestae and farther east, especially in the angle formed by the *Nova via* and *clivus Palatinus*. Some of the ruins here are as late as the time of Augustus (BPW 1905, 428).

Like all the first streets in great cities, the *Sacra via* became in process of time largely a street of shops (Ov. Ars Am. ii. 265-266; Amor. i. 8. 100; Prop. ii. 24. 14-15; Richter, 163-164). At the beginning of the empire it is probable that these shops stood on both sides of the way, from the entrance to the forum to the *Velia*, but in consequence of the great changes wrought by the erection of the forum Pacis, the *templum Sacrae Urbis* and the temple of Faustina, they were gradually restricted for the most part to the south side of the street between the atrium Vestae and the arch of Titus. Many inscriptions have been found relating to the tradesmen of the *Sacra via*, especially jewellers of all sorts (CIL vi. 9207, 9221, 9239, 9418, 9419, 9545-9549), and those who dealt in flowers, fruit and luxuries (vi. 9283, 9795, 9935).

Going eastward from the exit of the *Sacra via* from the forum area between the temple of *divus Iulius* and the porticus Gai et Luci (AJA 1913, 14-28), the street passes on the north the temple of Faustina (141 A.D.), the archaic necropolis, the remains of private houses (HC 230-231; Mitt. 1902, 94; 1905, 116; Atti 570-574), the Heroon Romuli, and the basilica of Constantine; on the south the *regia*, the remains of houses and shops between the street and the atrium Vestae, and the great porticus (see above).

(Jord. i. 2. 274-286, 415-416; HJ 14-15; Gilb. i. 214-220, 236-238, 300-335; RE i. A. 1674-1677; Thédénat 167-173, 353-356; HC 218-252 pass.; DR 498-506; Mél. 1908, 233-253 for an erroneous theory that the *Sacra via* was the *decumanus* of the city; for recent excavations, NS 1899, 265-266; BC 1900, 10-11; 1902, 34; 1903, 19-23; AA 1900, 9; CR 1899, 322, 467; 1900, 239; 1902, 96, 286; Mitt. 1902, 97. For a restoration, see D'Esp. Mon. ii. 84-89.)

SAEPTA IULIA (later Septa (e.g. CIL xv. 7195) and τὰ Σέπτα): the building which Caesar planned to erect (Cic. ad Att. iv. 16. 14) in place of the earlier saepta (see OVILE), the voting precinct in the campus Martius. It was to be of marble, surrounded by a lofty porticus one mile in length. Whether actually begun by Caesar or not, it was partly built by Lepidus (στοαῖς περίξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου πρὸς τὰς φυλετικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας (*comitiis tributis*) συνφοδομημένα, Cass. Dio liii. 23), and completed and dedicated by Agrippa in 26 B.C. Agrippa decorated the building with stone tablets and paintings, and gave the official designation of saepta Iulia. It seems to have been ordinarily called saepta only; once porticus saeptorum (Plin. NH xvi. 201); and once, in the third century, saepta Agrippiana (Hist. Aug. Alex. 26). It also continued to be known as ovile (Liv. xxvi. 22; Lucan ii. 197; Auson. Grat. act. iii. 13; Serv. Ecl. i. 33).

In the saepta gladiatorial combats were exhibited by Augustus (Suet. Aug. 43; Cass. Dio lv. 8), Caligula (Suet. Cal. 18), Claudius (Suet. Claud. 21); and naumachiae, or sham naval battles, by Augustus (Cass. Dio lv. 10) and Caligula (ib. lix. 10: πὰν τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ἐξορίζας καὶ ὕδατος πληρώσας ἵνα μίαν ναῦν ἐσαγάγῃ). Nero used the building for gymnastic exhibitions (Suet. Nero 12). In 17 B.C. the senate was convened here (acta lud. saec., CIL vi. 32323, 50), the only recorded occasion, and Tiberius addressed the people from a tribunal erected in it, after his return from the Illyrian campaign (Suet. Tib. 17; Cass. Dio lvi. 1). Pliny speaks of the works of art that it contained (NH xxxvi. 29), and Seneca of the crowds that frequented it (de ira ii. 8. 1).

It was injured by the great fire of 80 A.D. (Cass. Dio lxvi. 24), but must have been restored at once, for it was a favourite resort in the time of Domitian for loungers, and a bazaar (Stat. Silv. iv. 5. 2; Mart. ii. 14. 5, 57. 2; ix. 59. 1; x. 80. 4). Another restoration was carried out by Hadrian (Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19), and the building is mentioned in the third century (id. Alex. 26), and on the post-Constantinian bronze collar of a slave (CIL xv. 7195). No reference has been found to it in the Middle Ages.

It is certain that Augustus built the new saepta primarily to take the place of the old as a voting precinct (cf. Cass. Dio liii. 23, quoted above), but that the diminishing importance of the comitia made its use for other purposes easy and natural, a process that was completed after Tiberius transferred the elections from the people to the senate. Such changes in use were probably reflected in some changes at least in the inner arrangement of the Augustan building.

The saepta in its final form is represented partly on fragments of the Marble Plan (FUR 35-36), and some of its ruins have been discovered at seven different points, under the Palazzi Simonetti, Doria, Bonaparte, Venezia, and the churches of San Marco and S. Maria in Via Lata (for the literature of six of these discoveries, see HJ 560, n. 7; BC 1893,

125-128 ; Cavazzi, *Diaconia di S. Maria in Via Lata* (1908), 197 sqq. ; SR ii. 64, 151 ; and for the last, under the *Palazzetto Venezia*, NS 1911, 36). The building was a rectangular porticus, extending along the west side of the *Via Lata* (Corso), from the *aqua Virgo* (Frontinus, *de aquis* i. 22), the present *Via del Caravita*, to the *Via di S. Marco*, a distance of more than 400 metres (1400-1500 Roman feet). It was built of travertine, with eight longitudinal rows of piers, and 60 metres (that is, 200 Roman feet) deep. The first row, along the *Via Lata*, was ornamented with a balustrade. Four of the inner piers under the *Palazzo Doria*, belonging to the fourth and fifth rows, were measured by Hülsen. They are 1.70 metres square, 4 metres apart in the north-south direction and 6.20 in the other. Other piers further west show different dimensions (NS 1877, 208). Cf. also RA 93-96. Remains were also found when the *Palazzo Simonetti* (north of *S. Maria in Via Lata*) was converted into the *Banco di Roma*, consisting of Hadrianic brick pilasters (obviously therefore his restoration) about which no information has been published.

Lanciani has maintained that the *saepta* did not extend quite so far south, and that its southern limit was marked by an ancient street which is said to have been found in 1875 running from the Corso to the main door of the *Palazzo Venezia* (LR 474 ; LF 21 ; HJ 560, n. 7), perhaps the same as that reported to have been found in 1455 (LS i. 58). The evidence for the antiquity of this street is not conclusive, and is offset by the discovery of the masonry under the *Palazzetto Venezia*.<sup>1</sup>

Whether this porticus, which constituted the *saepta* in the third century after the restorations or rebuildings of Domitian and Hadrian, represents in any considerable degree the *saepta* of Agrippa, is an open question. Some evidence for the affirmative is found in the existing masonry, which is characteristic of the Augustan rather than of the later periods, and the length of the building affords just room for eighty or eighty-two lateral sections of the dimensions illustrated by the piers described above, a fact that suggests a comparison with the number of centuries voting in the *comitia centuriata*. If this does represent in the main the *saepta* of Augustus, we must suppose that gladiatorial combats, and still more certainly naval battles, took place in an open area on the west side of the porticus and were witnessed from its roof or upper story, as well as from platforms erected in the arcades. Gradually, however, this open area was covered with new buildings, like the *Iseum* and porticus *Divorum* (HJ 558-562 ; BC 1893, 119-142 ; Richter 230-232 ; RE i. A. 1724-1727).

According to a view which has been set forth with some plausibility (BC 1893, 136-142), the *DIRIBITORIUM* (q.v.), or hall where the votes were counted, was not a separate structure, but the upper story of the *saepta*. This theory accounts for the massive character of the masonry that has been found, and for other difficulties (HJ cit.).

<sup>1</sup> See also *supra*, 152, n. 1.



**SALINAE** : warehouses for the salt that was brought up the Tiber in boats and carried inland by the via Salaria—probably the earliest kind of traffic between Rome and the sea coast. They were situated on and adjacent to the site of the porta Trigemina (Solin. i. 8; Frontinus, i. 5; Liv. xxiv. 47. 15), probably outside this gate after it was built (cf. Plaut. Capt. 90; BC 1888, 84-91 pass.; RE i. A. 2078).

**SALUS, ARA** : an altar mentioned once in connection with the prodigia of 113 B.C. (Obseq. 83 (98)), but not certainly in Rome (WR 132).

**SALUS, AEDES** (templum, Not.) : a temple on that part of the Quirinal hill that was known as the collis Salutaris (see **QUIRINALIS COLLIS**). This indicates that the cult was localised here at an early date, but this temple is said to have been vowed in 311 B.C. by C. Junius Bubulcus when consul, begun in his censorship in 306, and dedicated by him when dictator in 303 (Liv. ix. 43. 25; x. 1. 9; cf. Babelon, Monnaies ii. 108, Nos. 17-18).<sup>1</sup> The day of dedication was 5th August (Fast. Vall. Amit. Ant. Philoc. ad Non. Aug., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 240, 244, 248, 270, 324; Men. Rust. ib. 281; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 105; Cic. ad Att. iv. 1. 4; pro Sest. 131). It was struck by lightning in 276 and 206 B.C. (Oros. iv. 4. 1; Liv. xxviii. 11. 4; cf. also Obseq. 12, 43<sup>2</sup>), and burned in the reign of Claudius (Plin. NH xxxv. 19), but afterwards restored, for it was standing in the fourth century (Not. Reg. VI). In it was a statue of Cato, set up by the senate in his honour (Plut. Cat. mai. 19: *ναὸς τῆς Ὑγιείας*).

The temple of Bubulcus was decorated with frescoes which, in spite of the injuries of 276 and 206 B.C., were preserved until the building was burned in the time of Claudius (Plin. loc. cit.). These frescoes were said to have been painted by a member of the gens Fabia, a C. Fabius who signed his name to his work, and won for himself and his family the cognomen Pictor (Val. Max. viii. 14. 6; Plin. loc. cit.; RE vi. 1835; BC 1889, 340; HF 967; Cons. 206). Later this Fabius was confused with his descendant Q. Fabius Pictor, the annalist (Hier. Ep. 60. 12 (i. 340 Vallarsi, i. 596, Migne): *nobilem virum Q. Fabium miratur antiquitas qui etiam Romanae scriptor historiae est sed magis ex pictura quam ex litteris nomen invenit*). This story has been vigorously attacked (see A. Reinach, SR ii. 1914, 233-256; AJA 1915, 480), but the evidence against it is not yet convincing.

No traces of the temple have been found, but it was near the temple of Quirinus and the house of Atticus (Cic. ad Att. iv. 1. 4; xii. 45. 3), and probably on or near the **CLIVUS SALUTIS** (q.v.), that is, near the west end of the present royal palace (HJ 403-405; Rosch. iv. 296; RE i. A. 2057).

**SALUTARIS COLLIS** : see **QUIRINALIS COLLIS**.

<sup>1</sup> BM. Rep. i. 248, 1848-1852.

<sup>2</sup> These prodigies chronicled by Obsequens belong respectively to 166 B.C. (lightning), and 104 B.C. (a swarm of bees).



**SAMIARIUM**: a building near the Colosseum in Region II (Not.) where gladiators' weapons were sharpened and polished (cf. Lydus de mag. i. 46<sup>1</sup>; Jord. ii. 18; HJ 300).

**SATURNIUS MONS**: see **CAPITOLINUS MONS**.

**SATURNUS, ARA**: a very ancient altar, which the antiquarians dated from before the Trojan war (Fest. 322: in imo clivo Capitolino . . . ubi ara dicata ei deo ante bellum Troianum videtur), and even ascribed to Hercules (Dionys. vi. i. 4; i. 34. 4: τὸν βωμὸν . . . ὃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει παρὰ τῇ ῥύξῃ τοῦ λόφου κατὰ τὴν ἀνοδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς φέρουσιν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον; Macrob. i. 8. 2: habet aram et ante senaculum; cf. Solin. i. 12). The site of the altar is described in exactly the same words as that of the later temple (see below), and as it was standing when Dionysius wrote, it must have been very close to the temple, and have been preserved until the great changes of the early empire in this part of the forum caused its removal. It is not possible to decide on which side of the temple it was (for the literature see **AEDES SATURNI**).

**SATURNUS, AEDES** (fanum also in Varro and Macrobius, templum also in Macrobius and Not.): the temple erected close to the original ara at the foot of the Capitoline and edge of the forum (Varro v. 42: in faucibus (Capitolii); Liv. xli. 21. 12: in foro Romano; Macrob. i. 8. 1: ad Forum; Fest. 322: in imo clivo Capitolino; Serv. Aen. viii. 319, Auct. Orig. 3. 6: sub clivo Capitolino; Serv. Aen. ii. 116, Hygin. Fab. 261: ante clivum Capitolinum; Dionys. i. 34. 4; vi. i. 4). It was the oldest temple of which the erection was recorded in the pontifical archives, but there was marked disagreement as to the exact date. One tradition ascribed its dedication to Tullus Hostilius; according to another it was begun by the last Tarquin (Varro ap. Macrob. i. 8. 1; Dionys. vi. i. 4). Elsewhere, however, its actual dedication is assigned to the magistrates of the first years of the republic, either to Titus Larcus in his dictatorship in 501 (Macrob. loc. cit.), who also is said to have commenced building the temple in his second consulship in 498 (Dionys. vi. i. 4); or to Aulus Sempronius and M. Mamercus, the consuls of 497 (Liv. ii. 21. 1; Dionys. loc. cit.); or to Postumus Cominius, consul in 501 and 493, by vote of the senate (Dionys. loc. cit.). A different tradition seems to be preserved by Gellius (ap. Macrob. i. 8. 1: nec me fugit Gellium scribere senatum decreuisse ut aedes Saturni fieret eique rei L. Furium tribunum militum praefuisse). Which Furius is referred to is not known (RE vii. 316, 354-356; Peter, Hist. Rom. Reliq. i<sup>2</sup>. 155), and this form of the tradition is probably valueless.<sup>2</sup> The dedication of the temple may safely be assigned to the beginning of the republic.

In 174 B.C. a porticus was built along the clivus Capitolinus from

<sup>1</sup> *σαμιάριοι οἱ τῶν ὅπλων στιλπνῶται*. It was no doubt in connexion with the Colosseum, like the **LUDUS MAGNUS** and the **SPOLIARIUM** (qq.v.).

<sup>2</sup> It is, however, preferred by Beloch, Röm. Gesch. 12, 13.

the temple to the Capitolium (Liv. xli. 27. 7). In 42 B.C. the temple was rebuilt by L. Munatius Plancus (Suet. Aug. 29; CIL vi. 1316; x. 6087). It is mentioned incidentally in 16 A.D. (Tac. Ann. ii. 41), and at some time in the fourth century it was injured by fire and restored by vote of the senate, as recorded in the inscription on the architrave (CIL vi. 937). It is represented on three fragments of the Marble Plan (22, 23, 30), and is mentioned in Reg. (Not. Reg. VIII).

Throughout the republic this temple contained the state treasury, the *aerarium populi Romani* or *Saturni*, in charge of the quaestors (Fest. 2; Solin. i. 12; Macrob. i. 8. 3; Plut. Tib. Gracchus 10; App. BC i. 31; RE i. 667, 671), and in it was a pair of scales to signify this function (Varro, LL v. 183). Under the empire the same arrangement continued, but the *aerarium Saturni* now contained only that part of the public funds that was under the direction of the senate as distinguished from the *fiscus* of the emperors, and was administered by praefecti generally instead of quaestors (Plin. Ep. x. 3. 1; for the inscriptions relating to the *aerarium*, see DE i. 300; and for occurrences of *aerarium populi romani* or *Saturni*, Thes. ling. Lat. i. 1055-1058). It is probable that only the money itself was kept in the temple, and that the offices of the treasury adjoined it, perhaps at the rear in the *AREA SATURNI* (q.v.), until the building of the *Tabularium* in 78 B.C., when some at least of the records were probably transferred thither. Other public documents were affixed to the outer walls of the temple and adjacent columns (Cass. Dio xlv. 17. 3; CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 587, col. 2, l. 40; Varro, LL v. 42).

On the gable of the temple were statues of Tritons with horses (Macrob. i. 8. 4), and in the cella was a statue of Saturn, filled with oil and bound in wool (Plin. NH xv. 32; Macrob. i. 8. 5; Rosch. iv. 431), which was carried in triumphal processions (Dionys. vii. 72. 13). The day of dedication was the *Saturnalia*, 17th December (Fast. Amit. ad xvi Kal. Ian., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 245, 337; Liv. xxii. 1. 19). There are a few blocks of the podium of the original temple still remaining, and a drain below and in front is probably as early, in which case it and some similar drains close by are the earliest examples of the stone arch in Italy (TF 51-54 attributes the drain to the fourth century B.C., but his suggestion as to its object is unacceptable). There is no trace of any construction of an intermediate period, and the existing podium belongs to the temple of Plancus. It is constructed of walls of travertine and peperino, with concrete filling, and was covered with marble facing. It is 22.50 metres wide, about 40 long, and its front and east side rise very high above the forum because of the slope of the Capitoline hill. The temple was Ionic, hexastyle prostyle, with two columns on each side, not counting those at the angles. Of the superstructure eight columns of the *pronaos* remain, six in front and one on each side, together with the entablature, hitherto attributed to the period of the final restoration. It seems more likely that Fiechter (Toeb. i. 5 sqq.) is right in attributing the cornice to the

Augustan period, on the analogy of several other cornices (T. Divi Iuli, Magnae Matris, Regia, etc.). The architrave blocks with the palmette frieze below them belong to the forum of Trajan, whence they were removed for the fourth century restoration (ibid. 62-66). The front columns are of grey and those on the sides of red granite, while the entablature is of white marble. The columns are 11 metres in height and 1.43 in diameter at the base; but in some of them the drums that form the shaft have been wrongly placed, so that the shaft does not taper regularly toward the top. The bases also are of three different kinds—Attic, and Corinthian with and without a plinth.

The steps of this temple were of peculiar form, on account of the closeness of the *clivus Capitolinus* and the sharp angle which it made in front of the temple, the main flight being only about one-third the width of the *pronaos*. (For the latest excavations round the temple, see NS 1899, 49; AA 1899, 7; CR 1899, 234; BC 1902, 26; Mitt. 1902, 9; for the later tradition of the site, BC 1914, 87-88, 102; for the temple in general, Jord. i. 2. 360-363; Gilb. iii. 401-403; Rosch. iv. 429-432; WR 205-206; HC 77-79; Thédénat 113-115, 227-229; RE ii. A. 219, Suppl. iv. 463-466; DR 151-160; ASA 3, 44, 45; HFP 18-20; Mem. Am. Acad. ii. 1918, 58.) It may be represented in a relief of the time of M. Aurelius (Cons. 25) and is certainly seen in one of those of the *ROSTRA AUGUSTI* (q.v.). Considerably more of the temple was existing when Poggio first visited Rome in 1402 than was left in 1447, as we learn from his *De varietate fortunae* (Urlichs, 238): ‘*superest porticus aedis Concordiae* (sic), *quam, cum primum ad urbem accessi, vidi fere integram, opere marmoreo admodum specioso; Romani postmodum, ad calcem aedem totam et porticus partem, disiectis columnis, sunt demoliti. In porticu adhuc literae sunt S.P.Q.R. incendio consumptam restituisse.*’

**SAXUM**: see **REMORIA** and **BONA DEA SUBSAXANA**.

**SAXUM TARPEIUM**: see **TARPEIA RUPES**.

**SCALAE ANULARIAE**: a flight of steps known only from one passage (Suet. Aug. 72), which states that Augustus lived in a house of *Licinius Calvus* (q.v.) *iuxta Romanum forum supra scalas anularias*, and afterwards in *Palatio*. These steps, therefore, probably led up the side of the *Palatine* but not so far that a house above them could be called in *Palatio*. They were evidently named from adjacent shops of *anularii*, or ring makers (RE i. 2651).

**SCALAE CACI**: an ancient stairway on the south side of the *Palatine*, leading down to the valley of the *circus Maximus*. The top of it (*supercilium*) is named as the end of *ROMA QUADRATA* (1) and as the site of the *CASA ROMULI* (q.v.) (Solin. i. 18; Plut. Rom. 20, where *βαθμοὺς καλῆς ἀκτῆς* of the MSS. has been emended into *Σκάλῃς Κακίας*, Bull. d. Inst. 1852, 40; Diodor. iv. 21). What the *ATRIUM CACI* (q.v.) has to do with it is uncertain. Probably the steps originally served as a short cut to the



bottom of the clivus Victoriae, and the porta Romanula stood at their junction with it, rather than farther north (CQ 1908, 145), v. supra 376.

Tradition connected this corner with the story of the robber Cacus (Liv. i. 7), but both he and his sister Caca were in reality ancient Italic fire deities (Mitt. 1895, 163 ff.; RE ii. 1164, 1166; WR 161). Of the steps themselves nothing certain is left. At the top the travertine foundations of a gate of the imperial period are in situ, together with a small piece of road pavement; a little lower down they turned at right angles and ran to the south-west corner of the hill; but here they have been built over by a house of the imperial period, and survive only in the form of an internal staircase. (See BPW 1903, 605-606; CQ 1908, 145-147; HJ 39-42; Pl. 133-134; DAP 2. vi. 254-255.)

SCALAE [?CA]NINIAE: see BUSTA GALICA.

SCALAE CASSII: a flight of steps in Region XIII (Not.), leading perhaps to the top of the Aventine from the bank of the river, or farther south from the horrea, and possibly to be identified with the scala usque in Aventinum of the eighth century (Eins. 9. 6) near S. Sabina (Mem. L. i. 512; Merlin 322; HJ 179; Pr. Reg. 204).

SCALAE DEUM PENATIUM: see PENATES DEI, AEDES.

SCALAE GEMONIAE: a flight of steps leading up the Capitoline past the carcer, on which the bodies of certain criminals, who had been executed, were thrown and left exposed for a time—a frequent practice during the empire. They are often mentioned, first under Tiberius, and are called scalae Gemoniae (Val. Max. vi. 3. 3, 9. 13; Aur. Vict. 8. 6, 33. 31; Ep. 8. 4; Oros. vii. 8. 8), Gemoniae (Suet. Tib. 53, 61, 75; Vit. 17; Tac. Ann. iii. 14; vi. 4, 31; Hist. iii. 74, 85; Sid. Apoll. i. 7. 12), ἀναβασμοί (Cass. Dio lviii. 1, 5, 11; lxxv. 21), gradus gemitorii (Plin. NH viii. 145), and as gradus Gemonii (Tert. adv. Val. 36). Only two of these passages give any topographical information (Val. Max. vi. 9. 13; Cass. Dio lviii. 5), but that does not determine the course of these steps with precision. It is probable, however, that it coincided approximately with the present Via di S. Pietro in carcere (HF iv.; Gilb. i. 327; iii. 164; Jord. i. 2. 324-325; Richter, Hermes 1883, 125; Top. 119; RE vii. 1115-1116; Rodocanachi, Le Capitole 17). It is possible that the GRADUS MONETAE (q.v.), mentioned by Ovid (Fast. i. 638), may have connected in some way with these steps. Gemoniae was undoubtedly connected in the popular mind with *gemo*, 'I groan' (cf. GRADUS GEMITORII; Tert. loc. cit.) but incorrectly. It is rather derived from the proper name Gemonius (Schulze, Zur Gesch. latein. Eigennamen 108 and add.), but the reason for its use is unknown.

SCALA MEDIANA: a flight of steps known only from one inscription (CIL vi. 9683: negotiatrix frumentaria et leguminaria ab scala mediana). Whether it had any connection with the porticus Fabaria (Reg. XIII) and led up the Aventine (De Rossi, Ann. d. Inst. 1885, 224), or up the



Capitoline from the forum Holitorium (Pr. Reg. 204) is wholly conjectural (HJ 177).

SCALAE TARQUITIAE : mentioned only once (Fest. 363 : Tarquitas scalas quas Tarquinius Superbus fecerit, abominandi eius nominis gratia ita appellatas esse ait (i.e. Verrius) volgo existimari) and quite unknown, although the suggestion that they were steps up to the Capitol is plausible enough (Pais, *Ancient Legends*, III).

SCHOLA CALCARIENSIVM : probably the headquarters of the corporation of lime burners (Cod. Theod. xii. I. 37), mentioned only in two inscriptions that were found near the thermae of Diocletian (CIL vi. 9223, 9224). It was probably situated, as well as their synagogue, near the Vicus PULVERARIUS (Eranos, 1924, 85-88).

SCHOLA CARRUCARIORUM : see AREA CARRUCES.

SCHOLA FABRUM SOLIARIUM BAXIARIUM : an office or headquarters of the guild of shoemakers under the theatre of Pompeius (CIL vi. 9404).

SCHOLA FORI TRAIANI : probably a room or rooms attached to the libraries of the FORUM TRAIANI (q.v.), where editors and authors worked, if we may judge from the only occurrence of the name—in the subscriptio after declamatio Pseudo-Quintiliana x in codd. Parisinus 16230 and Sorbonianus 629 : legi et emendavi ego Dracontius cum fratre Ierio . . .<sup>1</sup> urbis Romae in schola fori Traiani. Dracontius and Hierius probably belonged to the late fourth or early fifth century (RhM 1905, 154-158).

SCHOLA KALATORUM PONTIFICUM : the name given to the recently discovered office or headquarters of the *kalatores*, or freedmen attached to the pontifices and flamines as assistants (Mommson, *Staatsrecht* i. 359), which was in the forum near the regia. In 1899 a fragment of a marble epistyle was found built into the foundations of a mediaeval wall at the south-west corner of the regia, with part of an inscription. The other part of this epistyle had been found in 1546 (Jahrb. d. Inst. 1889, 231 ; LS ii. 200), and the complete inscription reads : in honorem domus Augustae kalatores pontificum et flaminum (CIL vi. 32445 ; NS 1899, 128 ; BC 1899, 146 ; Mitt. 1901, 10-12 ; 1902, 66 ; Klio ii. 279, No. 66 ; HC 195). This epistyle is 3.50 metres long, and probably spanned the entrance of the schola, but the building cannot be identified with any existing remains (cf. however, AJA 1912, 390). It may possibly have been restored in the time of Septimius Severus (Mitt. 1914, 7-11).

SCHOLA PORTICUS OCTAVIAE : see PORTICUS OCTAVIAE.

SCHOLA QUAESTORUM ET CAPLATORUM : mentioned only in Not. in Region III, between the lacus Pastorum and the thermae Titianae. The interpretation of this name is uncertain. Caplatores (capulatores) were workmen engaged in the pressing of olive oil, and there is epigraphical evidence for the existence of collegia of caplatores in several Latin and Campanian

<sup>1</sup> The text has here 'incomparabili arrico' [*sic*], for which 'oratore' has been conjectured (Lommatzsch, *Zeitsch. f. vergl. Litteraturgesch.* 1904, 177).

towns (CIL x. 5917; ix. 665, 2336; xiv. 3677; DE ii. 104). In the first of these inscriptions a quaestor collegi caplatorum is mentioned, and this may cast some light on the title of the Notitia (Pr. Reg. 126; HJ 319; HCh 316-318). The trivium or contrada cambiatoris, a mediaeval district near the Colosseum and the basilica of Constantine, may preserve the latter name.

**SCHOLA QUINDECIMVIRUM SACRIS FACIUNDIS**: the name given by modern topographers (LF 14) to a building of which some remains were found in 1886 a little north-west of the Tarentum, when the Corso Vittorio Emanuele was built. This building may have been an office of the xviri in charge of the ludi saeculares (HJ 598; Mon. L. i. 548).

**SCHOLA SODALIIUM SERRENSIUM**: probably the headquarters of the sodales Serrenses, mentioned in one inscription of the third century (CIL vi. 839) which was found a little way outside the porta Nomentana (BCr 1864, 57; cf. CICINENSES, PARIANENSES).

**SCHOLA XANTHI**: an office of the scribae, praecones and librarii of the curule aediles which was erected on the site of an earlier one by Bebryx Aug. lib. Drusianus and A. Fabius Xanthus (hence the modern name Schola Xanthi) during the principate of Tiberius, and restored by a certain C. Avilius Licinius Trosius in the early part of the third century. This is known from the double inscription (CIL vi. 103=30692; Mitt. 1888, 208-232), which is repeated on the inside and outside of the epistyle of a small but beautiful building that was excavated in 1539 (LS ii. 185-186) between the arches of Tiberius and Septimius Severus, and shortly afterwards destroyed. During the excavations of 1900-1902 there were found on the site of this earlier discovery, in front of the row of chambers that support the clivus Capitolinus, the remains of a room of trapezoidal shape, with a pavement of white marble. A marble seat encircled three sides of the chamber and in the middle of the north wall is a door from which a flight of steps led up to the level of the clivus Capitolinus. There were also marks of posts or columns on the pavement. The concrete of this building dates from 14-16 A.D. (AJA 1912, 398), and corresponds with the indication of the inscription, while the ruins agree with the accounts of the first discovery. It is therefore generally assumed that this is the schola or office of the aediles' clerks (Jord. i. 2. 367; Mitt. 1902, 12-13; BC 1903, 164; Gilb. iii. 161-162; Thédénat 162, 265; HC 69-70; DR 385-387; RE Suppl. iv. 500-501).

**SECRETARIUM CIRCI**: a building, or office, mentioned only once (Sym. Rel. 23. 9), and apparently connected with the office of the praefectus urbi.

**SECRETARIUM SENATUS**: see **CURIA**.

**SECRETARIUM TELLURENSE**: see **PRAEFECTURA URBANA**.

**SECUNDENSES**: those who dwelt in a certain locality (cf. PARIANENSES, CICINENSES), probably on the Esquiline in Region III near the Sicinium (S. Maria Maggiore). The name occurs in a fragmentary inscription

containing an edict of Tarracius Bassus, prefect of the city shortly after 368 A.D. (NS 1899, 335 ; Klio ii. 270 ; HJ 338 ; cf. BC 1891, 345).

SEMELE LUCUS : see STIMULAE LUCUS.

SEMO SANCUS : a statue of Semo Sancus Dius Fidius on the island in the Tiber, where an inscription of the second century was found in 1574 (CIL vi. 567). The marble base on which this inscription is placed supported a statue which, because of the similarity of names, the early Christians mistook for one of Simon Magus (Justin Mart. Apol. pr. 25, 56 ; Iren. contra haeres. i. 23 ; Tert. adv. gent. 13 ; Cyrill. Hierosol. Catechesis 6 ; Euseb. Hist. eccles. ii. 13, 14). There is no evidence for the existence of any shrine or altar here, and the cult of Semo Sancus may well have been connected with that of IUPITER IURARIUS (q.v.), and this statue may have stood at or near his temple (HJ 636 ; Besnier 273-279, 286-289 ; Rosch. iv. 318-319 ; RE i. A. 2255).

SEMO SANCUS, AEDES : a temple on the Quirinal of this deity under his full name, Semo Sancus Dius Fidius,<sup>1</sup> or its variants, Semo Sancus Fidius, Deus or Dius Fidius (Ov. Fast. vi. 213-216 ; Varro, LL v. 52, 66). This Sabine cult is said to have been introduced into Rome by Titus Tatius (Tert. ad nat. ii. 9 ; Ov. Fast. vi. 217-218 ; Prop. iv. 9. 74), but the construction of the temple is generally ascribed to the last Tarquin, although it was dedicated by Sp. Postumius many years later, 5th June, 466 B.C. (Dionys. ix. 60 ; Ov. Fast. vi. 213 ; Fast. Ven. ad Non. Iun., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 220, 319 ; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 98). It contained a bronze statue of Tanaquil, her distaff and spindle (Plut. q. Rom. 30 ; Plin. NH viii. 194), and a wooden shield covered with ox-hide, which was a memorial of the league between Rome and Gabii (Dionys. iv. 58), and, after the destruction of Privernum in 329 B.C., bronze wheels made of the proceeds of the confiscated property of Vitruvius (Liv. viii. 20. 8).

Besides aedes (Grk. *ἱερὸν*), the temple was called templum (Pliny), fanum (Tert.) and sacellum (Livy). Although small aedes were sometimes called sacella, the use of this term by Livy may perhaps be explained on the hypothesis that the shrine of this deity was open to the sky (cf. Varro v. 66 ; Becker, Top. 576). It stood on the Collis Mucialis (p. 437), near and probably a little north of the porta Sanqualis, which was named from the temple (Fest. 345 : Sanqualis porta appellatur proxima aedi Sanci<sup>2</sup>), on the ridge of the hill (Ov. Fast. vi. 218 ; Liv. viii. 20. 8 : versus aedem Quirini). This site lies in the angle between the modern Vie Nazionale and Quirinale, where, in the gardens of S. Silvestro degli Arcioni, was found in the sixteenth century a travertine base dedicated to Semo Sancus (CIL vi. 568 ; cf. 30994, of unknown provenance),<sup>3</sup> and near by

<sup>1</sup> WR cit. gives reasons for refusing to differentiate Semo Sancus from Dius Fidius : and Warde Fowler (Roman Festivals, 135-142) agrees.

<sup>2</sup> Sancus, Lindsay.

<sup>3</sup> Loewy has pointed out that the statue which stands on this base does not belong to it, and is really an archaic Apollo (DAP 2. xi. 199 ; SR ii. 148 : cf. HF 351).



in more recent times, some lead pipes inscribed with the name of the same collegium<sup>1</sup> that dedicated the base (BC 1887, 8). Three fragments of concrete foundations have also been found that may belong to this temple (RhM 1894, 409; BC 1881, 5; Mitt. 1889, 274; see in general HJ 400-402; Gilb. i. 275-280; iii. 370-371; Rosch. iv. 317-318; Besnier 279-282; WR 130-132; Mem. Am. Acad. ii. 61-62; RE i. A. 2254).

**SENACULUM:** a place where the senators assembled before entering the curia on formal summons, according to the testimony of writers of the Augustan age (Varro, LL v. 156: *senaculum supra Graccostasim ubi aedes Concordiae et basilica Opimia. Senaculum vocatum ubi senatus aut ubi seniores consisterent*; Val. Max. ii. 2. 6). It was probably only an open area in the first place and afterwards a hall. The site of the senaculum referred to in the passages cited is further determined by later writers as close to the Volcanal, at the edge of the Comitium and in front of the basilica Opimia and area Concordiae (Macrob. i. 8. 2: *habet (i.e. templum Saturni) aram et ante senaculum*; Fest. 347: *unum (senaculum) ubi nunc est aedes Concordiae inter Capitolium et Forum*). The original building<sup>2</sup> must have been removed when the temple of Concord was enlarged by Opimius in 121 B.C. (HC 6; Thédénat 104; Mitt. 1893, 87, 91) or by Tiberius in 7 B.C. (TF 49).

In the passage from Festus just quoted, it is stated, on the authority of a certain Nicostratus of the second century, that there were two other senacula in Rome where the senate was wont to assemble, one *ad portam Capenam*, the other *citra aedem Bellonae*. Of these senacula there is no further mention, but the senate met during the year after the battle of Cannae *ad portam Capenam* (Liv. xxiii. 32), and many such meetings took place in the temple of Bellona whenever foreign ambassadors, generals desiring a triumph, or any person who could not lawfully be admitted within the pomerium, were to appear before the senate (see *BELLONA, AEDES*). It is not certain whether this statement of Nicostratus is based on a confusion of senaculum and the regular hall of assembly, or on the fact that such buildings had been erected at these points (HJ 204, 553; Mommsen, Staatsrecht iii. 913-914; Becker, Top. 286, 516-517, 607; Jord. i. 2. 337; BC 1908, 138-139).

A fourth senaculum seems to be mentioned in Livy (xli. 27. 7: *at clivum Capitolinum silice sternendum curaverunt et porticum ab aede Saturni in Capitolium ad senaculum ac super id curiam*). If the text is not corrupt here—as it is in the lines immediately preceding—there must have been a senaculum on the Capitoline bearing the same relation to the curia Calabra and the temple of Jupiter that the senaculum below did to the curia Hostilia. In view of Nicostratus' statement, and the apparent needlessness of another senaculum immediately above the

<sup>1</sup> The *decuria sacerdotum bidentalium* (CIL xv. 7253).

<sup>2</sup> For a concrete podium which is attributed to it, see Mem. Am. Acad. v. 58-61; cf. also DR 320, 321.



other, the existence of one on the Capitol is very doubtful (Jord. i. 2. 19, 338; Becker, Top. 286; RE ii. A. 1454).

**SENACULUM MULIERUM**: a hall of assembly for women, which Elagabalus built on the Quirinal in the place where the women had previously been accustomed to meet to discuss matters of common interest (Hist. Aug. Elag. 4: fecit et in colle Quirinali senaculum, id est mulierum senatum). This was probably destroyed afterwards, for Aurelian is said to have wished to restore it or build another (id. Aurel. 49: senatum sive senaculum matronis reddi voluerat, ita ut primae illic quae sacerdotia senatu auctore meruissent; Becker, Top. 589; Mommsen, Staatsrecht iii. 914; HJ 443).

In 1914 two female statues were found in the ruins of a building of the imperial period<sup>1</sup> under the Palazzo del Marchese Bourbon del Monte in the Via Venti Settembre, 38.80 metres from the angle of the Via Salaria, which, Pasqui (NS 1914, 142-146) thinks, belong to this senaculum (BC 1914, 211). v. Domaszewski (SHA 1916, 7. A, 14; 1920, 6. A, 22) regards the senaculum mulierum as an invention based on the conventus matronalis (cf. Suet. Galb. 5; Liv. xxvii. 37. 9).

**SEPTIMIUM**: probably a name which came to be given to the district lying along the right bank of the Tiber, from the Aurelian wall to the Vaticanum, on account of the building activity of Septimius Severus in part of this quarter (cf. PORTA SEPTIMIANA). This name does not occur in any ancient sources (unless we accept the reading *Septimianae* in Hist. Aug. Sev. 19; cf. THERMAE SEPTIMIANAE), but is to be inferred from its use in the Middle Ages, reappearing in the designations of churches, as S. Iacobi in Septimiano (1286), S. Leonardi de Sitignano, S. Lucia de Septignano (Arm. 653, 656; Mél. 1914, 351-352; HJ 656; HCh 268, 299, 305); cf. CORARIA SEPTIMIANA.

**SEPTEM CAESARES**: see CAESARES, SEPTEM.

**SEPTEM DOMUS**: see DOMUS PARTHURUM SEPTEM.

**SEPTEM TABERNAE**: see TABERNAE CIRCA FORUM.

**SEPTIMONTIUM**: according to Varro the name of the city before it was called Rome (LL v. 41: ubi nunc est Roma erat olim Septimontium nominatum ab tot montibus quos postea urbs muris comprehendit; cf. Fest. 321: Sacrani appellati sunt Reate orti qui ex Septimontio Ligures Siculosque exegerunt; nam vere sacro nati erant), a statement that seems to be corroborated by Lydus (de mens. iv. 155: ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ ἡ λεγομένη παρ' [αὐτῶν Σεπτί]μούνδιος ἐορτὴ ἐπιτελεῖτο, τούτεστιν ἡ περίοδος τῆς πόλ[εως, ὅτι ἐπὶ ἐπτὰ λ]όφους τὰ τείχη τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκτέταται. ὀνόμα[τα δὲ] τούτ[ων] Πα[λ]άτιον Ἑσκύλιον Ταρπύιον Ἀβεντίνον Τιβο[ύρτιον Πρα]ν[έσ]τιον Βιμινάλιον [παρὰ] δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐτέρως οὕτως Ἀβεν[τ]ίνος Καίλιος [Ἑσκ]ύλιος Καπιτωλῖνος Βελανήσσιος Κυ[ρινά]λιος Παλα[τίνος]).

<sup>1</sup> It is, as a fact, in opus reticulatum, and therefore too early for Elagabalus; nor is it likely that he used an earlier building.

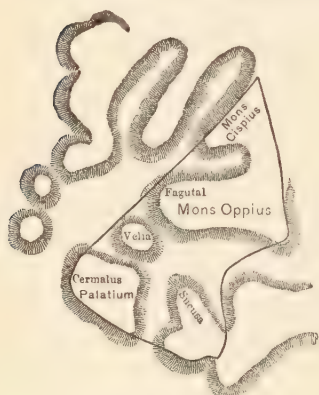
Septimontium was also the name of a festival, celebrated on 11th December, and consisting in part of a lustral procession round the Palatine and Esquiline, which is mentioned in the calendars and several times in literature, especially in the following passages:—Varro, *LL* vi. 24: dies Septimontium nominatus ab his septem montibus in quis sita urbs est feriae non populi sed montanorum modo ut Paganalia qui sunt alicuius pagi; Fest. 348: Septimontio ut ait Antistius Labeo hisce montibus feriae: Palatio cui sacrificium quod fit Palatuar dicitur; Veliae (villae, *cod.*) cui item sacrificium; Fagutali (faguali, *cod.*), Suburae, Cermallo, Oppio, Caelio monti, Cispio (cis itum, *cod.*) monti; 340 a much mutilated passage; 341: Septimontium appellabant diem festum quod in septem locis faciebant sacrificium: Palatio, Velia, Fagutali,<sup>1</sup> Subura, Cermallo, Caelio, Oppio et Cispio; Plut. q. Rom. 69: τὸ δὲ σεπτομόντιον ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ἑβδομον λόφον τῇ πόλει προσκατανεμηθῆναι καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπτάλοφον γενέσθαι. One of these eight names

must obviously be omitted, and the choice has often fallen on SUBURA (q.v.), which is in no sense a 'mons'; but cf. REGIONES QUATTUOR, Suc(c)USA.

It is quite evident that some Roman antiquarians believed that the festival of the Septimontium was based on the inclusion within the limits of the city of seven hills or parts of hills, but that they differed as to which hills these were (cf. also Serv. Aen. vi. 783: alii dicunt breves septem colliculos a Romulo inclusos qui tamen aliis nominibus appellabantur; alii volunt hos ipsos qui nunc

sunt a Romulo inclusos, id est Palatinum Quirinalem Aventinum Caelium Viminali Esquilinum Ianicularem: alii vero volunt hos quidem fuisse aliis tamen nominibus appellatos). The question therefore is whether an early stage in the city's growth, preceding that commonly known as the City of the Four Regions, was actually called Septimontium or whether this is simply an invention of later antiquarians to explain the name of the festival. While it is altogether probable, from other considerations, that the districts named by Labeo, for instance, did at some time before the Servian period make up the territory included within the city limits (text fig. 6), and very certain that the Septimontium was an ancient festival, it is not probable that this was ever an actual name of Rome. Hülsen (RAP ii. 83-86) points out that three of the seven montes bear names (Cispus, Caelius, Oppius) which are identical with those of well-known plebeian gentes; while tradition records eponymous heroes of each hill (Opiter Oppius, Laevius Cispus, Caelius Vibenna); further, the gentilicia of the kings of Rome (except Romulus and the Etruscan Tarquins) are

<sup>1</sup> Fagutalia *cod.*



TEXT FIG. 6.

all plebeian. On the other hand, the names of the sixteen *tribus rusticae* are all patrician. It therefore seems as if the families that expelled the Tarquins formed an oligarchy, the patricians, while the other older families, who had been their partisans, lost many of their privileges and became plebeian. The whole subject of the Septimontium is complicated and quite obscure (for a full discussion of the whole matter, see Wissowa, *Septimontium und Subura*, *Satura Viadrina*, Breslau 1896, 1-19=Ges. Abh. Munich 1904, 230-252; Mon. L. xv. 754-762; CP 1906, 69-80; AJA 1908, 172-183; Carter, *The Pomerium*, Rome 1909; Pais, *Legends* 234-241; De Sanctis, *Storia* i. 185 (who rejects it altogether); BPW 1912, 1734; 1913, 977-980; Beloch, *Röm. Gesch.* 202-204; RE i. A. 1018-1021; ii. A. 1577-1578 (two articles by different authors which contradict one another); and other literature cited in these articles).

SEPTIZONIUM: known only from the statement in Suetonius (Tit. 1) that Titus was born *prope Septizonium aedibus sordidis*. It was probably somewhat similar to the Septizonium of Severus, although very much smaller, and it has been located generally on the Esquiline but without sufficient reason (FUR 37; Gilb. iii. 354; Richter 158).

SEPTIZONIUM: a building erected by Septimius Severus at the extreme south-east corner of the Palatine hill (Hist. Aug. Sev. 19: *opera publica praecipua eius extant Septizonium et thermae Severianae*; 24: *cum Septizonium facerit nihil aliud cogitavit quam ut ex Africa venientibus suum opus occurreret: nisi absente eo per praefectum urbis medium simulacrum eius esset locatum, aditum Palatinis aedibus, id est regium atrium, ab ea parte facere voluisse perhibetur. quod etiam post Alexander cum vellet facere, ab haruspicibus dicitur esse prohibitus, cum hoc sciscitans non litasset*; cf. Hist. Aug. Geta 7; Chron. 147; Hieron. ad a. Abr. 2216: *Severo imperante thermae Severianae apud Antiochiam et Romam factae et Septizonium exstructum*; Cassiod.: *Septizodium instructum est*; Not. Reg. X: *Septizonium divi Severi*). The inscription (CIL vi. 1032, 31229) records the dedication in 203 A.D.; and the building is undoubtedly referred to by Amm. Marc. in 355 (15. 7. 3: *cum plebs excita calore quo consuevit . . . ad Septemzodium convenisset celeberrimum locum ubi operis ambitiosi nymphaeum Marcus condidit imperator*) when the mention of Marcus instead of Severus is due to the fact that the name Marcus appears first in the dedicatory inscription. According to the Vita, therefore, Severus intended this building to serve as a monumental façade at this corner of the hill, visible to all who approached by the via Appia, and also as an entrance to the imperial precinct. The latter purpose could not be carried out because the prefect of the city set up the statue of the emperor in the central niche. Ammianus (loc. cit.) implies that the building was in fact a *nymphaeum* of imposing size and appearance; and a *septizonium* at Lambaesis had an '*aqueductus et nymphaei opus*' attached to it (CIL viii. 2657).



The whole of the latter part of the passage in Hist. Aug. Sev. 24 : nisi absente eo per praefectum urbis medium simulacrum eius esset locatum, aditum Palatinis aedibus, id est regium atrium, ab ea parte facere voluisse perhibetur, has recently been taken by v. Domaszewski (SHA 1916, 7. A, 5-7 ; 1918, 13. A, 48), like that in id. Get. 7 (cf. SEPULCRUM SEVERI) to be an interpolation ; and this is why Hülsen in his latest restoration (published by Rushforth in the Legacy of Rome, fig. 35, opp. p. 399) has omitted the statue of Severus which had previously been inserted in the central niche. The very existence of a main approach to the Palatine on this side at this period seems highly doubtful.

Dombart, however, retains it in his restoration, and inclines to refer to it the second colossus named in Not. Brev. He differs from Hülsen mainly (a) in placing the columns in the niches closer to their back walls, (b) in giving half domes to the niches.<sup>1</sup> The design of the front (an ornamental façade with three large niches, and three orders of columns) owed much to the type of permanent stage decoration (*scaenae frons*) which is seen in the back walls of the stages of various provincial theatres of the Roman period ; and it is not without parallels, of which the nymphaea (expressly so called in inscriptions) of Miletus and Side are the most striking. There appears indeed to be no doubt that it was actually decorated with fountains ; and it also seems clear that the interior, which would have served no useful purpose, was not originally accessible except by means of ladders. There is no evidence for an external staircase at the back. Dombart (p. 96) has misquoted Demonstosius, Gallus Romae Hospes, 25.

A very difficult problem is presented by the name and its meaning. The form septizodium is first found in the Pseudo-Dositheus (about 207 A.D.) and in an inscription, CIL viii. (Suppl.) 14372 (about 210 A.D.), but is probably to be treated as incorrect and may therefore be disregarded (Schürer, Zeitschr. f. d. neutestamentliche Wissenschaft vi. (1905), 29 ff., 63 ff.). Unsuccessful attempts have been made to interpret septizonium in a literal sense, and to see in it a building which is capable of division, whether horizontally or vertically, into seven sections or belts. There is no doubt, however, that the building only had three stories. The reference to the seven planets (Maass, Tagesgötter 106-117) may, however, be accepted even so, if the meaning of ζώνη and ἐπτάζωνος be kept in mind (Dombart in RE ii. A. 1582, who is inclined to suppose that the building was actually decorated with emblems representing the seven planetary divinities of the seven days of the week, and who also emphasises the importance of the number seven in connection with the Ziggurats of Babylonia ; cf. his article in Jahrb. d. Inst. xxxiv. (1919), 40-64).

<sup>1</sup> As Hülsen points out, a great part of the inscription would, if it had run round niches of this kind, have been illegible ; and he therefore prefers to make them rectangular, putting small curved niches at the angles.



The mediaeval corruptions of the name are many—*septem viae*,<sup>1</sup> *septem solia* (divided into *maius* and *minus*, referring to the east and west ends), while the name *scuola di Vergilio* came from the fact that mediaeval scholars found in the *septodium* the *trivium et quadrivium liberalium artium*. The church of S. Lucia de *Septem solio* is first mentioned in Eins. (II. 5; 13. 28; HCh 305); another church, S. Leone de *Septem Soliis* stood opposite to it, on the slopes of the Caelian (HCh 297-298). The mediaeval history of the building, which served as a fortress, is interesting (Stevenson, BC 1888, 292-298; Bartoli, BA 1909, 253-269; LS iv. 137-139). Its destruction was completed by 14th September, 1588 (ASRSP 1910, 305).

The east angle of the building itself was preserved until the pontificate of Sixtus V who ordered its destruction, and the use of its materials for his own buildings. We learn from the records of its demolition that many columns, etc., of rare marbles had been employed in its construction, which probably came from various different sources. The columns of the three orders were all composite. We are therefore thrown back on the *Forma Urbis* (fr. 34) and the numerous Renaissance representations of the building for information about it; and hence there has been much discussion about its details, though its general form may be taken as certain (cf. the restorations of Dombart and Hülsen cited).

An interesting confirmation of Hülsen's reconstruction (here he is followed by Dombart) at the posterior angles (a wall instead of a fourth column) is given by a picture by Macrino d'Alba (dated 1496). See AA 1923-24, 41.

See Hülsen, *Das Septizonium des Severus* (46 Berlin. Winckelmannsprogramm 1886); id. *Zeitschr. Gesch. Archit.* 1911, 1-24; LS ii. 51-54; RL 1909, 540-551; Mitt. 1910, 56-73; DuP 110-113; Dombart, *Palatinische Septizonium zu Rom*, Munich 1922; RE ii. A. 1578-1586; FUR, frgt. 38—No. 34 does not belong (see DAP 2. xi. 107); HFP 75, 76.

**SEPULCRETUM**: the modern name given to the archaic necropolis found in April, 1902, near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina. It consisted of both cremation and inhumation graves (a considerable proportion of the latter those of children); and the pottery is very similar to that which is found in archaic cemeteries in the Alban hills.

MacIver comes to the conclusion (Villanovans and early Etruscans 73-93) that all the cremation burials in the forum belong to a people of Villanovan stock, and in date range from the twelfth or eleventh to the ninth century B.C.; that the inhumation burials are to be divided from them racially, and not chronologically, assigning them to the Picenes, i.e. the descendants of the local neolithic inhabitants, and, while beginning at the same period, appear to run down late in the

<sup>1</sup> i.e. *ἐπτά ὁδοί*, which shows that in Rome the common form in late times was not *Septizonium*, but *Septodium*.

seventh century B.C., the last tomb being G in Boni's list, which contained an imported Greek *lekythos* with figures of running dogs. As to the Esquiline cemeteries, which range from the ninth to the sixth centuries B.C., and have yielded practically nothing but inhumation graves, he treats it as still an open question whether the population is to be identified as Picene or as Etruscan; while in regard to the Villanovans, he does not accept the theory of Pigorini, Colini and others, who hold the Villanovans to be direct descendants of the inhabitants of the 'terremare'; and prefers to derive both from the Central European and Danubian stocks as distinct and parallel nations. Von Duhn, on the other hand (*Italische Gräberkunde* 415 sqq.), regards the cremation tombs of the forum as a good deal earlier than the inhumation tombs, while later than and not contemporary with the earliest tombs of the Alban hills; and Hülsen (*Mitt.* 1905, 95-115; *HC* 210-217) dates them from the ninth or eighth to the sixth century B.C.

See NS 1902, 96-111; 1903, 123-170, 375-427; 1905, 145-193; 1906, 5-46, 253-294; 1911, 157-190; *Atti* 499-514; *Mitt.* 1902, 92-94; 1905, 95-115; *BC* 1903, 33-42; *Mon. L.* xv. 273-314; *HC* 210-218. For other ancient cemeteries in Rome, cf. *Mon. L.* cit. passim; Modestov, *Introduction à l'histoire romaine*, Rome, 1907; MacIver, Von Duhn, *opp. cit.*

SEPULCRUM ACCAE LARENTIAE: the tomb of Acca Larentia in the Velabrum at the beginning of the Nova via, near the porta Romanula (Varro, *LL* vi. 24; *Cic. Ep. ad Brut.* i. 15; *Macrob.* i. 10. 15: *celeberrimo loco*; *Plut. Rom.* 5), beside which was an altar where sacrifices were offered by the pontifices on 23rd December (*HJ* 45; *RE* i. 132; *Gilb.* i. 56-58; cf. *Mommsen, Röm. Forsch.* ii. 3-5; *Rosch.* i. 5).

SEP. P. AELII GUTTAE CALPURNIANI: the tomb of a celebrated charioteer of this name of the time of Hadrian or the Antonines, on the via Flaminia just outside the porta Flaminia. The inscription was seen and copied by the compiler of the *Einsiedeln Itinerary* (*CIL* vi. 10047). When the square towers (*BC* 1877, 186) on the outside of the PORTA FLAMINIA were destroyed in 1876-1877, several large marble fragments of bas-relief with scenes from chariot races were found, which probably belonged to this tomb (*BC* 1877, 200-201; 1881, 176-179; 1911, 187-192; *Friedländer, Sittengeschichte* ii<sup>8</sup>. 505-525; *Bocconi, Mus. Cap.* 301).

SEP. AGRIPPAE: the tomb which Agrippa built for himself in the campus Martius<sup>1</sup> (*Cass. Dio liv.* 28; *Suet. Aug.* 97 probably). This is perhaps indicated by the remaining letters on fragments 72, 103 of the Marble Plan, and if so, the monument stood between the villa Publica and the *thermae Agrippae*, in the modern Via del Gesù (*HJ* 572; *Mitt.* 1903, 48-53).

<sup>1</sup> Some think it was called *monumentum Gai et Luci* at a later period (*Gardthausen, Augustus*, ii. 3. 737).

SEP. ANTINOI : see OBELISCUS ANTINOI.

SEP. ANTONINORUM : see MAUSOLEUM HADRIANI.

SEP. ARRUNTIORUM : the tomb of the family, freedmen and slaves, of L. Arruntius, consul in 6 A.D., consisting of three columbaria which were found in the eighteenth century on the south side of the present Viale della Principessa Margherita, a little more than 100 metres from the Porta Maggiore (CIL vi. 5931-5960; for a description of the monument,<sup>1</sup> see Ghezzi, *cod. Ottob.* 3108 ff., 185-198; BC 1882, 209; HJ 362).

SEP. BIBULI : the tomb of C. Publicius Bibulus, a plebeian aedile, erected (or very likely restored : see CP 1924, 78) in the last century of the republic by decree of the senate (CIL vi. 1319=i<sup>2</sup>. 834) at the base of the Capitoline hill, on the east side of the via Flaminia, about 100 metres north of the probable site of the porta Fontinalis. It was a rectangular structure of travertine, and tufa where the stone was not visible, consisting of a stereobate and upper portion. The façade (the south-west side), together with the beginning of the south-east side, is still preserved. Its stereobate is 4.76 metres high and 6.50 wide,<sup>2</sup> and above this are four Tuscan pilasters with a fragment of the entablature. The central space between the pilasters was probably a niche for a statue; the side spaces were closed and had projecting tablets for inscriptions. The frieze was decorated with garlands, rosettes and ox-skulls. The inscription was cut on the two upper courses of the stereobate and repeated on at least two sides (for full description, see Phil. 1867, 82-91; especially Delbrueck, *Hellenist. Bauten* ii. 1912, 37-41, and literature cited; Jord. i. i. 207; HJ 491; NS 1907, 411-414; TF 144).

SEP. CAESARIS : see TUMULUS IULIAE.

SEP. C. ET L. CAESARIS : a *μνημεῖον* or tomb of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, in which the body of Julia Domna was placed in 217 A.D. before being deposited in the mausoleum of Hadrian (Cass. Dio lxxviii. 24). This passage seems to prove that these two Caesars had a separate tomb and that their ashes were not placed in the mausoleum of Augustus.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, it is generally believed that a fragmentary inscription (CIL vi. 895=31195) containing a dedication to Lucius Caesar, although found in the wall of a private house near the Piazza Capranica, belonged to a statue of Lucius in the mausoleum of Augustus. Whatever be the explanation of the statue, it seems unreasonable to doubt the statement of Dio (HJ 572; Mitt. 1903, 53; Gilb. iii. 306).

SEP. CALPURNIORUM : the tomb of the Calpurnii Pisones of the early empire, discovered in 1885 in the Villa Bonaparte on the east side of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Piranesi, *Antichità di Roma*, ii. 7-15; Mem. Am. Acad. iv. 36, 37.

<sup>2</sup> 3.50 in NS cit. is a misprint. The whole of the stereobate was brought to light during the excavations of 1907 for the first time since the Roman period, but was soon covered up again, only the upper courses being left above ground.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 333, and p. 476, n. 1.

Via Salaria, about 100 metres south of the Porta Salaria (BC 1885, 101 ; Bull. d. Inst. 1885, 9-13, 22-30 ; CIL vi. 31721-31727).

SEP. C. CESTII : \* the tomb of a C. Cestius, possibly the praetor who is mentioned once by Cicero (Phil. iii. 26 ; cf. RE iii. 2005). In any case he died before Agrippa, 12 B.C. (CIL vi. 1375), and the monument dates from that period. It is a pyramid, standing in the angle between the Via Ostiensis and the street which skirted the south-west side of the Aventine, directly in the line of the later Aurelian wall close to the Porta Ostiensis. It is of brick-faced concrete covered with slabs of white marble, is 27 metres high and about 22 square, and stands on a foundation of travertine. In the interior is the burial chamber,<sup>1</sup> 5.95 metres long, 4.10 wide and 4.80 high. On the east and west sides, about halfway up, is the inscription recording the names and titles of Cestius, and below, on the east side only, another which relates the circumstances of the erection of the monument (CIL vi. 1374). In front of the west side two bases of statues were found in 1660,<sup>2</sup> each with an inscription recording its erection by the heirs of Cestius (CIL vi. 1375). In the Middle Ages this monument was called sepulcrum Remi (Petrarch, Ep. vi. 11 ; Poggio de var. Fortunae, Paris 1723, p. 7, ap. Urlichs 236 ; De Rossi, Piante pl. ii. 1), and meta or sepulcrum Romuli (Jord. ii. 430 ; BC 1914, 395 ; cf. also HJ 179-180 ; NA 1910, 193-204 ; Reber 540-542 ; Middleton ii. 284-286 ; DuP 137-139 ; RA 15, 16).

SEP. CINCIORUM : according to Varro (in Fest. 262) the tomb of the familia Cincia at the porta Romana infimo clivo Victoriae (cf. SEP. ACCAE LARENTIAE). Because of this tomb the locality was called statua Cincia, which indicates that the monument was ornamented with the statue of some one of the family (Jord. i. 1. 176, 178, 190).

SEP. CLAUDIORUM (so called) : a tomb at the base of the Capitoline hill on the west side of the via Flaminia, a little north of the tomb of Bibulus. There is no real reason for identifying it with the sepultura gentis Claudiae sub Capitolio (Suet. Tib. 1). See LF 22 ; HJ 471 ; NS 1889, 225 ; 1909, 8-10, 429 ; BC 1889, 437 ; 1909, 116 ; Capitolium, ii. 271-273.

SEP. C. CONSIDII GALLI : the tomb of C. Considius Gallus, praetor peregrinus some time in the early empire (CIL vi. 31705 ; RE iv. 913), found in 1883 just north of the line of the via Tiburtina vetus, and close to the intersection of the modern Via Mamiani and Via Principe Amedeo (NS 1883, 420 ; BC 1883, 223). It was rectangular, 5.30 metres by 4.10, with a façade of marble and side wall of travertine. The inscription was on the frieze.

SEP. CORNELIAE : the tomb of a certain Cornelia, daughter of one L. Scipio and wife of one Matienus, known only from an inscription found in 1871

<sup>1</sup> For the frescoes of Victories in the vault see Architettura ed Arti Dec. i. (1921-2), 339.

<sup>2</sup> When the bases were first found, a bronze foot still stood on one of them ; but it is now no longer in existence.



under the north tower of the porta Salaria (CIL vi. 1296; Bull. d. Inst. 1871, 115).

SEP. DOMITIURUM or monumentum Domitiorum (Suet. Nero 50): the tomb of the family of the Domitii on the Pincian, where the ashes of Nero were placed, in a sarcophagus of porphyry with an altar of Luna marble standing above it, all enclosed by a balustrade of Thasian marble (loc. cit.). This tomb stood on the north-west slope of the hill, probably in horti belonging to the Domitii, but in the Middle Ages it was thought to be at the foot of the hill. To exorcise the evil spirit of Nero, Paschal II (1099) built here a small chapel which became in the thirteenth century the church of S. Maria del Popolo (HJ 446; Arm. 319; BC 1877, 194; 1914, 376-377).<sup>1</sup>

SEP. EURYSACIS: the tomb of M. Vergilius Eurysaces, a baker, built apparently about the end of the republic, in the angle formed by the bifurcation of the via Praenestina and the via Labicana, just outside the arches of the aqua Claudia, which afterwards became the porta Praenestina of the Aurelian wall. It is trapezoidal, measuring 8.75, 6.85, 5.80 and 4.05 metres on its sides, of concrete with travertine facing. This facing takes the form of horizontal and vertical cylinders in rows, which possibly are designed to represent measures for grain or vessels for mixing dough (Mitt. 1886, 47). Above these cylinders is a cornice, and a frieze covered with reliefs representing the various operations of breadmaking. At the corners are pilasters, and the inscription is repeated on all sides of the monument (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 1203-1205=vi. 1958: est hoc monumentum Marcei Vergilei Eurysacis pistoris redemptoris: apparet<sup>2</sup>). The meaning of the last word is uncertain; it is certainly a verb, probably in the sense apparet magistratibus (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. cit.). The inscription of Atistia, no doubt his wife, was also found (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 1206=vi. 1958).<sup>3</sup> When Honorius restored the wall of Aurelian he erected two towers outside the PORTA PRAENESTINA (q.v.), one of which stood over this tomb, and concealed it from view. It must, however, have been partially accessible from the interior, for the inscriptions were partly read in the sixteenth century (CIL cit.; LS iii. 158; PBS i. 150). The towers were removed in 1838 and the tomb exposed to view, but the east side is almost wholly demolished (Jord. i. 1. 358; Grifi, Brevi cenni di un monumento scoperto a Porta Maggiore, 1838; Ann. d. Inst. 1838, 202-248; 1841, 123; Bull. d. Inst. 1838, 165-169; Reber 532-533; Caetani-Lovatelli, NA, 1 July 1908, 1-11=Passeggiare nella Roma antica 151-176; Homo, Aurélien 248-249; Rostowzew, Social and Economic History, 32).

SEP. FAUSTULI: see SEP. ROMULI.

<sup>1</sup> See also Town Planning Review, xi. (1924), 79, 80. The history of the foundation of S. Maria del Popolo is quite uncertain (HCh 358).

<sup>2</sup> This punctuation is adopted in Thes. LL.; cf. Plaut. Cist. 696.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. I. A. Richmond has noticed the letters P L over the door.

SEP. GALBAE: the tomb of Ser. Sulpicius Galba, consul in 144 or, more probably, 108 B.C., in the district belonging to the family between the south-west side of the Aventine and the Tiber, where the HORREA GALBAE (q.v.) were afterwards built. The tomb, a simple rectangular structure of tufa with a cornice of peperino, was found in 1885 in the Via Giovanni Branca, just north of the later buildings of the horrea and perhaps enclosed within them, on the south side of an ancient road (BC 1885, 165-166; NS 1885, 527; Mitt. 1886, 62, 71; HJ 175). It is now in the Museo Municipale (Antiquario) on the Caelian; see CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 695 = vi. 31617.

SEP. GAI ET LUCII: see SEP. C. ET L. CAESARIS.

SEP. GALLONIORUM: a tomb on the via Flaminia, of which a fragmentary inscription was found when the bastions outside the porta Flaminia were destroyed in 1876-1877. This inscription appears to contain the names of two Gallonii—C. Gallonius Q. Marcius Turbo and C. Gallonius Turbo—which indicates a relationship with Q. Marcius Turbo, who was praefectus praetorio under Hadrian (Pros. ii. 108, No. 30; NS 1878, 35; BC 1877, 251; 1881, 175, pls. xii., xiii.; CIL vi. 31714). It is possible that the core of a large circular tomb about 100 metres north of the porta Flaminia, which had been marked on Bufalini's plan, belonged to this tomb (BC 1911, 187-192).

SEP. GETAE: see SEP. SEVERI.

SEP. Q. HATERII: the tomb of a Q. Haterius, perhaps the orator who died in 26 A.D. (Pros. ii. 126. 17), on the via Nomentana. It was covered by one of the towers which Honorius built outside the porta Nomentana, and the excavations of 1827 brought to light fragments that showed it to have been a rectangular monument, surmounted with a sort of altar with volutes (CIL vi. 1426, and description cited from *Memorie Romane* iii. 456; HJ 383; Jord. i. 1. 344; PBS iii. 38; Homo, Aurélien 243-244; cf. HATERIUS LATRONIANUS, DOMUS).

SEP. HIRTII: the tomb of A. Hirtius, consul in 43 B.C. in the campus Martius (Liv. Epit. 119; Vell. ii. 62). Its exact location is unknown (cf. SEP. PANSAE).

SEP. HORATIAE: the tomb of Horatia, whom her brother Horatius slew just outside the porta Capena, known only from Livy's statement (i. 26: *Horatiae sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato*).

SEP. HORATHI: the tomb of the poet Horace, which, with that of Maecenas, is known only from the statement of Suetonius (vit. Hor. 20: *humatus et conditus est extremis Esquilii iuxta Maecenatis tumulum*).

SEP. IULIORUM: see TUMULUS IULIAE.

SEP. LUCILII PAETI: the tomb of a certain Lucilius Paetus, tribunus militum under Augustus (CIL vi. 32932), found in 1885 about 300 metres beyond the Porta Salaria. It was a round mausoleum, 34 metres in

diameter, on which stood, probably, a conical mound of earth about 17 metres high (NS 1885, 190; HJ 437-438).<sup>1</sup>

SEP. MARIAE: the tomb of Maria, daughter of Stilicho and wife of Honorius, and probably also of Honorius himself (Paul. Diac. hist. Langob. 13. 7: iuxta S. Petri apostoli atrium in mausoleo sepultus est), of Theodosius II and Valentinian III, built on the east end of the spina of the CIRCUS GAI ET NERONIS (q.v.), together with another circular mausoleum<sup>2</sup> of similar size. This was later known as S. Maria della Febbre, and was only demolished by Pius VI (DuP 38). The tomb of Maria contained eight niches on the inside, one of which served as an entrance. In the eighth century the body of S. Petronilla was transferred hither, and the tomb became known as the chapel of the Frankish kings. It was destroyed about 1520 during the building of the present church of S. Peter's, but the sarcophagus containing the remains of Maria with much treasure in gold and silver was found in 1544 (ILS 800; for the history of this mausoleum and of the discoveries made in it, see Cancellieri, de Secretariis basilicae Vaticanae 995-1002, 1032-1039; De Rossi, BCr 1863, 53 sq.; 1878, 140 sq.; Lanciani, Pagan and Christian Rome 201-205; LS iii. 240; Arm. 754-758; Mél. 1902, 388-394; BC 1914, 395; HCh 422-423; Tiberii Alpharani de basilicae Vaticanae structura, published by M. Cerrati, Studi e Testi, fasc. 26 (1914) 132-145; LPD i. 192, for large plan of S. Peter's and these mausolea; cf. also Rivoira, Lombardic Architecture, i. 82-84; Rohault de Fleury, BCr 1895, 41 sqq.

SEP. L. NONII ASPRENATIS: the tomb of L. Nonius Asprenas, either the consul of 6 A.D., or, more probably, his son who was consul in 29 A.D. (Pros. ii. 409-411). A few fragments probably of the marble frieze, with an inscription, were found when the east bastion on the outer side of the PORTA FLAMINIA (q.v.) was demolished in 1876-1877 (NS. 1877, 270; BC 1877, 247, pls. xx., xxxi.; 1881, 176; 1911, 190; CIL vi. 31689; HJ 463; Town Planning Review xi. (1924), 78).

SEP. NUMAE: the tomb of Numa, placed by tradition on the right bank of the Tiber (Fest. 173; Dionys. ii. 76. 6), sub Ianiculo (Solin. i. 21), in agro L. Petilii (Liv. xl. 29), haud procul a Fontis ara (Cic. de leg. ii. 56). The body of Numa was said to have been buried in one stone sarcophagus and his sacred books in another (Plut. Numa 22). The alleged discovery of the latter in 181 B.C. (Liv. loc. cit.; Val. Max. i. 1. 12) gave rise to great scandal. There is no indication of the exact location of the tomb or of the ager Petilii or of the ara Fontis.

SEP. OCTAVIAE: the tomb of a certain Octavia, daughter of M. Appius, discovered in 1616 at the corner of the Via Sistina and the Via di Porta Pinciana, on the line of the ancient street that issued from the Porta

<sup>1</sup> Lanciani (Pagan and Christian Rome, 284) has conjectured that the layer of earth under which it and other tombs in the neighbourhood had been buried in ancient times came from the excavation of the Forum of Trajan.

<sup>2</sup> Dedicated by Pope Symmachus to S. Andrew (HCh 190).

Quirinalis and ran northward. The tomb was of marble, with the inscription on the frieze (CIL vi. 23330 ; HJ 444 ; Richter 351).

SEP. ORESTIS: the tomb of Orestes, who, according to the Roman form of the tradition, was said to have died in Aricia and to have been buried in front of the temple of Saturn in Rome (Serv. Aen. ii. 116; Hyg. Fab. 261; Myth. Vat. ii. 202; Rosch. iii. 1014).

SEP. PALLANTIS: the tomb of Pallas, the celebrated freedman of Claudius, erected by the senate on the via Tiburtina intra primum lapidem (Plin. Ep. vii. 29; viii. 6. 1; cf. inscription on the tomb of M. Antonius Asclepiades Pallantis libertus, found at the porta Tiburtina (CIL vi. 11965)).

SEP. PANSÆ: the tomb of C. Pansa, consul in 43 B.C., in the campus Martius (Liv. Epit. 119; Vell. ii. 62). In 1899 a travertine block with a dedicatory inscription to Pansa was found at the corner of the Corso Vittorio Emanuele and the Vicolo Savelli (NS 1899, 435; BC 1899, 280-285<sup>1</sup>), and another sepulchral inscription of a Pansa, probably the grandson of the consul of 43, is reported to have been found about 400 metres from this point (CIL vi. 3542). The tomb, therefore, was probably somewhere north of the theatre of Pompeius (Mitt. 1903, 52; HJ 496).

SEP. PASSIENORUM: the tomb of the Passieni (Pros. iii. 14-15), found in 1705 in the Vigna Moroni, on the west side of the via Appia, not far north of the porta Appia. It contained many fragmentary inscriptions from the first two centuries (CIL vi. 7257-7280, 33248, 33249). For the description and reproduction of this tomb, see BC 1895, 164, 170, 184-188, and MSS. sources there cited; HJ 209; CIL vi. p. 3430; PBS vii. 7 sqq., Nos. 1-21.

SEP. POMPONII HYLÆ: a columbarium on the via Latina, just outside the porta Latina. In it is a panel in coloured mosaic, with the sepulchral inscription of Pomponius Hylas and his wife (CIL vi. 5552), but it is by no means certain that they owned or built the columbarium, which contains the ashes of persons entirely unconnected with Hylas or each other (CIL vi. 5539-5557). The tomb was built in the time of Tiberius, and the latest inscription (5554) belongs to a freedman of Antoninus Pius. The columbarium is of brick-faced concrete and in a good state of preservation (PBS v. 463-471, pls. xxxvii.-xlvi.; ZA 299-305; Architettura ed Arti Decorative i. (1921-2), 220 ff.).

SEP. ROMULI (1): the legendary sepulchre of Romulus in the comitium (Fest. 177: niger lapis in Comitio locum funestum significat, ut ali, Romuli morti destinatum, sed non usu ob<sup>2</sup>[venisse ut ibi sepeliretur, sed Fau]stulum nutri[cium eius, ut ali dicunt Hos]tilium avum Tu[lli Hostili Romanorum regis]). The schol. on Hor. Epod. xvi. 13, 14, state variously

<sup>1</sup> = CIL vi. 34048.

<sup>2</sup> The supplements are Müller's, but Lindsay (p. 185) points out that the correct reading is 'ob in' or 'ob im'.



that Romulus was buried *in* or *pro rostris* or *post rostra*; and in the former version two lions are mentioned as having stood by the tomb. Dion. Hal. i. 87 says that, according to one story, the lion (he mentions only one) which lay by the rostra stood over the body of Faustulus; while in iii. 1 he says that the father of Tullus Hostilius was buried here, with a stele to celebrate his virtues.

The discovery in 1899 opposite the front of the curia Iulia, and orientated with it, of a pavement of black marble slabs—they are *marmor Taenarium*—about 4 metres long by 3 wide, lying on the same level as the Caesarian pavement of the comitium, was naturally brought into connection with the niger lapis; and investigations were undertaken beneath it. A group of very ancient monuments was found, the chronological sequence of which is as follows: (1) an archaic inscribed four-sided cippus, the upper part of which has been broken off. It stands in a shallow hollow, cut for it in the surface of a pavement, but has been slightly displaced. It has given rise to much discussion; and the state of our knowledge with regard to the content of the text is summarised by Lommatszsch in CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 1. 'It seems,' he says, 'that it is a law or laws as to certain rites to be performed by the king or perhaps by those in attendance on the king in the comitium. To attempt to define it further would be useless, as we do not even know how much of the cippus is lost.' As to the date, he fixes it about 500 B.C., as being slightly later than the fibula of Praeneste (ib. 3). Cf. also AJP 1907, 249-272, 373-400. The freshness of the surface may be explained by the fact that it was covered with stucco.

(2) a conical column of tufa dating from the fifth century.

(3) the so-called *sacellum*—consisting of (a) a rectangular foundation of one course of tufa blocks, on which rest two bases, each 2.66 metres long and 1.31 broad; these support pedestals of tufa with curved profiles, probably to be reconstructed similarly to the altar of VERMINUS (q.v.). These pedestals might very well have supported the statues of recumbent lions. Between them is a block of stone, on which the original niger lapis may have stood. (b) another small platform of tufa blocks directly behind, with no trace of any superstructure. For the orientation of the sacellum, see ROSTRA. It dates probably from the latter half of the fourth century B.C.

Between this group of monuments and the black marble pavement there lay (a) a stratum of river sand and gravel 0.55 metre thick, (b) a layer, 0.40 metre thick, of earth and ashes, in which various objects of pottery, terra cotta and bronze were found (including even fragments of the black marble pavement), dating, not (as was at first announced), from the sixth century B.C., but from the sixth to the first century B.C., and mixed together in the utmost confusion. A full report upon them has not yet been published; but if there really was no stratification, they cannot have formed a *stips votiva*.

The original idea, that the destruction of these monuments dates from the fire of the Gauls, is therefore untenable; and it is doubtful whether the black marble pavement was laid by Sulla (so Van Deman in JRS 1922, 24), by Caesar<sup>1</sup> (in which case it is doubtful whether *niger lapis* would be a correct term for it, and the absence of any mention in the literature of the empire of so striking a monument is as strange as the fact that it does not correspond at all, in extent or orientation, with the monuments beneath), or by Maxentius, who is known to have revived the cult of Romulus, and indeed set up close by a base with the inscription 'Marti invicto patri et aeternae urbis suae conditoribus.' The rough edging of white marble blocks (and, perhaps, the diminution of the size of the black marble pavement) would date from an even later period.

See NS 1899, 151-169; 1900, 143-146; CR 1899, 232-233; 1900, 236; 1901, 85-87; 1904, 140; 1905, 77; Mitt. 1902, 22-31; 1905, 29-46; HC 103-109; Studniczka, OJ 1903, 129-155; 1904, 239, 244; Petersen, Comitium, Rostra, Grab des Romulus (Rome 1904); Pinza, Comizio Romano nell' Età repubblicana, Rome 1905; Richter, BRT iv. 5-13; Pl. 241-250; RE i. A. 1099-1102; Suppl. iv. 490, 491; JRS 1922, 7, 23-25; TF 61-66; DR 215-229; ZA 72; HFP 2-5.

SEP. ROMULI (2): see META ROMULI.

SEP. RUSTICELIORUM: the tomb of the Rusticelii, a monument of tufa and peperino, 30 feet square, dating from the end of the republic. It was completely covered by the TESTACEUS (q.v.) MONS, but was found in 1687 during some excavations in the side of the hill (CIL vi. 11534-11535; Ann. d. Inst. 1878, 177-180).

SEP. SCIPIONIS: the name sometimes applied at the beginning of the Renaissance (cf. Bufalini's plan; DAP 2. viii. 386) to the pyramidal monument between the mausoleum of Hadrian and the Vatican, which was more frequently called META ROMULI (q.v.). The ascription to Scipio was due to a scholion (Acron. in Hor. Epod. 9. 25): cum adversus Romanos denuo rebellarent consulto oraculo responsum est: ut sepulcrum Scipioni fieret quod Carthaginem respiceret. tunc levati cineres eius sunt de pyramide in Vaticano constituta et humati in portu Carthaginem respiciente. There is, of course, no ground for this identification.

SEP. SCIPIONUM: \* the family tomb of the Corneli Scipiones near the via Appia, about 400 metres south-east of the point where the via Latina branched off to the east, and at the intersection of a cross road that connected the two great viae. The importance of the family made this one of the most notable monuments of the kind in Rome (cf. Cic. Tusc. i. 13: an tu egressus porta Capena, cum Calatini Scipionum Serviliorum Metellorum sepulcra vides, miseros illos putes?). Ennius was buried in this tomb, and his marble statue erected by Africanus (Cic. pro Arch. 22; Plin. NH vii. 114; Suet. de poet. 8; Liv. xxxviii. 56).

<sup>1</sup> An argument adduced in favour of this view is the fact that it lies precisely in line with the door of the Curia.

The statues of Publius and Lucius Scipio are also said to have been placed in the tomb (Liv. loc. cit.).

As the Scipios regularly followed the practice of inhumation and not cremation (Cic. de legg. ii. 57), the tomb was filled with sarcophagi, arranged for the most part in loculi cut in the tufa rock. (It is probable that there was a quarry here before the tomb was made.) The tomb was opened early in the seventeenth century, and one sarcophagus, that of L. Scipio, consul in 259 B.C., was broken and its inscribed lid removed, but the final excavation of the monument was carried out in 1780 (Piranesi e Visconti, *Monumenti degli Scipioni*, Roma 1785 = Visconti, *Opere varie*, Milan 1827, i. 1-70; Nibby, *Roma Antica*, ii. 561-575). Many of the sarcophagi were then broken and their contents scattered (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. pp. 373-375), though Hülsen, to whom the description of the tomb in CIL cit. is due, considers that much of the damage had already been done in the fourth century; but one, that of L. Scipio Barbatus, consul in 298 B.C., and apparently the first to be buried there, was preserved and is now in the Vatican, together with portions of several others and their original inscriptions. These inscriptions (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 6-16=vi. 1284-1294) record the burial of eight members of the family, from Barbatus (vid. sup.) to Paulla Cornelia, wife of a certain Hispallus of unknown date but probably later than 150 B.C. (RE iv. 1600, No. 445). Some of them are written in the Saturnian metre and are extremely valuable for the history of Latin literature and phonology, but they are probably later than the date usually assigned to them. That of Barbatus, for instance, is probably not earlier than the second Punic war (Bücheler, *Carm. Lat. Epig.* i. Nos. 6-9; Wölfflin, *Bayr. Sitz.-Ber.* 1892, i. 188-219). Of the sarcophagi, that of Barbatus alone was decorated with a Doric entablature with Ionic volutes. The others were perfectly plain. See LR 323-329; HJ 210, 211 and reff.

The tomb has quite recently been completely cleared, and restored as far as possible to its original condition, facsimiles of the sarcophagus of Barbatus and of the inscriptions having been put in their proper places. Its façade lay on the cross-road already mentioned, and consisted of the natural rock, which had been hewn vertically and coated with plaster for a length of some 25 m. The paintings with which this façade was decorated are fragmentary. In it are two openings—the main entrance, the ancient form of which has completely disappeared, and what has generally been believed to be an arched doorway, but is far more likely to be a window. Within the rock are passages, originally quite regular, but much altered in the third and fourth centuries A.D. (when a house was built over the tomb, and the rock consequently needed reinforcement) as well as in modern days<sup>1</sup>: an idea of their original form may be

<sup>1</sup> Nibby, cit. 562, wrongly attributes the supporting walls entirely to modern reconstruction. The plan he gives of the tomb (engraved by Cottafavi) served as the basis of the plan in CIL cit.



gained from the restoration (p. 10) in *Ephemeris Dacico-Romana*, i. (1923), 1-56, which contains a careful account of the tomb before the recent excavations, with illustrations, and a plan which supersedes all previous ones. To the south-west of the tomb are rooms belonging to the house already mentioned (*Capitolium*, ii. 24-31 ; iii. 27-32 ; YW 1927).

**SEP. SEMPRONIORUM** : the tomb of the Sempronii, of the end of the republic, situated just outside the porta Sanqualis, at the upper end of the present Via Dataria. It was excavated in 1863 (*Bull. d. Inst.* 1864, 6), but the inscription had been known in the seventeenth century (*CIL* vi. 26152). The travertine façade on the clivus leading up to the gate had a plain arched entrance into the sepulchral chamber, which was cut in the tufa rock. The threshold was 2 metres above the pavement of the road, and over the doorway was a decorated frieze and cornice (*BC* 1876, 126-127, pl. xii. ; HJ 403).

**SEP. SEVERI** : an alleged tomb of Septimius Severus, known to us only from one passage (*Hist. Aug. Get.* 7 : *inlatusque est maiorum sepulcro, hoc est Severi, quod est in via Appia euntibus ad portam dextra, specie Septizonii extructum* ; HJ 218). Severus, Caracalla and Geta were, however, all buried in the MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN (q.v.), and the passage is interpolated (cf. **SEPTIZONIUM**).

**SEP. STATII CAECILII** : the tomb of the poet Statius Caecilius, near the Janiculum (*Suet. reliq. ed. Reiffers.* 26 : *iuxta Ianiculum sepultus*), of which nothing further is known.

**SEP. STATILIORUM** : the columbarium of the slaves and freedmen of the Statilii, and in particular of M. Statilius Taurus, consul in 44 A.D. and owner of the **HORTI TAURIANI** (q.v.). It was on the north side of the via Praenestina, about 100 metres inside the porta Praenestina (Maggiore), on the south-west side of the modern Viale Principessa Margherita.<sup>1</sup> Three chambers of this tomb were excavated in 1875-1877, and many inscriptions discovered which dated from Augustus to Claudius (*CIL* vi. 6213-6640 and p. 982 ; Brizio, *Pitture e sepolcri scoperte sull' Esquilino*, Roma 1876 ; NS 1877, 314-323 ; HJ 363 ; for other inscriptions found in adjacent sepulchral chambers, see *BC* 1880, 51-75 ; *CIL* vi. 33083-33190).

**SEP. SULLAE** : the tomb of the dictator L. Cornelius Sulla, erected in the campus Martius, by order of the senate (*Liv. Epit.* 90 ; *Plut. Sulla* 38 ; *App. BC* i. 106 ; *Lucan* ii. 222, *medio campo*), and restored by Caracalla (*Cass. Dio lxxvii.* 13). Its site is unknown (HJ 492).

**SEP. Q. SULPICII MAXIMI** : the tomb of Q. Sulpicius Maximus, who died at the age of eleven years, after having won the first prize in extemporaneous verse at the third celebration of the *ludi Capitolini* in 95 A.D. (*CIL* vi. 33976). It was found in 1871 in the interior of the east tower of the Porta Salaria, which had been built over it (*Bull. d. Inst.* 1871, 98-113 ;

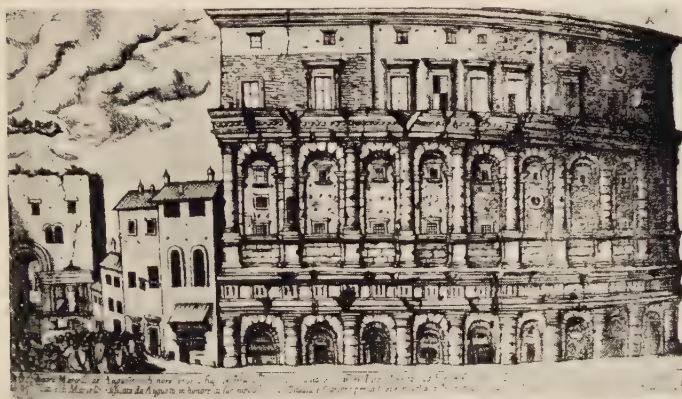
<sup>1</sup> The name has recently been changed to Viale Principe di Piemonte.





#### 47 SERAPIS, TEMPLUM

*After an engraving by ALÒ GIOVANNOLI, 1615 (p. 487)*



#### 48 THEATRUM MARCELLI

*After an engraving by ALÒ GIOVANNOLI, 1615 (p. 514)*



49 SESSORIUM, APSE BELONGING TO (p. 488)



50 THERMAE ANTONINIANAE, LOOKING NORTH-WEST (p. 522)

Visconti, Il sepolcro del fanciullo Q. Sulpicius Maximus, Rome 1871 ; Lanciani, Pagan and Christian Rome 280-282 ; Cons. 149).

SEP. C. SULPICI PLATORINI: the family tomb of C. Sulpicius Platorinus, triumvir monetalis in 18 B.C., on the right bank of the Tiber, close to the end of the pons Agrippae and just inside the later Aurelian wall, excavated in 1880 (NS 1880, 129-138 ; 1883, 372 ; 1896, 467-469 ; BC 1880, 136-138 ; Mitt. 1889, 286 ; HJ 650). It was a rectangular structure, 7.44 metres long and 7.12 wide, with the entrance on the west ; the stylobate and front part of the walls were of travertine, the inner walls of brick-faced concrete, and the pavement of white mosaic. In the niches were cinerary urns with inscriptions, and on the pavement were found two statues of heroic size and a bust. The inscriptions found in the tomb date from the time of Augustus to that of the Flavians (CIL vi. 31761-31768 a). It has been reconstructed in the Museo Nazionale Romano (BA 1911, 365 ; PT 68, 71, 242).

SEP. TITI TATII: the tomb of Titus Tatius in the LAURETUM (q.v.), on the Aventine (Varro, LL v. 152 ; Fest. 360), near the Armilustrium (Plut. Rom. 23). It was the seat of a cult (Dionys. iii. 43 ; HJ 162).

SEP. VALERIORUM: see DOMUS VALERIORUM.

SERAPEUM: see ISIS IN CAMPO MARTIO.

SERAPIS, AEDES \* (templum, Not.): a temple in Region VI (Not., which puts it next to the AEDES SALUTIS, q.v.), built by Caracalla according to the testimony of a monumental inscription (CIL vi. 570=30796 ; cf. Hist. Aug. Carac. 9) confirmed by that of two others (IG xiv. 1024 ; CIL vi. 573=30797 ; cf. NS 1909, 80). The first of these was found near the ruins of the great temple in the gardens of the Palazzo Colonna (Ill. 47), and the third not far away, while traces of the cult of Serapis are not infrequent on this part of the Quirinal (HJ 423 ; BC 1914, 374) ; some recently discovered remains have characteristic Severan brick-facing (YW 1926-7, 103), while the plan of the temple is itself Egyptian in character. We must therefore believe that these ruins were those of the temple of Serapis (for the literature of this identification and a description of the ruins, see *TEMPLUM SOLIS AURELIANI*). See Lafaye, *Divin. d'Alex.* (1884), 200-229 ; RE i. A. 2417.

SESSORIUM: a building of unknown origin, situated at the extreme south-east of Region V, adjoining the amphitheatrum Castrense. It was earlier than the Aurelian wall which cut through it, but is not mentioned before that time unless the emendation Σεσσώριον for Σηστέριον in Plutarch, Galba 28, is admitted (Becker, *de Romae veteris muris* 120 ; De Rossi, *Roma sotterranea* iii. 408). From the beginning of the sixth century it appears as Sessorium in the *Excerpta Valesiana* 69 (Mommson, *Chron. min.* i. 324 : in palatio quod appellatur Sessorium), and in certain scholia (Pseudoacron. in Hor. Epod. 5. 100 ; Sat. i. 8. 11, 14 ; Comm. Cruq. ad locc. citt.), where paupers and criminals are said to have been buried



outside the porta Esquilina or on the Esquiline *in qua est Sessorium*, although this building was at least 1400 metres from the gate. That part of the building which was outside the Aurelian wall was destroyed, but the extensive inner section became an imperial residence by the beginning of the fourth century, and Helena, the mother of Constantine, lived here. Hence it was called palatium Sessorianum (LP. vit. Silves. 22 ; LPD i. 179, 196, n. 75).

Constantine converted one of the halls of the palace<sup>1</sup> into the church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, and placed in it the fragments of the true cross which Helena brought from Jerusalem. This hall was 34.35 metres long, 21.75 wide and 20 high, with five open arches on each side and windows above, and resembled closely the so-called templum Sacrae Urbis of Vespasian both in construction and scheme of decoration. Constantine walled up the arches and added the apse at the east end, but the columns were not set up until the eighth century. North of the church are the remains of another hall of the Sessorium, consisting of the apse with external buttresses, added almost immediately after its construction, and the start of the nave, probably belonging to the time of Maxentius (Ill. 49). This hall was intact down to the sixteenth century and was erroneously called templum Veneris et Cupidinis (RA 147-152). In 1887 further remains of a building of about 100 A.D. were found on this spot (NS 1887, 70, 108 ; BC 1887, 100). For further description of the Sessorium, see LR 399 ; Ann. d. Inst. 1877, 371 ; Mon. L. i. 490-492 ; HJ 249-250 ; LS iii. 163-164 ; Arm. 795-800 ; Becker Top. 556-557 ; SR i. 248 ; HCh 243 ; BC 1925, 278.

AB SEX ARIS : an unknown locality mentioned in two inscriptions in connection with argentarii, nummularii and sarcinatores (CIL vi. 9178, 9884).

SICILIA : apparently an apartment in the imperial palace on the Palatine (Hist. Aug. Pert. 11 : ingressique porticus Palati usque ad locum qui appellatur Sicilia et Iovis cenatio). Sicilia has sometimes been identified with the porticus, and Iovis cenatio, which would naturally be applied to a dining room, with the so-called triclinium of the DOMUS FLAVIA (q.v.), but these identifications are purely arbitrary.<sup>2</sup> It is not even clear whether both names belong to one apartment or to different rooms in the same part of the palace (HJ 89 ; BC 1914, 99-100).

SICININUM : a local designation for the site on the Esquiline now occupied by S. Maria Maggiore. Whether it was the name of a street, square, or complex of buildings, is uncertain, as well as its derivation and meaning. It is possible that CICINENSES (q.v.) may be connected with it (CIL vi. 9103=31895 ; BC 1891, 347 ; BCr 1864, 59 ; HJ 336). Sicininum occurs

<sup>1</sup> P. Whitehead's theory is that the original basilica is the hall behind at a lower level and that the present church was only placed in the larger hall in the Middle Ages.

<sup>2</sup> Hülsen has suggested that its name may be derived from its triangular shape.



in an inscription found in the forum in 1899, which contains a copy of an edict issued by Tarracius Bassus, praefectus urbi, shortly after 368 A.D. (NS 1899, 335 ; BC 1899, 230-233 ; Klio ii. 270), twice in the LP (D. i. 171, vit. Silvest. 3 : in Sicinini regione, cf. p. 188, n. 11 ; i. 233, vit. Xysti 3 : domum Claudii in Sicininum), and in other ecclesiastical writers of the period in slightly variant forms (Rufin. hist. eccl. ii. 10 ; Socrates hist. eccl. iv. 49 ; Hieron. ad a. Abr. 2382).<sup>1</sup> There is some doubt as to the date of the present church of S. Maria Maggiore, but the latest authority assigns the nave and its mosaics to Pope Liberius, while the mosaics of the triumphal arch belong to the restoration of Sixtus III. (Wilpert, Mal. u. Mos. 412 sqq.). In this case the basilica Sicinini, where Christian worship was held in 367 (Amm. Marcell. xxvii. 3. 13 : constatque in basilica Sicinini ubi ritus christiani est conventiculum uno die reperta cxxxvii cadavera peremptorum), which was the same as the basilica Liberiana (BCr 1871, 20 ; HJ 336, n. 34), would be the new building erected by Pope Liberius (352-366), not an apartment in an existing Sicininum adapted by him to this purpose. Contrast, however, Arm. 226 ; HJ 336 ; HCh 342 ; BA 1915, 20, 136. Basilica Sicinini also occurs in Codex Vaticanus 496, where the documents relating the struggle described by Ammianus (loc. cit.) are collected (BCr 1871, 20-21).

**SIGILLARIA** : a quarter in Rome where the sigillaria, or small images used as presents on the last days of the Saturnalia (also called Sigillaria), were made and sold (Gell. ii. 3. 5 ; v. 4. 1 ; Suet. Claud. 5<sup>2</sup> ; Nero 28. 2 ; Dig. xxxii. 102. 1). Its location is unknown.

**SIGNUM AESCULAPII** : see **AEDES AESCULAPII**.

**SIGNUM VORTUMNI** : the statue of the Etruscan deity Vortumnus, which stood from very early times in the Vicus Tuscus behind the temple of Castor (Varro, LL v. 46 ; Liv. xlv. 16. 10 ; Cic. in Verr. i. 154 and Asc. ad loc. (Or. p. 199) ; Prop. iv. 2. 1-10 ; Hor. Epist. i. 20. 1 and Porphy. ad loc. ; cf. Plaut. Curc. 481-482). Popular etymology derived the name 'a verso amne' (Prop. iv. 2. 10 ; Ov. Fast. vi. 410), as the god was believed to have checked the inundation of the Tiber at this point (Jord. i. 1. 126-127 ; i. 2. 373 ; HC 13, 164 ; Thédénat 145, 174 ; Gilb. i. 103-104). In 1549 a pedestal with the inscription : Vortumnus temporibus Diocletiani et Maximiani (CIL vi. 804 ; LS ii. 204-205), was discovered in the Vicus Tuscus near the temple of Castor, which may have belonged to a late restoration of the original statue (cf. ad Vortumnum on an inscription in the crypt of S. Peter's, CIL vi. 9393).<sup>3</sup>

**SILVANUS, SACELLA** : shrines of the essentially rustic deity Silvanus (WR 2. 13), erected by private individuals or collegia in Rome during the empire,

<sup>1</sup> The sepulchral inscription of a Jewish γραμματεὺς σεκρήνων may also contain the name in a corrupt form (NS 1920, 148 ; BC 1922, 214).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also ib. 16. 4. Gellius refers to it also as a place where books were sold.

<sup>3</sup> In Jord. i. 2. 373 it is wrongly cited as 9394.

several of which have been located by the discovery of inscriptions (Rosch. iv. 854-857). These are :

(1) in Region III (probably), in the via Merulana, near the so-called Auditorium Maecenatis (CIL vi. 30930).

(2) in Region V, near the Lateran (vi. 580).<sup>1</sup>

(3) in Region V, near the present railway station and that part of the Servian agger which was called monte della Giustizia before its removal (vi. 3716=31013, 3697=30940 ; BC 1873, 89).

(4) in Region VI, near the south-east corner of the thermae Constantinianae, on the site of the present Banca d'Italia (vi. 31020-31022 ; NS 1887, 108-109 ; BC 1887, 162 ; HJ 420).

(5) in Region VI, near the hemicycle on the south-west side of the thermae Diocletiani (vi. 3714=31007).

(6) in Region VI in the horti Sallustiani, near the porta Pinciana, in the via Ludovisi (vi. 310,<sup>2</sup> 583, 640,<sup>3</sup> 30985, 31025 ; BC 1887, 223-224 ; 1888, 402 ; NS 1887, 275. To this shrine may refer Hist. Aug. Tac. 17. 1 : in templo Silvani), probably under the title Silvanus custos.

(7) in Region IX, on the site of the present church of S. Marco (vi. 626).<sup>4</sup>

(8) in region XII, near the north-west side of the thermae Antoninianae, on the slope below S. Balbina (vi. 543, 659 ; HJ 189 ; Merlin 324).

(9) in Region XIV, near S. Cosimato (vi. 692).

(10) in Region XIV, between the ponte Sisto and the Villa Farnesina (vi. 31024 ; BC 1880, 133 ; NS 1880, 141).

(11) in Region XIV, in the horti Caesaris (vi. 642 (A.D. 97), 31015 ; Rosch. iv. 866 ; HJ 646).

Five other inscriptions (vi. 576, 589, 610, 656, 679) clearly refer to shrines of which the location is unknown ;<sup>5</sup> while others contain no indication of any shrine, but belong apparently to statues only (Rosch. iv. 856-857 ; cf. Plin. NH xv. 77 : simulacrum Silvani (ante aedem Saturni)). These are : (1) in Region VI, at the north-west corner of the thermae Diocletiani, near S. Susanna (vi. 635=30805) ; (2) in Region VI, on the Pincian near the Villa Medici (vi. 623 ; HJ 446)<sup>6</sup> ; (3) in Region XIII, on the Aventine near S. Saba (vi. 673, 31012=EE iv. 755 ; BC 1878, 29) ; (4) in Region XIII, within the limits of the emporium (vi. 3710=31002, 3718=31018 ; BC 1872, 140, 166).

<sup>1</sup> The provenance of this inscription is quite uncertain, as it was first recorded as seen in the Campana collection. It is now in Paris (CIL vi. p. 3005).

<sup>2</sup> There is some uncertainty as to its provenance ; cf. CIL vi. p. 3004 ; IG xiv. 1000.

<sup>3</sup> The provenance is equally uncertain, as the inscription was first copied in the house of Paolo Capranica in the fifteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> This inscription was used in the pavement of the church, so that its original provenance is quite uncertain.

<sup>5</sup> CIL vi. 657, 658, found near the Via Ostiensis in an estate of the Mattei, probably come from Grotta Perfetta, a mile to the south-east of S. Paolo fuori le Mura.

<sup>6</sup> See HORTI ACILIORUM.

SOL (ET LUNA), AEDES : an ancient shrine of Sol in the circus Maximus (Tac. Ann. xv. 74 : *vetus aedes apud circum* (see DAP 2. vi. 266, for an explanation) ; Tert. de spect. 8 : *circus Soli principaliter consecratur : cuius aedes medio spatio et effigies de fastigio aedis emicat*). The statue referred to by Tertullian probably represented the god as driving his chariot. The shrine was inside the circus, and may be represented on the Maffei relief (Cod. Vat. 3439, f. 58),<sup>1</sup> and on coins of Philippus Arabus (Cohen, v. 138, Nos. 12-13), where the marking has usually been thought to indicate that of Murcia. The templum Solis et Lunae of the Notitia (Reg. XI) is undoubtedly this temple, and it is so called in the calendars, where the day of dedication is given as 28th August (Fast. Praen. Philoc. ad v Kal. Sept., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 239, 270, 315 ; HJ 115 ; WR 315 ; Rosch. iv. 1139 ; RE iii. A. 903-905). For a theory that the temple mentioned by Tacitus as *apud* (near) the circus is to be identified with the so-called temple of Portunus, see ZA 248-250.

The original church of S. Maria del Sole lay, however, near Tor de' Specchi (Panciroli, Tesori Nascosti (ed. 2), 78, copied by Bruti ap. Arm. 611) and it was only a little before 1650 that the miraculous Madonna was transferred to S. Stefano delle Carrozze.

SOL, TEMPLUM (fanum, Vict. ; *ναὸς Ἡλίου*, Anon.) : \* a temple built by Aurelian after his return from the east in 273, and famous for its magnificence (Hist. Aug. Aur. i. 3 ; 25. 6 ; 39. 2 ; Aur. Vict. Caes. 35. 7 ; Zos. i. 61). Among its treasures were many jewels and much gold (Hist. Aug. Aur. 39. 6 ; Eutrop. ix. 15), a silver statue of Aurelian (Hist. Aug. Tac. 9. 2), jewelled robes (id. Aur. 28. 5), and a painting of Aurelian and Ulpius Crinitus (id. Aur. 10. 2 ; cf. Firm. 3. 4). The Sol worshipped in this temple was probably a synthesis of several oriental Ba'alim (Rosch. iv. 1147-1148 ; cf. Watzinger and Wulzinger, Damaskus 38 (and Addenda 8\*). In connection with the temple was a porticus (Hist. Aug. Aur. 35. 3), in which were stored the *vina fiscalia* (ib. 48. 4 : *in porticibus templi Solis vina fiscalia ponuntur*) that had been brought from the CICONIAE NIXAE (q.v.), cf. CIL vi. 1785 = 31931 ; cf. PORTICUS GORDIANI). The last reference to it in antiquity is in the sixth century (Anon. de Antiq. Cpl. iv. 66, ed. Banduri) when eight of the porphyry columns were sent to Constantinople for the church of S. Sophia (see in general HJ 453-456 ; Rosch. iv. 1146-1149 ; Richter 263-265).

This temple was in Region VII (Not.), and in campo Agrippae (Chron. 148 : *templum Solis et castra*<sup>2</sup> in campo Agrippae dedicavit), but its exact site has occasioned much discussion. In the gardens of the Palazzo Colonna considerable remains of a great temple were standing in the sixteenth century, consisting principally of part of the cella wall of peperino and the north (right) corner of the façade and pediment. This was known as the Torre Mesa, Torre di Mecenate, and Frontispizio di Nerone ; LR, fig. 166 from Duperac, Vestigi, pl. 31 (1575). Part of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mitt. 1890, 152.

<sup>2</sup> The CASTRA URBANA (q.v.) ; cf. FORUM SUARIUM.



these ruins were removed at the end of the fifteenth century, and more between 1549 and 1555, but the final destruction of the Torre itself was not effected until about 1630 (LS iii. 203-205, and earlier references there given). Numerous drawings and plans of these ruins are extant, made by the architects and artists of the period, from Sangallo<sup>1</sup> (Barb. 63<sup>v</sup>, 65, 65<sup>v</sup>, 68<sup>v</sup>) in the fifteenth century to Giovannoli (Ill. 47) and Donati in the early seventeenth (for list see HJ 422, n. 79; LS loc. cit.; DuP 141)<sup>2</sup>; the plans, however, by their differences in detail show that they have been arbitrarily filled in. The building stood on the edge of the hill, on the west side of the present Via della Consulta, and extended due east and west, with a great flight of steps leading from the platform at the rear of the cella to the plain some 20 metres below. This flight was curiously built, being divided into double narrow rows of steps on each side of a central space. The temple area was surrounded with a wall containing niches but not with the usual porticus. The cella was built of peperino lined with marble, and was surrounded by marble columns in front and on the sides. The shafts of these columns were 17.66, the capitals 2.47, and the entablature 4.83 metres in height. The corner of the pediment now lying in the Colonna gardens is the largest architectural fragment in Rome, its dimensions being 3.70 by 2.80 by 3.90 metres, and its weight 100 tons. This temple has been identified with that of Sol by some scholars, who would include its site in Region VII and interpret in campo Agrippae (v. sup.) very broadly, as for example by Lanciani (BC 1894, 297-307; 1895, 94-101) in opposition to those (Mitt. 1888, 98; Rhm 1894, 393-396; BC 1895, 39-59; NS 1907, 680; 1908, 172, 231-233; HJ 453-456; cf. BC 1914, 374; Mem. L. 5. xvii. 528-532; D'Esp. Mon. ii. 172-175; Fr. i. 62-64; Fiechter and Hülsen ap. Toeb. i. 73-84; RE iii. A. 907-912) who believe that this was the temple of SERAPIS (q.v.).

The latter point out that the plan corresponds with that of an Egyptian temple of the new kingdom, its essential parts being an almost square court with a portico, a broad shallow hall on its west side, and three rectangular cellae behind it. They note that the architectural detail is very similar to that of the Hadrianeum.

If we accept this view, the temple of Sol lay north of the campus Agrippae. Here, on the east side of the Corso between the Via S. Claudio and the Via Frattina, have been found tufa and peperino walls, granite columns and other architectural remains<sup>3</sup> (for those found under the church of S. Silvestro in Capite, see PT 62), and a drawing of Palladio, of the sixteenth century (BC 1894, pls. xii.-xiv.), represents a building on this site which consists of two adjacent enclosures running north and south. One of these has apsidal ends and is 90.50 metres

<sup>1</sup> His plan is the only one that is trustworthy.

<sup>2</sup> Add Meded. Nederl. Hist. Inst. vii. 1927, 89-92.

<sup>3</sup> It has recently been asserted that they cannot be later than about 230 A.D. (Zeitschr. f. Gesch. d. Archit. viii. (1924), 73).



long and 42.70 wide; the other is rectangular and 126 metres long and 86.38 wide. These enclosures occupy the space from the Piazza S. Silvestro to the Via Borgognona, and are identified with the porticus templi Solis (v. supra) (Toeb. 108-112), while the temple itself is supposed to have extended further north, although no traces of any sort have been found north of the Via Frattina; cf. Pl. 476, 492.

SOL ELAGABALUS: see ELAGABALUS.

SOL MALACHBELUS (BELUS): a shrine of the tutelary god of the city of Palmyra, whose cult was established in Rome by the Palmyrenes before the introduction of Sol by Aurelian, certainly before 102 A.D., and perhaps in the Flavian period. The evidence for this cult is epigraphical (CIL vi. 50-52, 709, 710 (=30817: Cap. Mus. Cat. p. 47, No. 1), 31034, 31036; IG xiv. 971, 972; cf. Zos. i. 61: 'Ηλίου καὶ Βήλου ἀγάλματα) and indicates a site on the right bank of the Tiber, on the Via Portuensis, near the limits of the city (HJ 646; Rosch. iv. 1147, 1150; WR 363).

SPES, TEMPLUM NOVUM: a temple in Region VII, known only from Not. (templum duo nova Spei et Fortunae: om. Cur.; HJ 465; Jord. ii. 7-8).

SPES, AEDES: a temple in the forum Holitorium, built and dedicated by A. Atilius Calatinus during the first Punic war (Cic. de leg. ii. 28; de nat. deor. ii. 61 (if Spes is to be read here instead of Fides); Tac. Ann. ii. 49; HJ 508-509; Rosch. iv. 1296). It was struck by lightning in 218 B.C. (Liv. xxi. 62. 4), burned in 213 and restored the following year by a special commission (Liv. xxv. 7. 6; cf. xxiv. 47. 15-16), and burned again in 31 (Cass. Dio l. 10. 3: ναὸς Ἑλπίδος). Germanicus dedicated the temple in 17 A.D. (Tac. Ann. ii. 49), necessarily after a restoration, but it is altogether improbable that Augustus failed to repair the damage of 31 B.C., and it is to him that Frank (who identifies it with the southern temple) attributes the existing structure. In 179 B.C. M. Fulvius built a porticus post Spei a Tiberi ad aedem APOLLINIS MEDICI (q.v.)—so the editors: Frank prefers the MS. reading post Spei ad Tiberim, i.e. the temple of Spes near the Tiber (Liv. xl. 51. 6; cf. DAP 2. vi. 246). The day of dedication was 1st August (Fast. Arv. Vall. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 104, ad Kal. Aug., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 214, 240, 248, 323; Praen. NS 1897, 421; EE ix. 740).

There is no further mention of this temple, but it is probably the middle and largest of the three of which the ruins now exist beneath the church of S. Nicola in Carcere and belong for the most part to the period of the republic. It was about 30 metres long and 10 wide, of the Ionic order, and amphiprostyle hexastyle. A lofty flight of steps, twelve or thirteen in number, led up to the pronaos, and in the middle of these steps was a long pedestal. Three of the fluted columns of travertine, 8.70 metres in height and 6.90 in diameter, are built into the façade, while portions of the cella wall and of other columns have been incorporated in other parts of the church (for the description of

these remains and the literature, see Delbrueck, *Die drei Tempel am forum Holitorium*, Rome 1903; *Hellenistische Bauten* ii. 43<sup>1</sup>; Gött. Gel. Anz. 1904, 561-563; Mitt. 1906, 191; HJ 511-514; TF 126-130).

**SPES VETUS**: an ancient shrine on the Esquiline which is mentioned twice in connection with the legendary victory of Horatius over the Etruscans in 477 B.C. (Liv. ii. 51. 2; Dionys. ix. 24). Nothing further is known of the temple (HJ 365; Rosch. iv. 1296; Becker, Top. 551), but it gave its name 'ad Spem veterem' to its immediate vicinity, the district just inside the later Porta Praenestina, where several aqueducts met (cf. Hist. Aug. Elag. 13: *hortos Spei veteris*; see **HORTI VARIANI**). It was the highest point on the east side of the city, and was therefore selected for the entry of almost all the aqueducts (LA passim; HJ 364, 365; LS iii. 157; PBS i. 150).

Ad Spem veterem is described by Frontinus (de aquis i. 5) as being in *confinio HORTORUM TORQUATIANORUM ET [EPAPHRODITIA]NORUM* (q.v.) (see **AQUA APPIA**); here branches of the aqua Iulia and the aqua Claudia diverged to the Caelian (ib. 19, 20; cf. 21; ii. 65, 76, 87). For a 'sutor a spem (*sic*) vetere' cf. CIL xv. 5929.

**SPINO**: a brook in Rome, mentioned only once (Cic. de nat. deor. iii. 52: in *augurum precatatione Tiberinum, Spinonem, Almonem, Nodinum alia propinquorum fluminum nomina videmus*), and sometimes identified with that which flowed down through the Subura, across the forum and Velabrum to the Tiber, and was afterwards converted into the cloaca Maxima (LA 230, pl. ii.; Mon. L. xv. 275; LR 29). This identification is arbitrary (cf. **NODINUS**).

**SPOLIARIUM**: a building in Region II (Not.), evidently very near the Colosseum, in which the dead bodies of gladiators were stripped of their armour (Hist. Aug. Comm. 18, 19; cf. Sen. Ep. 93. 12).

**STABULUM**: the name of some one of the imperial buildings on the Palatine (Hist. Aug. Carin. 19: *ludos populo Romano novis ornatos spectaculis dederunt quos in Palatio circi porticum stabuli pictos vidimus*). Location and use are unknown (cf. HJ 107), and the whole may be an invention of the writer (SHA 1916, 7. A, 13).

**STABULA FACTIONIS PRASINAE**: see **STABULA IIII FACTIONUM**.

**STABULA IIII FACTIONUM**:\* the stables of the four companies (*factiones*), which owned and managed the horses for races in the circus (Tac. Hist. ii. 94: *ipse sola perdendi cura stabula aurigis extruere*). To these four, distinguished by their colours, *albata*, *russea*, *prasina*, *veneta*, Domitian added two more, *purpurea*, *aurata*, but these did not last long, and about the beginning of the fourth century two, *albata* and *russea*, were merged in the *veneta* and *prasina* (RE vi. 1954-1957, and literature there).

<sup>1</sup> Here he accepts Wissowa's conclusions in Gött. Gel. Anz. cit. and makes the Doric temple that of Juno Sospita instead of Janus (*sic*: for, as a fact, he had previously identified it as that of Spes). See **IANUS**, **IUNO SOSPIA**, **AEDES** (1).

cited).<sup>1</sup> The *Notitia* gives their number in the fourth century as eight, and the *Curiosum* as six, which is therefore correct. These stabula were in the southern part of the *campus Martius*, near the *circus Flaminius* in Region IX. They were probably near each other but quite separate, and although the others are often mentioned in literature and inscriptions (CIL vi. 10045, 10047-10051, 10055, 10057, 10059-10060, 10062, 10063, 10065, 10069, 10071-10074, 10076, 10077) that of the *factio prasina* is the only one that can be approximately located. This became the principal company in the first century and was favoured by the emperors, especially Caligula, who dined and slept in its stable, and constructed a magnificent stall of marble with an ivory manger for his favourite stallion *Incitatus* (Suet. Cal. 55; Cass. Dio lix. 14). The presence of the name in that of the church, S. Lorenzo in Prasino (HCh 284), and the discovery of inscriptions (CIL vi. 10044, 10054, 10058, 10061, 10067) prove that this stable was in the immediate neighbourhood of the *Cancellaria* (HJ 595). Remains of a frescoed court found under the *Palazzo Regis*, east of the *Cancellaria*, may well have belonged to this building, and also an inscribed lead pipe, which was not, however, found in situ (CIL xv. 7254). With it was found a pipe inscribed *L. Hermoni Iusti* (ib. 7468).

Both appear to belong to the middle or end of the first century A.D. (NS 1886, 419; 1899, 387; BC 1886, 393; 1887, 10; 1899, 257; Mon. L. i. 545; Mem. L. 5. xvi. 762-770). Lanciani (BC 1899, 113) believes that the bronze *Hercules* in the *Rotunda* of the Vatican and the *Hercules* and *Telephus* of the *Museo Chiaramonti* originally stood here (HF 108, 293), but not the *Belvedere torso* (ib. 124). The funerary inscription (CIL vi. 9709=ILS 7509) set up in his own lifetime by a *nummularius de basilica Iulia*, who ends by saying '*hic in iiii stabulis agitavit nunq(uam)*,' may perhaps be paralleled with the conclusion of *Trimalchio's* proposed inscription '*nec unquam philosophum audivit*' (Eranos, 1924, 149-150).

**STADIUM AUGUSTI**: a temporary wooden structure erected by Augustus in the *campus Martius* in 28 B.C. in which he celebrated the battle of *Actium* with gymnastic contests (Cass. Dio liii. 1).

**STADIUM CAESARIS**: a temporary stadium constructed by Caesar in the *campus Martius* for the athletic games which he celebrated in 46 B.C. (Suet. Caes. 39).

**STADIUM PALATINUM**: see *DOMUS AUGUSTIANA* (p. 162).

**STADIUM DOMITIANI**: the stadium which Domitian built in the *campus Martius* for athletic contests (Suet. Dom. 5; Eutrop. vii. 23; Chron. 146; Hieron. ad a. Abr. 2105; Not. Reg. IX). After the *Colosseum* was injured by fire in 217, it was used for several years for gladiatorial combats (Cass. Dio lxxviii. 25). Its arcades were occupied by brothels (Hist. Aug. Elag. 26) as were those of the *circus Maximus*. The stadium was restored

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Leclercq in Cabrol. Dict. i. 531; iii. 2097; Friedländer, *Sittengesch.* ii<sup>10</sup>. 34.



by Alexander Severus (id. Alex. 24), and hence was sometimes called in the Middle Ages *circus Alexandri* (Ordo Bened. 143).<sup>1</sup> In the fourth century it was one of the buildings that are said to have aroused the special admiration of Constantius (Amm. Marcell. xvi. 10. 14). It had 30088 *loca* (Cur.), that is, seats for about 15,000 spectators (HJ 593). According to the legend, S. Agnes met a martyr's death in the brothels in the arcades of this stadium, and in her honour a church was built in the ninth century in the middle of the *cavea* on the west side, which was afterwards known as S. Agnese in Agone or de Cryptis Agonis (Arm. 383-384; HCh 68), the word *agon* being used both for a gymnastic contest and for the place of its celebration (Lydus, de mens. iv. 30; <sup>2</sup> Pr. Reg. 171). There was also a church of S. Nicolas de Agone (HCh 389—that of S. Caterina de cryptis agonis (cf. Arm. 388) never existed). The Piazza Navona, the largest in the city, now called officially Circo Agonale, preserves almost exactly the shape and size of the stadium. The piazza itself corresponds closely with the arena, the length of which seems to have been about 250 metres, and the surrounding buildings stand on the ruins of the *cavea*. Under the church of S. Agnese remains of brick and concrete walls, travertine pilasters and the seats of the *cavea* are still to be seen, and other traces have been found beneath the existing buildings at other points. For excavations in the sixteenth century, see LS ii. 228-231; iii. 224-225; iv. 190; LR 498-500; HJ 592-594. For the obelisk of Domitian which was erected there in 1651, see OBELISCI ISEI CAMPENSIS (4). Cf. also Mem. L. 5. xvii. 521.

**STAGNUM AGRIPPÆ**: an artificial pool of considerable size, constructed by Agrippa by the side of his **THERMÆ** (q.v.), with which and the **HORTI** (q.v.) it formed one whole (Ovid, ex Ponto i. 8. 37-38; Strabo xiii. 1. 19 (590)). This stagnum was fed by the *aqua Virgo*, which Agrippa finished in 19 B.C., and was probably connected with the Tiber by the **EURIPUS** (q.v.). It was almost certainly on the west side of the *thermæ*, north of the present Corso Vittorio Emanuele, and between the Via di Monterone and the Via dei Sediari, an area afterwards partly occupied by the **PORTICUS BONI EVENTUS** (q.v.) of the fourth century (HJ 580; Hülsen, *Thermen des Agrippa*, 32-33; Gilb. iii. 293-294).

**STAGNUM NERONIS**: the artificial pond constructed by Nero within the **DOMUS AUREA** (q.v.), in the low ground between the Velia, the Esquiline, and the Caelian, where the Colosseum was afterwards built (Suet. Nero 31: *stagnum maris instar, circumsaeptum aedificiis ad urbium speciem*; Mart. de spect. ii. 5-6: *hic ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri / erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant*).

**STATIO ANNONÆ**: the headquarters of the *praefectus annonae*, who was charged with the administration of the food supply of the city of Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Mabillon ap. Jord. ii. 665 = Lib. Cens. Fabre-Duchesne, ii. 154.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Isid. Orig. xviii. 25.



In the fourth century A.D. a structure was erected in front of the temple of HERCULES POMPEIANUS (?) (q.v.)—a rectangular porticus, some 30 metres long and 15 wide, with columns supporting arches on three sides and a brick wall at the back. Traces of what may have been another hall connected with it have been found to the north-east.

The discovery of various inscriptions connected with the annona (CIL vi. 1151, 31856; xv. 7941-7951) in the neighbourhood<sup>1</sup> and of an inscription of the older Symmachus on the opposite bank of the Tiber (NS 1886, 362; BC 1887, 16; cf. Ann. d. Inst. 1885, 223-236; BC 1889, 358-360; Mitt. 1891, 107) has led to the identification of this portico with the statio. Into it was built the original diaconia, which was later on enlarged by Pope Hadrian I (Röm. Quartalschr. 1893, 11-31; Giovenale, La Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin (Rome, 1927), 334-350; DAP 2. vi. 231-235; LR 522; LS iii. 43; HJ 146-147; JRS 1919, 183; Pl. 402; HCh 327-328. The arguments to the contrary in BC 1924, 135-150, are not convincing; see YW 1925-6, 113, 114).

STATIO AQUARUM: see LACUS IUTURNAE, fin.

STATIONES MUNICIPIORUM: certain offices near the Volcanal (Plin. NH xvi. 236) and temple of Concord, which were probably the headquarters of organised corporations of the inhabitants of foreign towns who were residing or doing business in Rome (BC 1899, 242-243; 1900, 124-134; Mitt. 1902, 11; 1905, 9-10; Turzewitsch, Orbis in urbe, Nietschin 1902; cf. BPW 1904, 593-595; OJ 1903, Beibl. 80 sqq.; Thédénat 164, 269). They were perhaps like the TABERNAE (q.v.) of the forum (Suet. Nero 37). Some architectural fragments and inscriptions belonging to the stationes of several cities have been found in this and other parts of the forum (Claudiopolis,<sup>2</sup> Klio 1902, 280, Nos. 67, 68; BC 1899, 242; Mitt. locc. cit.; Tarsus, IG xiv. 1064, 1066 a; Sardis, ib. 1008; Noricum, CIL vi. 250; and others; Klio 1902, 238, No. 11; IG xiv. 1052; CIL vi. 342=30742=xiv. 3552 (Tibur); cf. Rosch. v. 936).

STATIONES VIGILUM: see COHORTIUM VIGILUM STATIONES.

STATUA ANTONII MUSAE: a statue erected by the Romans in honour of Antonius Musa, the physician of Augustus, after the latter's death, near the temple of Aesculapius on the island (Suet. Aug. 59).

STATUA ATTI NAVI: the statue of Attus Navius erected on the spot where the augur performed the miracle of cutting a whetstone with a razor, on the left side of the steps leading up from the comitium to the curia (Liv. i. 36). It was of bronze, less than life size, and represented Navius with covered head (Dionys. iii. 71). The language of Livy (loc. cit.) implies that the statue was no longer standing, and Pliny (NH xxxiv. 21)

<sup>1</sup> CIL vi. 1151 was found in front of the church, 31856 in the Tiber; and all the rest in or near it (except perhaps xv. 7944, 7947), as also a considerable number of the lead seals published *ibid.* xv. 7952-7999, which were affixed to the cords of bales of imported goods.

<sup>2</sup> This was thought to be a hitherto unknown name for Tyre (for which also see IG xiv. 830); but it has been rightly referred to Tiberias (OJ cit.: cf. BC 1904, 169).

states that its base was destroyed when the senate house was burned at the funeral of Clodius, but Dionysius (*loc. cit.*) says explicitly that it was standing in his time. The latter was probably mistaken (*Jord. i. 2. 264, 359; Mitt. 1893, 92; BPW 1913, 981*).

**STATUA L. BRUTI**: the statue of the regicide which stood on the Capitol with those of the seven kings (*Cass. Dio xliii. 45; Plin. NH xxxiii. 9*).

**STATUA CINCI**: see **SEPULCRUM CINCIORUM**.

**STATUA CLOELIAE**: an equestrian statue of Cloelia, the Roman hostage, who escaped from Lars Porsenna by swimming the Tiber, was sent back, and then freed by the Etruscan king with marked honours for her bravery (*RE iv. 110*). There are some variants in the tradition of this statue; it was said to have been erected by the state (*Liv. ii. 13; Serv. Aen. viii. 646*); by the other hostages (*Piso ap. Plin. NH xxxiv. 28-29*); by their parents (*Dionys. v. 35*); and to have stood in *summa sacra via* (*Liv. loc. cit.*); ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ (*Dionys. loc. cit.; cf. Plut. Poplic. 19; de mul. virt. 14*); in *sacra via* (*Serv. loc. cit.*); *contra Iovis Statoris aedem in vestibulo Superbi domus* (*Plin. loc. cit.*); in *foro* (*de vir. ill. 13*). It probably did stand in *summa sacra via*, near the temple of Jupiter Stator. According to Dionysius (*loc. cit.*) the statue had disappeared in his time, and was supposed to have been burned. The language of Livy and Plutarch agrees with this, but Seneca (*de consol. 16*) and Servius state explicitly that it was standing in the first and fourth centuries. It seems impossible to reconcile these statements without supposing that the old statue had been restored, or a new one erected, early in the first century (*Detlefsen, de arte Rom. Antiq. ii. 12; see also HJ 23; Gilb. i. 226*).

**STATUA HERMODORI**: a statue of Hermodorus of Ephesus, the interpreter of the laws of the decemviri, situated in the comitium (*Plin. NH xxxiv. 21*). See *DR 467; RE viii. 859-861*.

**STATUA HORATII COCLITIS**: a statue, originally set up on the comitium, which was struck by lightning and removed to the Volcanal (*Gell. iv. 5*). Its later history is unknown.

**STATUA (LORICATA) DIVI IULII**: a statue of Julius Caesar, to the base of which official documents were affixed, mentioned only by *Plin. Ep. viii. 6. 13*. The base of a large equestrian statue in front of, and orientated with, the temple of Divus Iulius, which has been identified with the **EQUUS TREMULI**, is far more likely to have been the base of this statue (*DR 470*). Various inscriptions in which a *loricata* occurs (*Jord. i. 2. 374*) should probably be referred to a building; *cf. CASTORUM, AEDES (p. 103, n. 1)*.

**STATUA MAMURI**: see **CLIVUS MAMURI**.

**STATUA Q. MARCI REGIS**: see **BASIS Q. MARCI REGIS**.

**STATUA Q. MARCI TREMULI**: see **EQUUS TREMULI**.

**STATUA MARSYAE**: a statue of the Phrygian Silenus, which stood in an enclosure in the middle of the forum, together with the figtree, olive and vine (see *FICUS*, *OLEA*, *VITIS*), near the *TRIBUNAL PRAETORIS* (q.v.), and the *lacus Curtius* (Hor. Sat. i. 6. 120 and Ps. Acron and Porphyryon ad loc.; Sen. de benef. vi. 32; Mart. ii. 64. 7; Plin. NH xxi. 8-9; Juv. ix. 2; Hülsen, Nachtrag 15-19).

This statue appears in relief on the famous plutei (see reff. under *ROSTRA AUGUSTI*); and coins struck by L. Marcius Censorinus between 86 and 81 B.C. (Babelon, Monnaies, Marcia 42; BM. Rep. i. 338, pl. xl. 3-4) represent the satyr standing on a square pedestal with right foot advanced, a wine skin thrown over his left shoulder with his left hand holding its opening, and his right hand raised. The statue is nude except for sandals and the Phrygian hat (*pileus*), and represents the Greek type of the fourth century B.C. How long before 8 B.C. this statue was erected in the forum, and why it was brought here, we do not know. According to a recent ingenious theory it was brought from Apamea in 188 B.C. by Cn. Manlius Vulso because of the legendary connection of that city with the tomb of Aeneas, and placed near the *lacus Curtius* because of a certain parallelism between the legendary self-sacrifice of an Apamean hero and Curtius (A. Reinach, Klio 1914, 321-337). The statue was often crowned with flowers, and a certain P. Munatius was once thrown into prison for stealing them (Plin. NH xxi. 8-9).

Marsyas came to be regarded as the symbol of liberty (Serv. ad Aen. iii. 20) and under the empire his statue was set up in the fora of those towns in the provinces that possessed the *ius Italicum* (Cagnat, Tingad 68; CIL viii. 4219, 16417;<sup>1</sup> for the Marsyas of the forum, see also Jord. Marsyas auf d. Forum in Rom, Berlin 1883; i. 2. 265-266; AA 1891, 14-15; Mitt. 1892, 287-288; Gilb. iii. 156; Thédénat 134-135).

**STATUA MINUCII**: see *COLUMNA MINUCI*.

**STATUA PLANCI**: the statue, otherwise unknown, of a certain Plancus, probably in the *vicus Longus* on the Quirinal (CIL vi. 9673, 10023).

**STATUA POMPEII**: a statue of Pompey on the *Rostra Vetera*, overturned by the plebs and replaced at the same time as that of Sulla (Suet. Iul. 75; Cass. Dio xlii. 18).

**STATUAE REGUM ROMANORUM**: the statues of seven kings of Rome—including Titus Tatius and therefore, presumably, excluding Tarquinius Superbus—erected on the Capitoline, probably on the eastern part of the *area Capitolina* (Cass. Dio xliii. 45; App. BC i. 16; Plin. NH xxxiv. 22). The statues of Romulus and Tatius were togatae sine tunicis, sine anulis; those of Numa,<sup>2</sup> Servius Tullius and Tarquinius Priscus had rings on their fingers and were probably of later date (Plin. NH xxxiii. 9-10;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mommsen, Staatsrecht iii. 809, 810; Merlin, Forum et Maisons d'Althiburos (Paris, 1913), 9. This is denied by J. S. Reid, Municipalities of the Roman Empire, 286. For a recent attribution of the plutei to the enclosure of this statue, see Mél. 1927, 154-183.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *GENS IULIA, ARA*.

xxxiv. 23 ; Ascon. Scaur. fin.). All of them were probably set up between 350 and 150 B.C. (Gilb. i. 24-25 ; Jord. i. 1. 57-58 ; Rodocanachi, *Le Capitole* 46).

**STATUA ROMULI** : a statue of Romulus that is said to have stood in *sacra via a parte Palati venientibus*, while one of Titus Tatius was at the other end of the street a *rostris* (Serv. Aen. viii. 641). It is improbable that this statement is due to a confusion of these statues with those on the Capitoline (cf. **STATUAE REGUM ROMANORUM**).

**STATUA SALONINI GALLIENI** : a statue of Saloninus Gallienus, a son of the Emperor Gallienus (cf., however, RE vi. 669), which stood in *pede montis Romulei, hoc est ante sacram viam inter templum Faustinae ac Vestam ad arcum Fabianum* (Hist. Aug. Gall. 19). The statement does not inspire confidence, and may be an invention.

**STATUA SULLAE** : an equestrian statue of gilt bronze, erected in *rostris* or *pro rostris* in 80 or 79 B.C. (Babelon ii. 179 = BM. Rep. ii. 463. 16 ; App. BC i. 97 ; Cic. Phil. ix. 13 ; Vell. ii. 61 : in *rostris* ; Suet. Iul. 75 ; Dio xlii. 18). Cf. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 721 for a similar statue erected by the inhabitants of the *vicus laci Fundani*.

**STATUA TARACIAE GAIAE** : see **GAIA**.

**STATUA TIBERIS**. In Eins. Tiberis is mentioned twice (1. 6 ; 8. 10), between the forum of Trajan and the arch of Severus ; and most authorities are inclined to recognise in it the famous statue of a river-god (*Marforio*), now in the Museo Capitolino, which stood near the church of S. Martina (see **CURIA**). See DAP 2. ix. 408 and references ; Cap. 21.

**STATUA VALERI CORVINI** : a statue of M. Valerius Corvinus with a crow on his head, erected by Augustus in his forum (Gell. ix. 11. 10).

**STATUA VALERIANA** : a statue of some member of the gens Valeria, on the right bank of the Tiber (Not. Reg. XIV), which gave its name to a *vicus statuæ Valerianæ* (Bas. Cap., CIL vi. 975 : *statuavalerianenses*, ib. 31893 ; BC 1891, 342, 357 ; HJ 647).

**STIMULA** : see **LUCUS STIMULAE**.

**STRENIA, SACELLUM** : a shrine of the goddess *quæ faceret strenuum* (August. iv. 16) in the Colosseum valley, mentioned only as the starting-point of the *Sacra via* (Varro, LL v. 47 ; Fest. 293). The *lucus Streniæ*, mentioned only by Symmachus (Ep. x. 35 ; BC 1905, 210), probably adjoined the shrine, but the exact site cannot be determined (HJ 259 ; Rosch. ii. 227 ; Gilb. i. 217-218).

**SUBAGER** : see **CAMPUS VIMINALIS**.

**SUB NOVIS** : see **TABERNAE NOVAE**.

**SUB VETERIBUS** : see **TABERNAE VETERES**.

**SUBURA** : the valley between the southern end of the Viminal and the western end of the Esquiline, or Oppius, which was connected with the



forum by the ARGILETUM (q.v.), and continued eastward between the Oppius and the Cispius by the CLIVUS SUBURANUS (q.v.), ending at the Porta Esquilina. This district is now traversed by the Via Cavour and the Via dello Statuto. Another depression extended from the Subura northward between the Viminal and the Quirinal, and a third north-east between the Cispius and the Viminal that was marked by the vicus Patricius. The beginning of the Subura was called *primae fauces* (Mart. ii. 17. 1) and was perhaps situated near the *PRAEFECTURA URBANA* (q.v.) *cruenta pendent qua flagella tortorum* (so HJ 329, n. 15).

Two ancient theories of the derivation of Subura must be rejected (Varro, LL v. 48 : *Suburam Iunius scribit ab eo quod fuerit sub antiqua urbe* ; Comm. Cruq. Hor. Epod. 5. 58 : *a suburendo quod in ea regione Romae aliquando subustionibus paludeta siccata sunt*) ; a third connected it with *pagus Succusanus*, *Suc(c)usa* (Varro, loc. cit. ; Fest. 302, 309 ; Quint. i. 7. 29). The *Sucusa* was on the Caelian, but it is probable that Subura was a corrupt form of the same word, which for some reason had been transferred, and in historical times was given to this valley and used as an adjective in 'regio Suburana' (see *SUCUSA* and *REGIONES QUATTUOR*, and literature there cited). Subura is found on a fragment of the Marble Plan (8), in late literature (Sid. Apollin. Carm. 23. 236 ; Prud. Peristeph. xi. 45), and continued in use during the Middle Ages in the names of several churches situated between the Tor di Conti and S. Pietro in Vincoli (Arm. 201, 203, 206, 219-223 ; HJ 332 ; HCh 166, 193, 205, 207, 420, 454, 459). Cf. also S. Agata dei Goti (by Hülsen and others), Rome 1924, 7-9. S. Lucia in Orfea or in Silice is also called in capite Suburae (HCh 306, 595).

References to the character of this district are frequent in Latin literature and inscriptions. It was *fervens* (Iuv. xi. 51, and schol. *frequentissima regio*), *clamosa* (Mart. xii. 18. 2), dirty and wet (ib. v. 22. 5-9), a resort of harlots (Pers. 5. 32 ; Mart. ii. 17 ; vi. 66. 1-2 ; xi. 61. 3 ; 78. 11 ; Priap. 40. 1), of dealers in provisions and delicacies (Iuv. xi. 141 ; Mart. vii. 31 ; x. 94. 5-6) and finery (Mart. ix. 37), and of tradesmen of various sorts (*praeco*, CIL vi. 1953 ; *crepidarius*, ib. 9284 ; *ferrarius*, 9399 ; *lanarius*, 9491 ; *inpilarius*, 33862 ; *lintearius*, 9526). That there were also dwellings of more distinguished persons is shown by the fact that Caesar once lived here (Suet. Caes. 46) and L. Arruntius Stella, consul in 101 A.D. (Mart. xii. 3. 9 ; cf. xii. 21. 5). Of a probable late division into Subura maior and Subura minor, to be inferred from the reading of one inscription (CIL vi. 9526 : *Sebura maiore ad ninfas*), nothing further is known. See also Jord. i. 1. 185-186 ; HJ 330-332. For rulers and scribes of the Jewish synagogue of the Subura (*ἄρχων* and *γραμματεὺς Σιβουρησίων*), see CIG 6447 ; Mitt. 1886, 56 ; NS 1920, 147-151, 154 ; BC 1922, 208-212.

SUBURANENSES, SUBURENSES : see SUBURA.

SUC(C)USA : \* a conjectural emendation for SUBURA (q.v.) in Festus (348), where Antistius Labeo is quoted as the authority for a list of montes in the SEPTIMONTIUM (q.v.), eight instead of seven. This emendation is based on the existence of a pagus Succusanus, a district which was of course outside the limits of the city in its early stages. This pagus is mentioned in two of our sources—Varro, LL v. 48 : sed [ego a] pago potius Succusano dictam (i.e. Suburam) puto. Succusanus nunc scribitur tertia littera c non b. Pagus Succusanus quod succurrit Carinis ; Fest. 309 : Suburam Verrius<sup>1</sup> a pago Succusano dictam ait . . . ita appellatam et regionem urbis et tribum a stativo praesidio quod solitum sit succurrere Esquilis infestantibus eam partem urbis Gabinis. Those who accept this emendation locate the Sucusa on the Caelian, south-east of the Ceroniae, just inside the porta Caelimontana of the Servian wall (HF i.), and the pagus Succusanus still further east, the district extending north-east from the Lateran. This position of the pagus accords with the statement of Festus but hardly with that of Varro. The whole question of the relation of Subura, Succusa and pagus Succusanus, and the location of the latter is very obscure and has given rise to much discussion.<sup>2</sup> See especially Wissowa, *Septimontium und Subura, Satura Viadrina*, 1-19<sup>3</sup>; CP 1906, 69-80; AJA 1908, 172-183; RE i. A. 1018-1019, and the other literature cited in these articles, and under Septimontium.

SUMMANUS, AEDES (templa, Ovid) : a temple near the circus Maximus (Fast. : ad circum Maximum ; cf. Plin. NH xxix. 57 : inter aedem Iuventatis et Summani), which probably replaced an altar ascribed to Titus Tatius (Varro, LL v. 74). It was built during the war with Pyrrhus (Ov. Fast. vi. 731-732 : reddita quisquis is est Summano templa feruntur / tum cum Romanis Pyrrhe timendus eras), and the hypothesis is plausible that this was done because the terracotta figure of Summanus in the pediment of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was reported to have been struck by lightning and hurled into the Tiber (Cic. de div. i. 10 ; Liv. per. xiv. ; Jord. i. 2. 14-15, 98-100). The temple of Summanus was itself struck by lightning in 197 B.C. (Liv. xxxii. 29. 1). Its day of dedication was 20th June (Ov. loc. cit. ; Fast. Esquil. Venus. Amit. ad xii Kal. Iul., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 211, 221, 243, 320). There is little doubt that it stood on the west side of the circus towards the Aventine. The temple of DIS PATER (q.v.), mentioned only in Not. (Reg. XI ; om. Cur.), is perhaps to be identified with this temple of Summanus (HJ 119 ; WR 135 ; Rosch. iv. 1600-1601).

SUMMUM CHORAGIUM : a building in Region III (Not. ; FUR 7) in which the machinery and apparatus for the public games in the amphitheatre were

<sup>1</sup> alio libro ' (i.e. in the corrupt passage Fest. 302).

<sup>2</sup> Hülsen remarks that the name Suburana, which belongs to one of the four city tribes, is regularly abbreviated suc in inscriptions (CIL vi. 2993 is a forgery, cf. ib. 3613\*) and that this shows Sucusana to have been the original form.

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted in Ges. Abh. 230-252.

stored (cf. Fest. 52 : *instrumentum scenarium* ; Plaut. Capt. 56). Its site is indicated by the discovery of numerous inscriptions on the south side of the *via Labicana*, between the Colosseum and S. Clemente, in the immediate neighbourhood of the *ludus Magnus* and *ludus Matutinus* (CIL iii. 348, vi. 297, 646, 776 (cf. 30829), 8950, 10083-10087). These inscriptions show that this *choragium* was administered by imperial freedmen and slaves, and *summum* has therefore been interpreted as meaning imperial, in distinction from other *choragia* that belonged to *aerarium* (Hirschfeld, VG<sup>2</sup> 293-6 ; contra Mommsen, Staatsrecht, ii. 1070, n. 2). It may also mean the principal storehouse of the kind (DS i. 1117). The building was probably erected before the time of Hadrian, and the inscriptions belong to the second century (Marquardt, Staatsverwaltung, iii. 547 ; HJ 302 ; RE iii. 2405 ; DE ii. 219-220). It gave its name to a *vicus summi Choragi* (FUR 7).

SYRACUSAE ET TECHNYPHION : a chamber in a tower in the house of Augustus on the Palatine, to which that emperor sometimes resorted (Suet. Aug. 72 : *si quando quid secreto aut sine interpellatione agere proposuisset, erat illi locus in edito singularis quem Syracusas et technyphion vocabat*). *Technyphion*<sup>1</sup> means 'little workshop,' and with *Syracuse* may be compared another chamber called *SICILIA* (q.v.). It may, as Hülsen suggests, have derived its name from its sunny situation (Cic. Verr. v. 26 : *Syracusis nulla unquam dies tam magna et turbulenta tempestate (fuit) quin aliquo tempore eius diei solem homines viderint*).

<sup>1</sup> This is a conjecture : Hülsen prefers 'technophyon,' which would have the same meaning, but without the diminutive sense.

## T

**TABERNAE CIRCA FORUM:** the shops that were built in the forum valley when that became the market-place for the settlements on the surrounding hills, assigned by tradition to the first Tarquin (Liv. i. 35 ; Dionys. iii. 67). They belonged to the state and were let out to tenants (Non. 532 ; Liv. xxvi. 27 ; xxvii. 11 ; xl. 51 ; Fest. 230 ; Dig. xviii. 1. 32), who were at first dealers in provisions, especially butchers, from whom the shops were called *tabernae lanienae*. At some time before 310 B.C. these occupants were banished to the district north of the forum (see **MACELLUM**) and the shops turned over to money changers and bankers, *argentarii* (Varro ap. Non. 532 : hoc intervallo primum forensis dignitas crevit atque ex tabernis lanienis argentariae factae). In 310 B.C. an attempt was made at decoration of the forum, and gilded shields were distributed to the domini argentariarum (Liv. ix. 40. 16). *Argentariae* appears to have been the designation of these *tabernae* until 210 B.C. when some at least of them were burned (Liv. xxvi. 27. 2 : eodem tempore septem *tabernae* quae postea quinque, et *argentariae* quae nunc novae appellantur, arsere). In the following year the septem *tabernae* were rebuilt (Liv. xxvii. 11. 16), and those called *novae* afterwards, but for any definite notice of this building we are dependent on a corrupt passage in Festus (230). This, with Müller's emendations, reads : <plebeias tabernas no>vas vocant nos<tra aetate, ut dicunt V tabern>as<sup>1</sup> esse et septem feruntur olim fuisse. plebeias appell>amus a genere magistratus. eas enim faciendas curaverunt M. Iunius Brutus Q. Oppius aediles plebis.<sup>2</sup> This emendation is probably sufficiently correct to warrant the conclusion that the shops burned in 210 and not rebuilt in 209 were reerected before 192 and called *plebeiae* or *novae*. The first name, however, if it ever existed, did not come into common use, for we find no other instance of its occurrence. These *tabernae* were called *argentariae novae* (Liv. xl. 51. 5), or *novae* alone (Liv. iii. 48. 5). Once the old designation, *argentariae* alone, is used (Vitr. v. 1. 1). In distinction from the *novae*, others were called *veteres*, a name that occurs first in Plautus (Curc. 480 : sub veteribus ibi sunt qui dant quique accipiunt faenore). Thenceforth sub veteribus (Plin. NH xxxv. 25, 113) and sub novis (Varro, LL vi. 59 ; Cic. de or. ii. 266) were regularly used to designate the opposite sides of the forum, as is proved by a passage in Cicero (Acad. pr. ii. 70 : ut ii qui

<sup>1</sup> Lindsay omits this supplement.

<sup>2</sup> They were praetors in 192 (Liv. xxxv. 23. 24).



sub novis solem non ferunt item ille quum aestuaret veterum ut Maenianorum). This and other topographical indications show that the tabernae novae were on the north side of the forum, in front of the earliest basilica Aemilia (Liv. iii. 48. 5 : prope Cloacinae ad tabernas quibus nunc novis est nomen ; xl. 51. 5 : basilicam post argentarias novas), and the veteres on the south side between the vicus Tuscus and the temple of Saturn (Liv. xlv. 16. 10 : pone veteres ad Vortumni signum). The latest references which necessarily imply the separate existence of these tabernae are in Livy (loc. cit.) and Verrius Flaccus (ap. Fest. 230), and they could not have survived the building of the basilica Iulia and the restoration of the basilica Aemilia by Augustus (cf. Quint. vi. 3. 38). Thereafter the argentarii had offices in these basilicas, but 'sub novis' and 'sub veteribus' continued in use as local designations of the north and south sides of the forum, the older shops being placed on the shady side.

The tabernae septem quae postea quinque, burned in 210 and rebuilt the next year (Liv. xxvi. 27 ; xxvii. 11 supra cit.) were not the tabernae novae, and if we accept the emendation proposed for Festus 230 (see above), Verrius cited the change from septem to quinque as analogous to that from plebeiae to novae. On the other hand, their identification with the veteres has often been claimed, but without convincing evidence. It is more probable that they were different, and lay perhaps somewhat to the east of the veteres. They are not the quinque tabernae of Juvenal (i. 105), as has been asserted.

Over these tabernae were galleries from which the people witnessed the games in the forum, called Maeniana from C. Maenius, who is said to have built them first after his victory in the battle of Actium (Fest. 135 ; Vit. v. 1. 1 ; Isid. Orig. xv. 3. 11 ; Plin. NH xxxv. 113 ; Cic. Acad. pr. ii. 70). For discussion of tabernae, see Becker, Top. 295-297 ; Jord. i. 2. 380-381 ; RhM 1857, xii. 215-223 ; Gilb. iii. 203-206 ; RE ii. 706-707 ; Suppl. iv. 463 ; DR 20 ; HFP 9, 10 ; and for other tabernae in the forum and near by, Gilb. ib. 207, n. 1.

TABERNAE ARGENTARIAE : see TABERNAE.

TABERNAE PLEBEIAE : see TABERNAE.

TABERNAE SEPTEM (QUINQUE) : see TABERNAE.

TABERNAE DECEM : see DECEM TABERNAE.

TABULA VALERIA :\* a name used twice by Cicero (ad Fam. xiv. 2. 2 : nam ad me P. Valerius, homo officiosus, scripsit, id quod ego maximo cum fletu legi, quem ad modum a Vestae ad tabulam Valeriam ducta esses (Terentia) ; in Vat. 21 : cum eum (Bibulum) tu consulem in vincula duceres et a tabula Valeria collegae tui mitti iuberent), where it indicates a definite spot in the forum. Three explanations of this term have been given :

(1) that it means the bank of Valerius, to which Terentia had been forced by Clodius to go in order to make some declaration about

her husband's estate (Tyrrell and Purser, Correspondence of Cicero i. 387). This interpretation is supported by a similar meaning, bank of Sestius, given to tabula Sestia in Cicero, pro Quinct. 25: *pueros circum amicos dimittit, ipse suos necessarios ab atriis Liciniis et a faucibus macelli corrogat, ut ad tabulam Sextiam sibi adsint hora secunda postridie.*

(2) that it was a painting by Q. Fabius Pictor on the wall of the Curia Hostilia, which represented the victory of M. Valerius Messalla over Hiero and the Carthaginians in 264 B.C. (Plin. xxxv. 22: *dignatio autem praecipua Romae increvit, ut existimo, a M'. Val. Maximo Messalla, qui princeps tabulam pictam*<sup>1</sup> *proelii quo Carthaginienses et Hieronem in Sicilia vicerat proposuit in latere curiae Hostiliae anno ab urbe condita cccclxxxx*). This is the explanation of the scholiast on the passage from the speech against Vatinius: *quod vero ad tabulam Valeriam pertinere videatur, loci nomen sic ferebatur, quemadmodum ad tabulam Sestiam, cuius meminit pro Quinctio, ita et ad tabulam Valeriam dicebatur, ubi Valerius Maximus tabulam rerum ab se in Gallia prospere gestarum proposuerat ostentui vulgo*, and is doubtless drawn from Pliny. Taking this statement of a scholiast as a basis, Manutius conjectured that there was a sort of tribunes' court 'ad tabulam Valeriam,' to which Terentia was forced to go, presumably to answer for Cicero's property in some way, and cited the passage from his speech in Vat. as a parallel, for here *tabula Valeria collegae tui* may mean that this was an assembling place for the tribunes, and that those who were gathered there prevented Vatinius from casting Bibulus into prison. It is also known that the subsellia tribunorum were near the basilica Porcia and, therefore, the curia (Suet. Caes. 78; cf. Plut. Cato min. 5; Cic. pro Sest. 124). This is the view that has been generally accepted (Jord. i. 2. 330-331; Gilb. iii. 165; Mitt. 1893, 93; AJP 1898, 406-412).

(3) tabula Valeria was a bronze tablet on which were inscribed the famous Valerio-Horatian laws, which concerned especially the office and functions of the tribunes. This was set up in the forum, near the subsellia tribunorum, in order that the tribunes might consult its provisions whenever necessary, and hence it came to be used as an indication of locality. In the same way tabula Sestia was a tablet containing a copy of the Licinio-Sestian laws, which probably stood also at the west end of the forum (O'Connor, CP 1908, 278-284).

The first of these explanations must be rejected; of the other two, the latter seems a little more probable.

TABULARIUM: a repository for state archives, probably in large part those belonging to the aerarium in the neighbouring temple of Saturn, that was built by Q. Lutatius Catulus in 78 B.C. on the south-east slope of the Capitoline. Before its construction the *ταμείον ἀγορανόμων* was used for the purpose of preserving the state records (see ATRIUM PUBLICUM). It is not mentioned in literature, but its identification is based on two

<sup>1</sup> p[icturam] Mayhoff.

inscriptions, one copied by Signorili and Poggio (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 737=vi. 1314) : Q · Lutatius · Q · f · Q · n · Catulus · cos · substructionem et · tabularium · de · s · s · faciundum · coeravit · eidemque · probavit ; and the other still partially preserved in one of the rooms of the building (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 736=vi. 1313=31597) : Q · Lu]tatiu[s] · Q · f · Q · n · C[atulus] · cos · de · s]en · sent · faciundu[m] · coeravit ·] eidemque · prob[avit]. The second story seems to have been added, or at least rebuilt, about the end of the first century (see below), but nothing else is known of the history of the building until the reign of Boniface VIII (about 1300 A.D.), when the present tower at the north end was erected. Later, Michelangelo destroyed the entire upper and western part, and built the present Palazzo del Senatore directly upon the ancient structure (LS ii. 70).

This building, trapezoidal in shape, occupied all the space between the clivus Capitolinus on the south-west and the flight of steps (*gradus Monetae*?) which led up past the carcer to the arx on the north-east. On the forum side the foundation wall began on the level of the area Volcani, and the substructio (cf. inscription) consisted of this wall, 3.43 metres thick, with a series of six recesses out of which narrow windows open, and a corridor between it and the tufa rock of the hill itself. This corridor is now blocked at both ends and may always have been so. Above this corridor of the substructio is the corridor of the first story of the Tabularium proper, 5 metres wide and 10 high, extending the whole length of the building and originally open at both ends, but not connected with any other part. Its front was an arcade of the Doric order, with engaged columns of peperino. There were eleven arches, 7.50 metres in height and 3.54-3.60 in width, all but one of which have been walled up. This arcade afforded the means of communication between the two portions of the Capitoline, and formed a striking architectural terminus for the forum. Its effect, however, was greatly marred by the erection of the temple of Vespasian and the porticus Deorum Consentium, and by the enlargement of the temple of Concord. All of the second story was removed by Michelangelo, but the few fragments that have been found indicate an arcade of the Corinthian order immediately above that of the first story. These fragments are apparently of the Flavian period, but it is impossible to say whether this story was an addition or restoration.

Behind the corridor of the first story are supporting walls and piers, and one large hall on a higher level than the corridor, which probably opened out on the Asylum. From this hall a long flight of sixty-six steps, partly cut in the rock, leads down to the ground through a fine arched doorway in the wall of the substructure. These steps have no connection with any other part of the building, and afforded direct access from the forum to the upper part of the Tabularium and the summit of the Capitoline. When the temple of Vespasian was built, its podium effectually blocked the entrance to this staircase. On the



north-east side of the Tabularium were two stories of rooms fronting on the way up to the arx. Those of the first story opened into each other, and were connected by a stairway with the corridor of the substruction. Part of the wall of the south-west side is still standing, with a large rectangular niche opening on the clivus Capitolinus, which is now used as the entrance; while a small piece of the travertine plinth of the north-west façade is preserved in the cellars of the Palazzo del Senatore (JRS 1919, 192).

The masonry of the Tabularium shows the best republican workmanship. It is wholly of opus quadratum, with blocks uniformly two Roman feet in height and width, and averaging four in length. They are laid in alternate courses of headers and stretchers (*emplecton*), with a thin layer of cement. The outer walls are of sperone (Gabine stone), the bases and capitals of the half-columns and the imposts of the arches of travertine, and the inner walls of Anio tufa; while most of the vaults are of concrete. The building was once used as a storehouse for salt and the inner walls have suffered much from corrosion. For a complete description of the Tabularium and its literature, see Delbrueck, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium*, 1907, i. 23-46, pls. 3-9; ii. pl. 3; also Middleton, *Ancient Rome* i<sup>2</sup>. 372-377; Jord. i. 1. 135-154; LR 295-298; LS ii. 70; D'Esp. Mon. i. 125, 126; TF 49-51; ZA 30-33; Mem. L. 5. xvii. 505; ASA 18, 19, 21.

TARENTUM: a section of the most westerly part of the campus Martius—in extremo Martio campo (Fest. 329; Zos. ii. 3)—where it is enclosed by the great bend of the Tiber. Its precise limits are not known, but it surrounded the DITIS PATRIS ET PROSERPINAE ARA (q.v.), which was discovered in 1888 between the Chiesa Nuova and the Piazza Sforza-Cesarini, and presumably it extended to the river (Val. Max. ii. 4. 5; Fest. 350, 351; Ov. Fast. i. 501; Censorin. 17. 18; Liv. Epit. 49). Hot springs and other traces of volcanic action led to the belief that here was an entrance to the lower world, and to the establishment of the cult of Dis pater and Proserpina. The legend of the discovery of the altar of Dis twenty feet below the surface of the ground by a Sabine Valerius is given by Valerius Maximus (loc. cit.; Fest. 329). The Tarentum is usually mentioned in connection with the ludi saeculares, when sacrifices were offered to Dis (see references cited, and Statius Silv. i. 4. 18; iv. 1. 38; Mart. i. 69. 2; iv. 1. 8; x. 63. 3; Auson. Idyll. 16. 34; CIL vi. 32328, 15, acta lud. saec. Sev.). The usual and correct form is Tarentum, but Terentum occurs now and then with false etymologies (Fest. 350: Terentum locus in campo Martio dicitur quod eo loco ara Ditis patris terra occultaretur; 351: Terentum in campo Martio lo<cum Verrius ait ab eo>dicendum fuisse quod t<erra ibi per ludos>secularis Ditis patris<aram occultens tera>tur ab equis quadrigari<s><sup>1</sup>; Serv. Aen. viii. 65: Terentum [Tarentum, CODD.] dicitur eo quod ripas terat). No explanation of the

<sup>1</sup> These supplements, which are those of Ursinus, are not accepted by Lindsay (478, 479).



word Tarentum has yet been found (cf. Zielinski, *Quaest. comicae*, Petropoli 1887, 94). The district was also called *πυροφόρον πεδῖον* (Zos. ii. 3; cf. Val. Max. ii. 4. 5: solo magis fumante quam ullas ignes habente; see also HJ 477; Becker, *Top.* 628-629; Jord. i. 1. 181). It has recently been maintained that the Tarentum must be sought much closer to the river, and that it must be a subterranean shrine, resembling the so-called mundus on the Palatine (Mél. 1925, 135-146). But it would be difficult to point to any site in the Campus Martius where these two conditions would be fulfilled; there is no rock in which such a shrine could have been excavated, and it would have been liable to frequent inundations.

TARPEIA, ARX: a name apparently applied to the whole Capitoline hill, which is found twice in Latin poetry (Verg. *Aen.* viii. 652; Prop. iv. 4. 29; Jord. i. 2. 8).

TARPEIA, RUPES: see TARPEIUS, MONS.

TARPEIUS, MONS: the earliest name of the Capitoline hill, if we are to believe the statements of Roman and Greek writers (Varro, *LL* v. 41: hic mons ante Tarpeius dictus a virgine Vestali Tarpeia, quae ibi ab Sabinis necata armis et sepulta, cuius nominis monimentum relictum quod etiam nunc eius rupes Tarpeium appellatur saxum; Prop. iv. 4. 93; Dionys. iii. 69. 4; Plut. *Rom.* 18; Steph. *Byz.* 355). It is also used of the whole hill, apparently, in Not. app. (montes VII . . . Tarpeius) and in Auct. de vir. ill. (ii. 7), while in other passages it might refer to the whole hill or, more probably, only to the Capitolium (Liv. i. 55; Suet. *Iul.* 44; cf. ad *Her.* iv. 43; denominatio est quae ab rebus propinquis et finitimis trahit orationem, qua possit intelligi res quae non suo vocabulo sit appellata. id aut ab inventionione conficitur ut si quis de Tarpeio loquens eum Capitolium nomet). The corresponding Greek name was *Ταρπήϊος λόφος*, which occurs with some frequency (Dionys. iii. 69. 4; iv. 60. 3, 4; 61. 1; vii. 35. 4; Plut. *Rom.* 18, Numa 7; Steph. *Byz.* 355), or *ὄρος* (Cass. Dio, fr. vii. 11. 5; Steph. *Byz.* 604; Lyd. de mens. iv. 155).

From the precipitous cliffs of this hill criminals, convicted of capital crimes, were hurled to their death (Gell. xi. 18. 8; xx. 1. 53), and these cliffs were regularly called Tarpeium saxum (Varro, *LL* v. 41; Liv. vi. 20. 12; Fest. 340; cf. ib. 343; Tac. *Ann.* vi. (19) 25; de vir. ill. xxiv. 6; lxvi. 8; Ampel. xxvii. 4; Prop. iii. 11, 45), saxum alone (Liv. xxv. 7. 13; Sen. *contr.* i. 3. 3, 4) or Tarpeium alone (Plin. *NH* vii. 143). Twice Tarpeius is used alone, with reference to other things than executions, where mons is probably to be supplied (Plin. *NH* xxviii. 15; Tert. de spect. 5). Other variants in Latin poetry are arx Tarpeia (Verg. *Aen.* viii. 652-654; Prop. iv. 4. 29-30), and Tarpeia sedes (Verg. *Aen.* viii. 347 and cf. supra, 55, 97).

The alleged tradition that the Capitoline was first called mons Tarpeius was probably only an invention of the Roman antiquarians, and

Tarpeius was most probably, according to the general rule in such cases, derived from that of a gens Tarpeia, some of whom lived in the immediate neighbourhood, and one of whose women was the heroine of the myth of Tarpeia which circulated in so many versions.<sup>1</sup> For some discussion of this question and references to the abundant literature, see Sanders, Univ. of Michigan Studies, i. 1-47; Pais, Anc. Legends 96-108; Storia i<sup>2</sup>. 430, 538; Rev. Arch. 1908, i. 64-74; Rosch. v. 111-116.

That Tarpeius mons continued in use to some extent is shown by an inscription of 259 A.D. (NS 1892, 407; CIL vi. 37170: *deae Virgini Caelestis praesentissimo numini loci montis Tarpei*), and there seems to be no doubt that it was sometimes applied to the whole Capitoline hill, but, like Capitolinus, that it was also used of the southern summit alone.

Rupes Tarpeia is clearly identified by Varro (LL, v. 41) with saxum Tarpeium, but nowhere in extant Latin literature is this name found in connection with the execution of criminals. In several passages it is closely connected with the cult of Jupiter (Sil. Ital. iii. 623; x. 360; Prop. iv. 1. 7; Claud. 28. 45; Firm. Mat. math. i. 10. 17), once with the temple of Saturn (Lucan iii. 154), once it occurs with no topographical indication (Liv. vi. 17. 4), while Tacitus (Hist. iii. 71) connects it with the centum gradus, of which nothing further is known. The equivalent of *rupes* in Greek seems to be *κρημνός* (Dionys. vii. 35. 4; viii. 78, 5), or *πέτρα* (Plut. Rom. 18).

There has been much divergence of opinion as to the position of this saxum from which criminals were thrown, but the unequivocal statement that it overhung the forum (Dionys. vii. 35. 4; viii. 78. 5), and that executions could be seen by all the people assembled there, together with the close connection between rupes Tarpeia and the temple of Jupiter, point clearly to the cliffs at the south-west corner of the hill, over the ancient vicus Iugarius and the modern Piazza della Consolazione.<sup>2</sup> A recent attempt to locate the saxum on the arx (Pais, Anc. Legends 109-127) is unsuccessful, and takes no account of Suetonius (Iul. 44), where Tarpeius mons at any rate could not possibly mean the arx overlooking the forum. For further discussion and literature, see Jord. i. 2. 127-131, and CAPITOLINUS MONS.

TASCOGENSES: those who dwelt in some wholly unknown district of the city, mentioned only in one inscription of the fourth century (CIL vi. 31893 b, 5; BC 1891, 342-345).

AD TAURUM: a locality near the thermae of Trajan, which occurs as a name of various mediaeval churches, and very likely has a classical origin. It is distinct from the FORUM TAURI (q.v.). Cf. HCh 469 (S. Silvestri de

<sup>1</sup> There was a statue of Tarpeia in the temple of Jupiter in the Porticus Metelli (Fest. 363).

<sup>2</sup> Jordan (Capitol, Forum, und Sacra Via, 5) makes a good point in noticing that the saxum, from which traitors (perfidii) were thrown, was close to the temple of FIDES (q.v.): see Hülsen in Festschrift für Kiepert, 215, and plan.

Tauro); cf. also 297, No. 33 (S. Laurentii ad Taurellum?); 309, No. 5 (S. Marci de Taurello). See also Arm. 170, 217; HJ 370.

DE TEGLATU: an unknown locality, mentioned only in two inscriptions of the fourth century (CIL vi. 10099=31899; 31893 *b*, 2; BC 1891, 357), possibly a centre for the manufacture or sale of *tegulae*.

TELLURENSES: the inhabitants of the district about the temple of Tellus (q.v.) on the Esquiline (CIL vi. 31893 *c*, 11).

TELLUS, AEDES (templum, Serv., Not.; νεώς, Dionys.; τέμενος, Cass. Dio; ἱερὸν, Plut. App.): a temple vowed by P. Sempronius Sophus during an earthquake which occurred during a battle with the Picentes in 268 B.C. (Flor. i. 14). Rosch. v. 338 remarks that the vow is a natural one enough in the circumstances. It was doubtless built at once, although its erection is ascribed to the city or senate in two sources (Val. Max. vi. 3. 1; Dionys. viii. 79). It was on the Esquiline, in Carinis (Suet. de gramm. 15; Dionys. loc. cit.; Serv. Aen. viii. 361), on the site formerly occupied by the house of SP. CASSIUS (q.v.), which was said to have been pulled down in 495 B.C. (Cic. de domo 101; Liv. ii. 41. 11; Val. Max. loc. cit.; cf. Plin. NH. xxxiv. 15, 30), near the house of Antonius (App. B.C. ii. 126) and that of Q. CICERO (q.v.). The latter restored the temple about 54 B.C. (Cic. ad Q. fr. iii. 1. 4; de har. resp. 31), and apparently gained possession of some of the land hitherto belonging to the temple. The day of dedication was 13th December (Fast. Ant. ad Id. Dec., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 249, 336), when Ceres was associated with Tellus as on other occasions (WR 192-195). The fact that the worship of Tellus was very ancient makes it probable that there was a much earlier cult centre on the site afterwards occupied by the temple.

The temple was sometimes used for meetings of the senate (Cic. Phil. i. 31; ad Att. xvi. 14. 1; App. BC ii. 126; Plut. Brut. 19; Cass. Dio xliv. 22. 3), and on its walls was a map of Italy (Varro, RR i. 2. 1; Urlichs, Malerei in Rom, p. 8). It was standing in the fourth century (Not. Reg. IV), but nothing is known of its later history. Its site was very probably between the present Vie del Colosseo and dei Serpenti (Gilb. i. 193-195; HJ 323-326), but Ligorio's account of the discovery of remains belonging to it is open to suspicion (BC 1892, 32-37; LS iii. 5-6; Mitt. 1893, 301-302; HJ loc. cit.). Cf. HCh 444, 445, 522, 523 for the (apocryphal) church of S. Salvator in Tellumine (in Tellude), and for a frieze representing a gigantomachy, which perhaps came from this temple, see Mitt. 1905, 121-130; HF 138, 1013, 1014, 1211; Bocconi, Mus. Cap. 282. 1, 4.

TEMPESTATES, AEDES (delubrum, Ovid): a temple erected by L. Cornelius Scipio, who had vowed it when overtaken by a storm in Corsican waters in 259 B.C. (CIL i.<sup>2</sup> 9=vi. 1287=AL No. 6: dedet Tempestatebus aede mereto(d...); Ov. Fast. vi. 193-194; cf. Cic. de nat. deor. iii. 51). Its day of dedication was not 1st June (Ov. loc. cit.), but 23rd December



(Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 121). It was in Region I (Not. Cur. om.), and probably between the porta Capena and the temple of Mars (HJ 217; Gilb. iii. 100; WR 228; Rosch. v. 360; Pais, Fasti Triumphales Capitolini, ii. 479).

TERMINUS, FANUM (*βωμός*, Dionys. : a shrine in the cella of Jupiter himself (Dionys. iii. 69), the central one in the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, perhaps consisting only of the rude stone that represented Terminus (Serv. Aen. ix. 446; Lact. inst. i. 20, 37; Aug. de civ. Dei iv. 23), above which there was an opening in the roof (Fest. 368; Ov. Fast. ii. 671, 672; Serv. loc. cit.). At least as early as the beginning of the second century B.C. the presence of this cult was explained by the legend that there were shrines or altars on this site of several deities who, when the ground was desired for the temple of Jupiter, allowed themselves to be dispossessed, except Terminus whose refusal to be moved was regarded as a prophecy of the permanence of the cult and of Rome itself (Cato ap. Fest. 162; Liv. i. 55. 3-4; Ov. Fast. ii. 667-678; Dionys. iii. 69). Later Juventas was joined with Terminus in the story (Flor. i. 1. 7, 8; Liv. v. 54. 7). The probable explanation is that the stone was a boundary stone, a sign of Jupiter's function as the guardian of truth and loyalty, and that the opening in the roof indicated his connection with the sky (Jord. i. 2. 12, 91; Gilb. ii. 422; Schwegler, Rom. Gesch. i. 794-795; WR 136-138; Rodocanachi, Le Capitole 34; Rosch. ii. 668, 708; v. 379-384).

TERRA MATER: a shrine of which the existence and location just south-east of the baths of Caracalla seem to be indicated by the evidence of three inscriptions (CIL vi. 770-772; cf. 30828), two of them found in the vineyards behind the church of S. Cesareo (HJ 197; WR 195; Rosch. v. 391).

TESTACEUS MONS: Monte Testaccio, the modern name for the artificial hill, south of the Aventine and the horrea Galbiana in Region XIII, which rises to a height of 50 metres above sea-level, and is about a kilometre in circumference. It is composed entirely of fragments of earthen jars (*amphorae*, *dolia*) in which corn, wine, and produce of various kinds had been brought to the horrea from Africa, Spain, and Gaul. Many of these jars were inscribed on the neck or handle, and a large number of these inscriptions have been recovered (CIL xv. pp. 491-659). They date from 140 to 251 A.D., but it is certain that the dumping of debris on this spot began as early as the time of Augustus, and that the hill had reached its present height by the middle of the second century. The distribution of the debris shows that the hill rose in the midst of the horrea. Under one of its sides the tomb of the RUSTICELII (q.v.) was found (HJ 177-178; Ann. d. Inst. 1878, 118-192; 1885, 232-234; CIL xv. pp. 491-492, 560-565; BC 1911, 246-260; 1915, 41-46, 279, 291; 1914, 241-250; 1915, 41-46, 279-290; Mem. Soc. Nat. Ant. France,



1915, 153; D. Orano, *Il Testaccio*; il monte ed il quartiere dalle origini al 1910, Pescara, 1910).

**THEATRUM BALBI:** a stone theatre built by L. Cornelius Balbus the younger (RE iv. 1270), and dedicated in 13 B.C. (Cass. Dio liv. 25; Suet. Aug. 29). It was injured by fire during the reign of Titus (Cass. Dio lxvi. 24) and restored, probably by Domitian: Ausonius speaks of it as still in use (Lud. septem sap. 40), and it is mentioned in Not. (Reg. IX). It had 11510 loca, or room for about 7700 spectators (BC 1894, 320). Four small columns of onyx, set up by Balbus in his theatre, were regarded at that time as very wonderful (Plin. NH xxxvi. 60). The location of this building near the Tiber, directly north of the upper end of the island, is indicated by the slight elevation known in the Middle Ages as the Monte dei Cenci. It occupied part at least of the ground covered by the Palazzo Cenci, the buildings between it and the Via Arenula, and the Piazza Cenci. The curve of the cavea was nearly tangent to the Via Arenula, and its main axis ran northwest-southeast. The theatre is marked on two fragments of the Marble Plan (FUR fig. 29; BC 1899, pl. i. No. 23; Atti del Congresso storico i. 117; HJ 519-521).

**THEATRUM MARCELLI.\*** Julius Caesar planned to build a theatre (Suet. Caes. 44: *theatrumque summae magnitudinis Tarpeio monti accubans*; Cass. Dio xliii. 49. 2; liii. 30. 5), and to make room for it he removed the temple of PIETAS (q.v.) in the forum Holitorium and other shrines and private houses (Plin. NH vii. 121; Cass. Dio xliii. 49. 3), but the building was not actually constructed by him but by Augustus, who found it necessary to purchase additional land from private owners at his own expense (Mon. Anc. iv. 22). The theatre was a memorial of Marcellus and dedicated in his name (Cass. Dio, Mon. Anc. locc. citt.; Liv. Epit. 138; Suet. Aug. 29; Plut. Marc. 30). In 17 B.C. the work of construction was so far advanced that part of the celebration of the *ludi saeculares* took place within the theatre (CIL vi. 32323. 157;<sup>1</sup> EE viii. 233), but the dedication did not occur until 13 (Cass. Dio liv. 26. 1), or less probably 11 (Plin. NH viii. 65; cf. Chron. Pasch. a. u. c. 732, ed. Momms. i. 218). On this occasion magnificent games were held (Cass. Dio liii. 30. 6; liv. 26. 1; Suet. Aug. 43). Augustus placed four remarkable marble columns from the house of Scaurus on the Palatine 'in regia theatri' (Asc. in Scaur. 45), but whether this was the middle door in the scaena, as was probably the case in the theatre of POMPEIUS (q.v.), or one of the halls at the ends of the scaena (see below), is uncertain (LR 498; BC 1901, 56). Besides the ordinary form of the name, the theatre was also called *theatrum Marcellianum* (Suet. Vesp. 19; Mart. ii. 29. 5; CIL vi. 33838 a).

Vespasian restored the scaena (Suet. Vesp. 19), which had perhaps been injured when the Vitellians stormed the Capitol, and Alexander Severus is said to have intended to restore it again (Hist. Alex. Sev. 44),

<sup>1</sup> Here it is called 'theatrum [quod est] in circo Flaminio.'

but of this nothing more is known. Martial mentions this theatre with that of Pompeius as one of the notable structures of the city (x. 51. 11); and parts of the *ludi saeculares* of Severus were celebrated in it, as in the games of Augustus (CIL vi. 32328, 33; EE viii. 271, 285). It is found on sundry inscriptions as an indication of location (Fast. Allif. Vall. a. d. xvi Kal. Sept., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 217, 240, Amit. a. d. xv Kal. Nov., i<sup>2</sup>. p. 245: Iano ad theatrum Marcelli; Urb. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 252, 339; vi. 9868: sagarius a theatro Marcelli; 10028; 33838 a: coactor a theatro Marcelliano); in Servius incidentally (Aen. vii. 607, cf. Jord. i. 2, 347); and in Reg. (Reg. IX).

Some of the travertine blocks used in the restoration of the pons Cestius in 370 A.D. were taken from this theatre (NS 1886, 159), which may perhaps indicate that the destruction of the building had begun by that time, although Petronius Maximus, prefect of the city, set up statues within it in 421, and one inscribed pedestal was found in situ in the eighth century by the compiler of the *Einsiedeln Itinerary* (CIL vi. 1650). Hülsen has shown (RPA i. 169-174; HCh 226 (S. Caeciliae de Monte Faffo, cf. 337<sup>1</sup>)) that the name *templum Marcelli* still clung to the ruins in 998, that the Fabii or Faffi were in possession of them as early as the middle of the twelfth century, and held them until the end of the thirteenth, when they were succeeded by the Savelli. It is very doubtful, on the other hand, whether the Pierleoni had any connection with the theatre. In 1368 it came into the possession of the Savelli family, and in 1712 into that of the Orsini. The present Palazzo was built by Baldassare Peruzzi for the Savelli in the early part of the sixteenth century, and stands upon the scaena and a large part of the cavea of the theatre (BC 1901, 52-70; 1914, 109; Lovatelli, *Passeggiate nella Roma antica*, Rome 1909, 53-88; LS iii. 7-8; for drawings of the ruins from the fifteenth century on, see literature just quoted; PBS ii., index to plates, p. 90; vi. 200; DuP 134-136; and see Ill. 48; and HJ 517, n. 29, 30; for a reconstruction, Canina, Ed. iv. pls. 159-163; for a reliable plan, that of Peruzzi, Uffizi 478, 631,<sup>2</sup> ap. Bartoli, *Mon. di Roma* ii. pl. 185).

The theatre is represented on fragments (28, 112) of the Marble Plan, and stands near the Tiber, on the north-west side of the forum Holitorium. The stage is toward the river, and the main axis runs north-north-east and south-south-west. It was built of travertine for the most part, with *opus reticulatum* in the foundations and inner walls (AJA 1912, 393), covered on the inside—and perhaps partly on the outside—with stucco and marble. A little less than one-third of the semi-circular exterior is still standing in the Via del Teatro di Marcello. It was built with three series of open arcades, one above the other.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also BC 1925, 64.

<sup>2</sup> This drawing is cited by Hülsen (loc. cit.), but, as a fact, there is very little of the plan on it. The plan was reproduced by Serlio (*Architettura*, iii. 57), from an apparently lost drawing; while the sections by Peruzzi are still extant (Uffizi, 603, 604=Bartoli, cit. 171, 170). Cf. Addenda.

Between the arches of the lowest arcade are half-columns of the Doric order, and above them is a Doric entablature with triglyphs and an attic, 1.20 metre high, with projections that form the bases of the half-columns of the second Ionic arcade. The entablature above these columns consists of an architrave of three projecting ledges, with a plain frieze and cornice. The original third arcade with Corinthian pilasters has been entirely destroyed and replaced with modern masonry. Thirteen piers, 3 metres wide and 2 thick, with their engaged columns, are still standing, and were till lately buried to about one-third of their height beneath the ground. Immediately within these piers was an ambulatory running round the *cavea*, from which spur walls were built on radial lines to support the tiers of seats. The construction of the walls, seats, etc., as well as of the exterior, seems to have been quite like that of the theatre of Pompeius and that which was afterwards developed in the Colosseum. The arcades, ambulatories, and chambers between the open walls have now been cleared. The diameter of the theatre was about 150 metres, the *scaena* was about 80-90 metres long and 20 deep; and at each end of the *scaena* was an apsidal hall, about 25 by 15 metres, one of which may have been the *regia* (see above).

According to the *Notitia*, this theatre had 20500 *loca*, and if this is interpreted to mean running feet of seats, as is usual at present, it would accommodate from ten to fourteen thousand spectators (BC 1894, 320), but much doubt attaches to these estimates of seating capacity (in addition to literature cited see in general BC 1901, 65-70; HJ 515-519; LR 493-495; D'Esp. Mon. i. 36-38; ASA 88; ZA 231-236; Capitulum i. 529-534; ii. 594-600).

THEATRUM POMPEI: \* the first permanent theatre in Rome, built of stone by Pompeius in his second consulship in 55 B.C., and dedicated in that year according to the common version (*Asc. in Pis.* i; *Vell.* ii. 48; *Chron. Pasch. a. u. c.* 697 (foundations laid); *Chronica Min. ed. Momms.* i. 215; *Tac. Ann.* xiv. 20; *Cass. Dio* xxxix. 38, whose story that a freedman of Pompeius furnished the money is to be rejected), when most elaborate games, contests of wild animals, and exhibitions of marvels, were provided (*Cic. in Pis.* 65; *Plin. NH* vii. 158; viii. 20; *Plut. Pomp.* 52). Besides the usual name, *theatrum Pompei*, it was called *theatrum Pompeianum* (*Plin. cit.* xxxiv. 39; xxxvi. 115; *Mon. Anc.* iv. 9; *Suet. Tib.* 47; *Claud.* 21; *Tac. Ann.* vi. 45; *Mart. vi.* 9; x. 51. 11; xiv. 29. 1, 166. 1; in plural, *Flor.* 13. 8); *theatrum marmoreum* (*Fast. Amit. ad pr. Id. Aug.*, CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 244); *theatrum magnum* (*Plin. cit.* vii. 158); and sometimes simply *theatrum* (*Cic. ad Att.* iv. 1. 6; *Hor. Carm.* i. 20. 3; *Suet. Nero* 13; *Flor.* ii. 13. 91; *Cass. Dio* l. 8. 3), as it was the only stone theatre in Rome until that of Marcellus was built and always the most important (cf. *Tac. Ann.* xiii. 54; *Plin. cit.* xxxiii. 54; *Cass. Dio* lxii. 8).

The plan of this building Pompeius took from that of Mitylene



(Plut. Pomp. 42), and within it he set up many wonderful statues (Plin. cit. vii. 34; for the statues of the fourteen nations subdued by Pompeius Plin. cit. xxxvi. 41; Suet. Nero 46; Serv. Aen. viii. 721; see PORTICUS AD NATIONES). To avoid censure for building a permanent theatre, he constructed a temple of VENUS VICTRIX (q.v.) at the top of the central part of the cavea, so that the rows of seats might appear to be the steps leading up to the temple, and dedicated the whole as a temple and not as a theatre (Tert. de spect. 10; Gell. x. i. 7; Plin. cit. viii. 20). Tertullian speaks of the dedication of theatre and temple as taking place at the same time, but Gellius (loc. cit.) states that Pompeius, when about to dedicate the temple, was uncertain whether to put *consul tertium* or *tertio* in the inscription, and on the advice of Cicero (quoted from a letter of Tiro) compromised on *consul tert.* This would seem to indicate that the temple was dedicated in 52, not 53 (which is also the statement of Chron. Pasch. a. u. c. 702; Chron. min. ed. Mommsen, i. 215). Gellius, however, goes on to say that the inscription *in theatro* did not read so in his day, *nam cum multis annis postea scaena, quae prociderat, refecta esset, numerus tertii consulatus non uti initio primoribus litteris sed tribus tantum liniolis incisis significatus est.* Whatever may have been true of the dedication, the inscription on the temple, or on the temple and scaena both, was evidently put in place in 52 B.C. From the notice in two calendars (Fast. Allif. Amit. ad pr. Id. Aug., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 217, 244, 324; cf. Suet. Claud. 21: *cum prius apud superiores aedes supplicasset*) it appears that there were shrines or altars to three other deities, Honor Virtus and Felicitas, similarly placed in the theatre, and perhaps a fourth (Fast. Allif.: V. . . .?).

Augustus restored the theatre at great expense in 32 B.C. (Mon. Anc. iv. 9: *sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei*; cf., however, CIL vi. 9404: *in schola sub theatro Aug(usto) Pompeian(o)*), and removed the statue of Pompeius, before which Caesar had been murdered, from the CURIA POMPEI (q.v.) to the theatre itself (Suet. Aug. 31: *Pompei quoque statuem contra theatri eius regiam* (the middle door of the scaena, Jord. FUR p. 23) *marmoreo iano superposuit*).<sup>1</sup> It was burned in 21 A.D. (Hier. a. Abr. 2037) and since there was no surviving member of the family able to restore it, this was undertaken by Tiberius (Tac. Ann. iii. 72; Vell. ii. 130; Sen. de cons. ad Marc. 22. 4), who set up a bronze statue of Sejanus within the building (Cass. Dio lvii. 21. 3). Tiberius did not complete the work of restoration (Suet. Tib. 47; Cal. 21), or, according to another statement, did not dedicate it (Tac. Ann. vi. 45). The completion of the work is ascribed to Caligula (Suet. Cal. 21) or Claudius (Suet. Claud. 21), and the dedication to the latter (Suet. Claud. 21; Cass. Dio lx. 6. 8), who inscribed the name of Tiberius on the scaena and built a marble arch in his honour (see ARCUS TIBERII) near the theatre (Suet. Claud. 11).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also CIL vi. 32323. 157 (*acta lud. saec. Aug.*).



In 66 A.D. when Tiridates, king of Armenia, visited Rome, Nero is said to have gilded the scaena and the exterior of the theatre for that one occasion, and to have stretched purple awnings over the cavea (Plin. cit. xxxiii. 54; Cass. Dio lxii. 6. 1-2). In 80 the scaena was burned (Cass. Dio lxvi. 24. 2), but must have been repaired very soon. Under Severus some restoration must have been carried out, for there are two inscriptions of Q. Acilius Fuscus, who was procurator operis theatri Pompeiani in 209-211 A.D. (Pros. i. 6. 47; CIL viii. 1439; xiv. 154; cf. NS 1880, 471, and CIL vi. 1031). In 247 the theatre was burned again (Hier. a. Abr. 2263), and probably under Carinus (Hist. Aug. Car. 19), for it was restored by Diocletian and Maximian (Chron. 148). Other restorations are recorded, by Arcadius and Honorius (CIL vi. 1191, cf. 1193; Mitt. 1899, 251-259), and finally by Symmachus at the command of Theodoric between 507 and 511 (Cassiod. Var. iv. 51; cf. Sym. Rel. 8. 3). Successive restorations probably increased its magnificence, and it is mentioned among the notable monuments of the city by Cassius Dio (xxxix. 38) and Ammianus Marcellinus (xvi. 10. 14: inter decora urbis). Immediately outside the south-east side of the scaena was the PORTICUS POMPEII (q.v.) for the use of the spectators in case of rain. Other references to the theatre in ancient literature convey no additional information (Tac. Ann. xiii. 54; Mart. vi. 9; x. 51. 11; xiv. 29. 1, 166. 1; App. BC ii. 115; v. 15; Fest. 178; Plin. cit. xxxvii. 19).

The theatre was in the campus Martius (Not. Reg. IX), a little north-east of the circus Flaminius, and is represented on the Marble Plan (frg. 30; see Jord. FUR 22-23). Its exact site is determined by the remains in opus reticulatum of the foundations of the cavea (the church of S. Maria de Crypta picta (HCh 328) takes its name from one of the vaults), of the temple of Venus Victrix, discovered under the Palazzo Pio, and of the scaena in the Piazza dei Satiri (which takes its name, not from the two satyrs now in the Capitol (Cortile 5, 23), but from a local name *Satro*, HCh 204-205). The Piazza di Grottapinta still preserves the name and the form of part of the theatre. The façade of the semi-circular cavea consisted of three series of arcades, adorned with columns, the lowest arcade being of the Doric order, the second Ionic, and the third Corinthian. Of the lower arcade traces of twenty-four arches of peperino have been found, in front of which were columns of red granite. The diameter of the theatre was 150-160 metres (cf. LF 23), and the length of the scaena about 95 metres. According to Pliny (NH xxxvi. 115) the cavea seated 40,000 persons, but this, like other statements of seating capacity in ancient literature, is open to question, and the most careful estimate reduces this number to 10,000 (BC 1894, 321; for the theatre and its remains, see also HJ 524-530; Gilb. iii. 322-327; LS ii. 50, 175, 244; iii. 123, 124, 234; DS v. 192-194; DAP 2. xv. 371; RA 24; Mem. L. 5. xvii. 505; Capitolium ii. 531-544).

THEATRUM TRAIANI : a theatre built by Trajan in the campus Martius, and destroyed by Hadrian, who pretended that this was in accordance with Trajan's instructions (Hist. Aug. Hadr. 9). Pausanias (v. 12. 6) is more likely to be referring to the AMPHITHEATRUM CASTRENSE (q.v.) : cf. HJ 249, n. 74.

THE(N)SARIUM VETUS IN CAPITOLIO : see AEDES TENSARUM.

THERMAE AGRIPPAE\* (Agrippianae, Not. ; Greg. Magn.) : the earliest of the great baths of Rome. According to Cassius Dio (liii. 27. 1) Agrippa built a hot-air bath (τὸ πυριτήριον τὸ Λακωνικόν)<sup>1</sup> in 25 B.C. at the same time as the PANTHEON (q.v.) ; and at his death in 12 he left to the Roman people, for their free use, a βαλανεῖον (liv. 29. 4 ; Sid. Apoll. carm. 23. 496 : balnea . . . quae Agrippa dedit). As the AQUA VIRGO (q.v.), which supplied these baths with water, was not completed until 19 B.C., it is probable that the laconicum was the original part of what afterwards became a complete establishment for bathing, which was then regularly called thermae. Agrippa adorned these baths with works of art, among which are mentioned paintings (Plin. NH xxxv. 26), and the Apoxyomenos of Lysippus, which was set up in front of them (id. xxxiv. 62). The hot rooms he is said to have finished with fresco on tiles (id. xxxvi. 189).

The thermae were burned in 80 A.D. (Cass. Dio lxvi. 24 : βαλανεῖον), but must have been restored by Titus or Domitian, for they are mentioned by Martial (iii. 20. 15, 36. 6) as much frequented. Another restoration was carried out by Hadrian (Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19 : Romae instauravit lavacrum Agrippae ; cf. also a reference in CIL vi. 9797 = AL 294). An inscription (vi. 1165) of 344/5 A.D. recording a restoration by Constantius and Constans of 'termas vetustate labefactas' was found near the church of S. Maria in Monterone close to the west side of the baths of Agrippa, and therefore probably refers to them. They are mentioned in the Regionary Catalogue (Reg. IX), by Sid. Apollinaris (loc. cit.), and in the sixth century (Greg. Magn. Reg. vi. 42 ; ix. 137 ; Kehr i. 98). By the seventh century the destruction of the building was well under way, and that its marble was burned into lime is shown by the name Calcararium, applied to the immediate vicinity somewhat later (Mirabilia 23 ; Jord. ii. 439 ; LS i. 25). They are, however, mentioned as Thermae Commodianae in Eins. i. 4 ; 2. 4 ; 4. 8 ; 8. 6.

The general plan of these thermae is known from a fragment of the Marble Plan found in 1900 (NS 1900, 633-634 ; BC 1901, 3-19 ; LS ii. 209 ; Mitt. 1905, 75) ; from drawings and plans of the sixteenth century (NS 1882, 347-351) when much of the structure was still standing—three

<sup>1</sup> The passage continues :

Λακωνικόν γάρ τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐπειδήπερ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γυμνοῦσθαι τε ἐν τῷ τότε κρίνῳ καὶ λίπα ἀσκεῖν μάλιστα ἐδόκουν, ἐπεκάλεσε. For a discussion see Mitt. 1920, 154-168. Λακωνικόν is here an adjective (see also the translation in the Loeb series) ; while in Vit. v. 10 and elsewhere it means a hot room with cold plunge baths in it.

in particular, one of Baldassare Peruzzi (Uffizi 456<sup>1</sup>; Geymüller, Documents inédits sur les thermes d'Agrippa, Lausanne 1883; NS 1882, pl. xxi.), a second of Palladio in the Devonshire collection (port. ix. f. 14; Rossi's edition of the Terme dei Romani, Vicenza 1797, pl. ii.; BC 1901, pl. ii.), and a third of S. Peruzzi (Uffizi 642); and from the meagre results of excavations (cf. NS 1881, 276-281; 1882, 351-359). From this evidence it appears that the building of Agrippa was oriented north and south on the axis of the Pantheon, and covered an area measuring about 100-120 metres north and south and 80-100 east and west, extending from the modern Via di Tor Argentina on the west to the east side of the Via dei Cestari, and having its southern limit a little north of the Corso Vittorio Emanuele. Just north of the centre of the building was a circular hall about 25 metres in diameter, belonging to a later reconstruction in a period not earlier than Alexander Severus (RA 127, 128; 175, 176), with the earliest known example of meridian ribs in its dome, the arco della Ciambella, by which name it was known as early as 1505 (BC 1901, 16), shown in sketches of the seventeenth century (e.g. that of Giovannoli, BC 1901, pl. iv.) when it was still complete. It is now only partially preserved and is visible behind the houses in the Via dell' Arco della Ciambella. It was probably a sort of general assembly hall, the social centre of the baths. The arrangement of the other rooms is uncertain, but the caldarium was probably directly west of the circular hall. On the west side of the *thermae* was an artificial pool or *STAGNUM* (q.v.). The plan is very like that of the larger *thermae* (the so-called palace) at Trèves (Trier), as the restoration by Williams shows (ASA 100).

The original structure of Agrippa was afterwards extended north by Hadrian, and connected with the Pantheon by a series of halls, of which only small sections have been found (NS 1877, 271; 1878, 93; 1881, 278; 1886, 159; BC 1886, 219; LS ii. 236; Mél. 1885, 3 ff., pl. i), except in the case of that directly adjoining the Pantheon. This hall is wrongly called *Laconicum* by Lanciani, for there are no traces of heating arrangements. Its real purpose is uncertain; Hülsen conjectures that it is to be identified with the library which Julius Africanus erected for the emperor Alexander Severus. But the passage in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (iii. p. 39)<sup>2</sup> which he cites, though it is certainly ambiguous, would seem to refer rather to the *THERMAE ALEXANDRINAE* (*NERONIANAE*), q.v., which were close by—*ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρὸς ταῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου θερμαῖς ἐν τῇ ἐν Πανθείῳ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῇ καλῇ ἣν αὐτὸς ἡρχιτεκτόνησα τῷ Σεβαστῷ*. From the brickstamps cited by Hülsen, it would seem that the hall itself must also belong to the period of Hadrian, as he maintains; and this is borne out by the character of the frieze and cornice. Cf. Toeb. i. 67-72.

<sup>1</sup> Uffizi 456, 642 = Hülsen, *Thermen des Agrippa*, pl. v.; fig. 6 = Bartoli, *Monumenti di Roma* ii. pl. 175; ii. pl. 393.

<sup>2</sup> No. 412—a fragment of book viii. of the *κεστοὶ* of Africanus himself.



The hall, now cut through by the Via della Palombella, was rectangular in shape, 45 metres long and 19 wide, with an apse 9 metres in diameter in the north wall. Along each of the longer sides stood four columns of pavonazzetto and red granite. Between the first and second and the third and fourth columns on each side were three niches, two rectangular and one semi-circular. Round the hall ran a remarkably well executed frieze and cornice, some of which is in situ (Durm, fig. 437; D'Esp. Fr. i. 78). The walls are 1.75 metre thick. The cross-walls between the north wall of this hall and the drum of the Pantheon date from 126 or later (AJA 1912, 421), and as they are not connected with either structure but simply abut against them, it is clear that they were intended to serve as buttresses, perhaps in order that a heavy roof might be put over the hall.

For the *thermae*, see HJ 576-580; RE i. 899; and especially Hülsen, *Die Thermen des Agrippa*, Rome 1910, which contains reproductions of the plans cited above as well as others, and a definite discussion of the whole structure.

THERMAE ALEXANDRINAE: see THERMAE NERONIANAE.

THERMAE ANTONINIANAE (CARACALLAE)\* (Capsararius de Antoninianas (sic) in (CIL vi. 9232) a fifth (?) century inscription): the *thermae* built by Caracalla on the VIA NOVA (q.v.), which he constructed parallel to and on the right of the via Appia, a little beyond the porta Capena. Hier. ad Euseb. a. Abr. 2231: Antoninus Romae thermas sui nominis aedificavit, fixes the date of their dedication as 216 A.D. Breval, *Remarks on Several Parts of Europe*, Ser. I (1726), ii. 259, saw the letters . . . ONINI on the exterior, perhaps a fragment of the dedicatory inscription; cf. Aur. Victor. Caesar. 21: ad lavandum absoluto opere pulcri cultus; quibus confectis cum Syriam circumgrederetur, anno potentiae sexto (217 A.D.) moritur (from which Hist. Aug. Carac. 9 is probably derived); cf. also Eutrop. 8. 20; Chron. 147.

The commencement of the building may be fixed by the fact that the brickstamps with Geta's name not yet erased (CIL xv. 769. 3, 4), which have been found in use in its construction, can only belong to the period between February 211 and February 212. A quarry mark with the consular date 206 A.D. upon a mass of Greek statuary marble (Ann. d. Inst. 1870, p. 193, No. 279) has nothing to do with the date of the commencement of the *thermae*. A lead pipe found here (CIL xv. 7381) bears the names of Q. Aiadius Modestus and Q. Aiadius Censorinus, of whom the former is probably identical with one of the quindecimviri sacris faciundis of the ludi saeculares of 204 A.D. (CIL vi. 32327-32329, 32332; cf. p. 3261), who was legatus of upper Germany between 209 and 211 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

Elagabalus (Hist. Aug. Heliog. 17. 8) is said to have added porticoes

<sup>1</sup> CIL xiii. 7417 (in the notes the date is wrongly given as 209-214), 7441.



which were finished by Alexander Severus (cf. *id.* Alex. 25. 6); but the truth of the statement is doubtful (SHA 1916. 7. A, 7-8), though it has generally been taken to refer to the peribolus.<sup>1</sup> For a catalogue of the works of art which the baths contained about the middle of the third century,<sup>2</sup> cf. Nicole, *Un Catalogue d'œuvres d'art conservées à Rome à l'époque impériale* (Geneva, 1906). Some porticoes connected with the baths (whatever is meant) were destroyed or damaged by fire, and repaired under Aurelian (Chron. 148: *porticus Thermarum Antoninarum arserunt et fabricatum est*).

A brick-stamp of the time of Constans or Constantius (not found in situ) gives some evidence of activity about the middle of the fourth century (CIL xv. 1542. 3),<sup>3</sup> while we have dedicatory inscriptions upon the bases of statues set up by the *praefectus urbi* to Victoria and to the victorious emperors Valentinian and Valens towards the end of it (CIL vi. 794, 1170-1173).

In the fifth century the baths are named among the marvels of Rome (Pol. Silv. 545; Olympiod. ap. Phot. p. 63a Bekk.: *αἱ δὲ Ἀντωνιαναὶ . . . εἰς χρεῖαν τῶν λουομένων καθέδρας εἶχον παρακειμένας χιλίας ἑξακοσίας ἐξ μαρμάρου κατεσκευασμένας ξέστου*. Cf. THERMAE DIOCLETIANI), and there is evidence of restoration under Theodoric in the sixth century (CIL xv. 1665. 3, 4; 1669. 7), but their use must have been rendered impossible when the aqueducts were cut by the Goths in 537 A.D.

The ruins were less affected than those of many other buildings by the devastations of the Middle Ages, though evidence has been found here too of the harm wrought by the earthquake of 847 (a column in the *xystus* resting on a mass of debris; see BASILICA AEMILIA). The name occurs in Eins. (II. 2; 13. 25) and under various forms (*palatium Antonianum*, *l'Antoniana*, etc.) right through the Middle Ages. Discovery and destruction went hand in hand under Paul III (LS *passim*; DAP 2. xv. 369). The colossal group of the Farnese Bull, and the large statues of Hercules and Flora which were found in his pontificate, are now all in the Museum at Naples. After the important studies of sixteenth century architects, no great progress was made until the publication of Blouet's *Restauration des thermes d'Antonin Caracalla* (Paris 1828), which gives the results of Velo's excavations. Iwanoff studied the ruins in 1847-49, but his results were only published in 1898, with text by Hülsen (*Aus den Caracallathermen*, Berlin 1898). Important

<sup>1</sup> Hülsen, who had already pointed out that not a single brick-stamp is to be found in the peribolus (Hülsen-Iwanoff, *op. cit.* 57—an observation which is confirmed by the excavations of 1912), is inclined to accept this statement: for, as is well known, the practice of stamping bricks went out of use after the reign of Caracalla until the time of Diocletian. See also p. 531, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The restoration '*Herculem G[lycon]is*' (the Hercules now at Naples, I. 6) is almost certain (cf. p. 32). Cf. also the list in Iwanoff-Hülsen, *op. cit. infra*, 72-80.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 1580 *a* was found (as well as ib. 1665) in some late tombs in the peribolus (NS 1912, 310), and is referred to as '*frequently occurring*' in the *thermae* (a fact not mentioned in CIL).

excavations have been made since in the main building (for a summary up to 1897, see LR 535-543), and, in 1901 and 1911, in its subterranean service and drainage passages, in the underground corridors which connected it with the peribolus, and in parts of the latter (NS 1901, 248-253; 1912, 305-325; De Angelis, *Relazione dell' Ufficio Tecnico* (Rome 1903) 108-114; YW 1912, 12; Builder, ciii. 376; *Zona Monumentale di Roma* (Rome 1914) 55-63; and for works of art found, PT 114, 156-157, 192-194, 206).

The plan of the *thermae* of Caracalla is derived, with modifications, from the *thermae* of Trajan; they consist of a large central building containing the baths proper, surrounded by a garden, which in turn is enclosed by a rectangular peribolus, containing porticoes, rooms for recreation, etc. The *via Nova* ran below the level of this garden, which was in large measure artificially raised, only the south and south-east porticoes having been cut out of the hillside. It was therefore approached by flights of steps; between them were small rooms in two stories which served as shops and offices. These ran along the front and the sides, almost as far as the back of the central building, where they were succeeded by two huge *exedrae*, in each of which were three main rooms—<sup>1</sup> an octagonal *nymphaeum* (?) (which has great importance in the history of the development of the dome, providing the earliest extant examples of spherical pendentives of windows in the drum and of half-domed recesses under them), a rectangular room open towards the garden, and another room, previously thought to have been a *piscina*, but recently found to have been heated by hypocausts (seen on the left of Ill. 50). Behind these rooms was an arcade following the curve of the *exedra*; and in front of each *exedra* was a portico which gave on to the garden, and was continued along the south-west side as well (Mem. L. 5. xvii. 527).

We have now reached the posterior angles of the peribolus; in each of them is a staircase (not a part of the original construction) followed by a large rectangular hall open towards the garden, which from its internal arrangements must be a library (Ill. 52). On three sides it is surrounded by low steps, leading up to niches, in which the manuscripts were kept. Two capitals, with figures of Serapis and Harpocrates, now in S. Maria in Trastevere, came from here (DAP 2. xi. 174). The centre of the south-west side is occupied by rows of seats, with a curve at each end. Here was obviously a stadium; but the north-east side was left open, so that spectators in the garden could see what was going on. Behind the seats and at a higher level were the large reservoirs of the *thermae*, consisting of sixty-four vaulted chambers in two stories and in two rows. They were supplied by a branch of the *AQUA MARCIA*,

<sup>1</sup> CDE in the plan (fig. 1) in NS 1912, 305. C was paved with mosaic, and there was no depression in the centre; the octagonal outline in Baumeister, 1772, pl. lxx., is intended to represent the vaulting; and the suggestion that this was a *laconicum* (Mitt. 1920, 168, 169) may therefore be disregarded.



51 THERMAE ANTONINIANAE, CENTRAL HALL (p. 523)



52 THERMAE ANTONINIANAE, LIBRARY (p. 522)





the Antoniniana Iovia (q.v.), which crossed the via Appia on the so-called ARCH OF DRUSUS (q.v.).

The central block, to which we now turn, had four entrances: the two central ones led into the covered halls (from which the apodyteria or dressing-rooms were reached) at each end of the frigidarium. This, despite all that has been said to the contrary, was probably open to the air, like the frigidarium of the thermae of Diocletian. The famous passage (Hist. Aug. Carac. 9. 4) as to the 'cella solearis,' which most writers have identified with the frigidarium (while others have referred it to the caldarium), is relegated by Domaszewski to the list of the writer's inventions (SHA 1916, 7. A, 7; 1918, 13. A, 49). Thus *solearis* is an intentional corruption of *soliaris*, and the sentence: *nam et ex aere vel cypro cancelli superpositi esse dicuntur, quibus cameratio tota concedita est*, is added by the author as an explanation of the word. As a matter of fact, a *cella soliaris* (or *cum soliis*) is mentioned thrice in North Africa—at Thuburnica, Madauros, and Thuburbo Maius (CIL viii. 14700<sup>1</sup>; Mél. 1909, 401; AA 1911, 277; CRA 1917, 72)—and appears to mean a hall in which were large basins for private hot baths. In some cases *solum* is used for the room itself (CIL viii. 897, p. 928, 948). The north-east (external) wall was elaborately decorated with small niches surmounted by pediments and enclosed by ranges of columns carrying architraves, one above the other—the first case of a form of embellishment, which is also found in the frigidarium of the thermae of Diocletian. On the south-west it opened on to the great central hall, which has so long been wrongly known as the tepidarium, though no arrangements for heating it are to be found; and it has so many openings that it would be impossible to keep up even a moderate temperature in it. This great hall (Ill. 51), which measures 183 by 79 feet, was covered with an intersecting barrel vault, and was adorned with eight granite columns,<sup>2</sup> one of which was still standing there until 1561-5, when it was removed to Florence by Cosimo I, and now stands in the Piazza della Trinità (DuP 89).

The other two entrances at each end of the central block led into two halls which gave directly on to the two palaestrae, one at each end of the longer axis of the building. These were open courts surrounded by a colonnade on three sides with a row of three rooms opening towards the fourth side. On the axis of the central hall and opening out of it are two apsidal recesses, each of which contained a large mosaic pavement representing athletes, and dating probably from the fourth century. They were discovered in 1824, and placed in the Lateran museum, where they have been somewhat arbitrarily re-arranged (HF ii. p. 1, No. 1240; Nogara, *Mosaici del Vat. e del Lat.* pls. i.-iv.).

Two low openings on the minor axis of the central hall lead into a small rectangular room, probably the tepidarium, which serves as the

<sup>1</sup> =ib. 10607; cf. also 10608.

<sup>2</sup> For their remarkable capitals, see SScR 307-309.

vestibule to the great circular caldarium in the centre of the south-west side. Its lofty dome (in which almost for the first time amphorae were used to lighten the vault—the earliest instance within the city is in the haunches of some of the barrel vaults in the substructions of Septimius Severus on the Palatine, RA 164) was 35 metres in diameter, and was supported by eight huge pillars, two of which are still standing. These were united by two tiers of arches. Between the pillars on each side of the entrance hot baths have been inserted at a later date, and were supplied by cisterns added on each side of the tepidarium. Other private baths were accessible from the palaestrae or were situated in the upper story. The central block was completed by four rooms on the south-west side on each side of the caldarium, which served for meeting places, recitations, etc.

The planning of the subterranean portion of the baths is no less admirable than that of the superstructure. It was studied in the excavations of 1901 and 1912, but no comprehensive plan is as yet available. An elaborate system of tiewalls was introduced to strengthen the foundations. Under the whole of the main building run passages at two levels, the upper for service, communication being by means of shafts, the lower for drainage. The main discharge is on the north-west side from a drain running the whole length of the north-east front, and receiving the water from the frigidarium, which had two outlets in the centre. Another important passage ran beneath the main axis of the building. These passages are approached from open courtyards, which also served as light wells, on each side of the tepidarium (both those immediately adjacent to it and those marked *MM* on Ripostelli's and Lugli's plans are referred to).

Along the south-west side of the building run far larger and more extensive vaulted passages which communicated with the interesting and complicated substructures of the two exedrae of the peribolus. In one part of them a mill was established at a later date, when the baths lost part of their importance; in another was placed a Mithraeum, the largest known in Rome, which gives us interesting information as to the details of the cult (NS 1912, cit.; PT 125).

Besides the authorities already quoted, see D'Esp. Mon. ii. 160-161; Fr. i. 98; DuP 123-125; Toeb. i. 100-107; ZA 280-295; RA 166-177; HJ 189-196; ASA 100-106.

**THERMAE AURELIANAE:** a bathing establishment for use in winter which Aurelian planned to build on the right bank of the Tiber, but apparently did not (Hist. Aug. Aur. 45: *thermas in Transtiberina regione Aurelianus facere paravit hiemales quod aquae frigidioris copia illic deesset*). Cf. Platner in CP 1917, 195, as against HJ 630 (who translates it 'cold baths'), citing id. Gord. 32. 7 for *thermae aestivae* contrasted with *thermae hiemales*—the reason being in his opinion that the water was not cold enough to be pleasant for use in summer, and therefore it

was thought better to warm it for use in winter. Domaszewski (SHA 1916, 7. A, 5-6; 1918, 13. A, 48) regards the whole story as a mere fabrication.

THERMAE CLEANDRI: see THERMAE COMMODIANAE.

THERMAE COMMODIANAE: baths built by Cleander, a favourite of Commodus, in Region I (Not.), probably south or south-east of those built later by Caracalla (Hist. Aug. Commod. 17; Chron. 147; Hieron. a. Abr. 2199; Chron. Pasch. i. 226; Herodian. i. 12. 4).<sup>1</sup> Whether these thermae were called *γυμνάσιον* or not, depends on the reading accepted in Herod. 12. 4: *γυμνάσιον κατασκευάσας καὶ* (A, Io, Mendelssohn's ed. 1883; om. B, V, vulgo)<sup>2</sup> *λουτρὸν δημόσιον ἀνῆκεν αὐτοῖς*. The thermae Commodianae mentioned in Eins. 1. 4, 2. 4, 4. 8, 8. 6 are the THERMAE AGRIPPAE (q.v.); for ib. 11. 2, cf. DAP 2. ix. 416). No trace of the real thermae Commodianae has been found (HJ 217; Merlin 329, n. 6).

THERMAE CONSTANTINIANAE: the last of the great baths of Rome, built by Constantine on the Quirinal, probably before 315 (Aur. Vict. Caes. 40: a quo ad lavandum institutum opus ceteris haud multo dispar; Not. Reg. VI). They suffered greatly from fire and earthquake and were restored in 443 by the city prefect Petronius Perpenna Magnus Quadratianus (CIL vi. 1750), at which time it is probable that the colossal statues of the Dioscuri and horses, now in the Piazza del Quirinale, were set up within the thermae (Mitt. 1898, 273-274; 1900, 309-310). The only other reference to these baths in ancient literature is in Ammianus Marcellinus (xxvii. 3. 8: cum collecta plebs infima domum prope Constantinianum lavacrum iniectis facibus incenderat), but they are mentioned in Eins. (1. 10; 3. 6; 7. 11).

They were built in the irregular space between the vicus Longus, the Alta Semita, the clivus Salutis and the vicus laci Fundani, and as this was on a side-hill, it was necessary to make an artificial level, beneath which the ruins of houses of the second, third and fourth centuries have been found (BC 1876, 102-106; cf. also DOMUS T. AVIDII QUIETI (b), MUCIANI). Because of these peculiar conditions these thermae differed in plan from all others in the city. Enough of the structure was standing at the beginning of the sixteenth century to permit of plans and drawings by the architects of that period, and these are the chief sources of our knowledge of the building (see especially Serlio, Architettura iii. 92;<sup>3</sup> Palladio, Le Terme, pl. xiv.; Duperac, Vestigii, pl. 32; LS iii. 196-197; Ant. van den Wyngaerde, BC 1895, pls. vi.-xiii.; HJ 439, n. 131). The remains were almost entirely destroyed in 1605-1621, when the Palazzo Rospigliosi was built, but some traces were found a century later (BC

<sup>1</sup> A passage from the Consultatio veteris Iurisconsulti (Huschke, Jurisprudentiae anteiustinian. p. 743), ix. 2, speaks of a law of March 24th, 365, as 'allegata in basilica thermarum Com(modianarum)': cf. BC 1926, 66.

<sup>2</sup> It is also omitted by Stavenhagen (1922).

<sup>3</sup> Ed. 1550; in those of 1544 and 1562 the reference is iii. 88. In all these thermae are wrongly ascribed to Titus.



1895, 88; HJ 440, n. 133), and since 1870 (NS 1876, 55, 99; 1877, 204, 267; 1878, 233, 340).

The baths were oriented north and south (see LF 16) with one principal entrance in the middle of the north side. As the main structure occupied all the space between the streets on the east and west, the ordinary peribolus was replaced by an enclosure that extended across the front and was bounded on the north by a curved line, an area now occupied by the Palazzo della Consulta. The other principal entrance was on the west side, where a magnificent flight of steps led down from the top of the hill to the campus Martius. The frigidarium seems to have had its longer axis north and south instead of east and west, and behind it were tepidarium and caldarium both circular in shape. Because of the comparative narrowness of the building, the ordinary arrangement of the anterooms on each side of the caldarium was not carried out.

Some notable works of art have been found on the site of these thermae, among them the bronze statues of boxer and athlete now in the Museo delle Terme<sup>1</sup> (HF 1347, 1350; PT 195-197; Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, frontispiece and pp. 302-307; NS 1885, 223; Ant. Denk. i. pls. 4, 5); two statues of Constantine, one in the pronaos of the Lateran, and the other in the Piazza del Campidoglio with a statue of his son Constans (CIL vi. 1148-1150; MD 1346; HF i. p. 411); and some frescoes, till lately in the Palazzo Rospigliosi (Matz-Duhn 4110; PBS vii. 40-44; Mitt. 1911, 149) and now in the Museo delle Terme (BA 1925, 147-163), which belong to an earlier building, perhaps the *Domus CLAUDIORUM* (q.v.).

For the thermae in general, see HJ 438-441; RhM 1894, 389-392; Jord. ii. 526-528; Gilb. iii. 300; RE iv. 962-963; Reber 496-500; Canina Ed. iv. pls. 220-222; Mem. L. 5. xvii. 534, 535.

**THERMAE DECIANAE:** built by the Emperor Decius in 252 A.D. on the Aventine (Cassiod. ad a. 252; Chron. min. ii. 147: his consulibus (Gallo et Volusiano) Decius Romae lavacra publica aedificavit quae suo nomine appellari iussit; Eutrop. ix. 4: Romae lavacrum aedificavit; Chron. a. 354, i. 147: hoc imperatore thermae Commodianae (an evident error for Decianae) dedicatae sunt; Not. Reg. XIII; CIL xv. 7181: in Aventino in domo Potiti v. c. ad Decianas; cf. BC 1887, 266, 293; 1893, 240-241).

A partial plan of these thermae drawn by Palladio about 1600 was found by Lanciani in the Devonshire collection (portfolio 15, pl. 81; LR fig. 210), on which can be traced the outlines of the central hall, the beginning of the caldarium, and the dressing and lounging rooms on the sides, in the usual manner of the Roman baths. This main part

<sup>1</sup> The torso of the Belvedere should probably be added (HF 124; cf. RhM 1894, 423; Mitt. 1898, 258). It bears the signature of Apollonios, an Athenian artist, whose name has recently been thought to be recognized on the glove of the boxer (Forschungen u. Fortschritte, iii. 193; Gnomon iii. 190; AJA 1927, 163; Mem. Am. Acad. vi. 133-136).



seems to have measured about 70 by 35 metres, which shows that the whole complex of buildings was very large.

The site of the *thermae* was between the present churches of S. Alessio and S. Prisca, in the Vigna Torlonia, and Palladio's plan corresponds with the remains of foundation walls still existing under and around the casino of the vigna. Excavations on this site since the seventeenth century have resulted in the discovery of large halls with mosaic pavements and painted marble and stucco decoration (Bartoli, *Mem.* 125, 127, 129; Vacca, *Mem.* 90; Ficoroni, *Mem.* 22), of inscribed pedestals of statues erected during the fourth century by prefects of the city (CIL vi. 1159, 1160, 1167, 1192 (?), 1651 (?), 1672; BC 1878, 253-256; DE ii. 1478); and of works of art such as the infant Hercules in basalt and the relief of Endymion now in the Capitoline Museum (HF 807, 863; Cap. 219, 275).

For these excavations and their literature, see LS iii. 143-144; LR 544-546; Merlin 316-317, and especially App. Nos. 3, 6, 8, 11, 12, 34, 37; for the *thermae* in general, HJ 163-164; LF 34; BC 1914, 348-349; RE iv. 2269-2270.

**THERMAE DIOCLETIANI:** the baths erected by Diocletian on the high ground to the north-east of the Viminal. The dedicatory inscription (CIL vi. 1130=31242) of which at least four copies were set up runs as follows: D(omini) n(ostri) Diocletianus et Maximianus invicti seniores Aug(usti), patres imp(eratorum) et Caes(arum), et d(omini) n(ostri) Constantius et Maximianus invicti Aug(usti), et Severus et Maximinus nobilissimi Caesares . . . *thermas felices Diocletianas, quas Maximianus Aug. rediens ex Africa sub praesentia maiestatis disposuit ac fieri iussit et Diocletiani Aug. fratris sui nomine consecravit, coemptis aedificiis pro tanti operis magnitudine omni cultu perfectas Romanis suis dedicaverunt.* Maximian's return to Rome took place in the autumn of 298; while the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian in favour of Constantius (Chlorus) and (Galerius) Maximianus took place on 1st May, 305, and Constantius died on 25th July, 306. The inscription therefore belongs to the period between the two latter dates, and the baths took between seven and eight years to complete. It is noteworthy that the bricks used belong entirely to the period of Diocletian, no older material having been employed. The exterior (like that of the *thermae* of Caracalla and of the curia) was faced with white stucco in imitation of construction in blocks of white marble. The date given by Hier. a. Abr. 2318 (302 A.D.), cf. Chron. 148, is therefore incorrect. The baths are also mentioned in Not. (Reg. VI) and in Hist. Aug. (xxx. Tyr. 21), where we are told that the *QUADRIGAE PISONIS* (q.v.) were among the buildings removed to make way for the baths. We may add a monument of an undetermined period,<sup>1</sup> decorated with sculptures, including a relief representing the temple of Quirinus (Mitt. 1904, 23-37), and various private houses,

<sup>1</sup> For the date see p. 439, and n. 1.

including that of CORNELIA L. F. VOLUSI SATURNINI (q.v.); while the north-eastern portion of the vicus Longus was suppressed, and the Alta Semita and the Vicus Collis Viminalis connected by a new cross street (BC 1880, 132; 1887, 181; 1888, 36; the streets are shown by LF 17 and HF i, ii; cf. RhM 1894, 383, 388).

The statement in Hist. Aug. Prob. c. 2: *usus autem sum praecipue libris ex bibliotheca Ulpia, aetate mea thermis Diocletiani*, is a pure invention according to v. Domaszewski (SHA 1916, 7. A, 9). If it is true that these thermae could accommodate 3000 people in marble seats, almost double the number of bathers that found room in those of Caracalla (Olympiod. ap. Phot. 80, p. 63 a, Bekker, v. p. 521), then, inasmuch as the area is about the same, the space must have been more economically used. They are also mentioned by Schol. Iuv. xi. 56, and Sidon. ad Consent. 495. CIL vi. 1131 (the date of which is uncertain) refers apparently to a restoration, saying '*thermas Diocletianas a veteribus principibus institutas omn[i] cultu . . . restituit*.' The destruction of the aqueducts in the Gothic wars naturally rendered them unusable; but they are mentioned as in the fourth ecclesiastical region in Regest. Honor. i. a. 625 ap. Deusdedit (iii. c. 138); and the name in *thermis Diocletianis* was applied to the church of S. Cyriacus right through the Middle Ages (HCh 245, 246), while in the *Mirabilia* (27) and in Magister Gregorius (JRS 1919, 52) the building is known as the *Palatium Diocletiani*.

The thermae of Diocletian (Ill. 54, a view taken shortly after the construction of the first railway station) occupied about the same area as those of Caracalla (a rectangle of about 356 by 316 metres, or about 28½ acres) and closely resemble them in plan. The central hall of the main building, which measured 280 by 160 metres, wrongly known as the tepidarium until quite recently, is derived, as Rivoira points out, from that of the thermae of Titus and of Trajan, and is very similar to that of the baths of Caracalla; while from it is derived the plan of the Basilica of Constantine. Its excellent preservation is due to its conversion into the church of S. Maria degli Angeli by Michelangelo; though there is not sufficient evidence to allow us to attribute to him, instead of to Vanvitelli, the new apse on the north-east side (cf. Roma iii. (1925), 349-356, 395-408). It has an intersecting vault divided into three bays; the four columns of grey granite on each side do not support the vault, but are purely ornamental. The four smaller rooms at the angles may have served for cold baths, as there is no trace of heating; while between them, on the minor axis, there was access to the frigidarium on the north-east and to the circular tepidarium (now the vestibule of the church) and the rectangular caldarium, which projected south-westwards, and though extant in the sixteenth century is now destroyed; see DuP 127.

On the major axis, on the south-west, there was an approach at each



53 THERMAE DIOCLETIANI, FRIGIDARIUM (p. 529)



54 THERMAE DIOCLETIANI  
AND OLD RAILWAY STATION (p. 528)





end through two rectangular halls (on each side of which were others) to the palaestrae, one at each end of the main block on each side of the frigidarium, a hall containing a huge shallow bathing pool, which was open to the air; its north wall, elaborately decorated with niches, is still in great part preserved; see Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma*, No. 115 Hind, and Ill. 53. On each side of the caldarium were the apodyteria or dressing rooms, and other halls, which served for private baths, etc., as well as for conversation, recitations of poets, rhetoricians, etc., and completed the rectangular central block.<sup>1</sup> This was surrounded by a garden, which was enclosed by an outer peribolus. Around this were small rectangular halls and semicircular exedrae, which were also used as reading and lecture rooms, gymnasia and lounging rooms.

In the centre of the south-west side was a very large exedra, which was doubtless provided with seats and served as a theatre (like the corresponding exedrae in the thermae of Trajan and Caracalla).

The actual enclosure wall was preserved until modern days. The Via Nazionale was driven through it in 1867, and only the line of its curve is still shown by the buildings of the Piazza dell' Esedra dei Termini, the corrupt form in which the name of the thermae still lingers on. At the west and south angles of the peribolus are two circular halls, one of which is especially well preserved, owing to its conversion into the church of S. Bernardo in 1598.<sup>2</sup>

The whole of the external brick facing was covered with plaster, in imitation of construction in blocks of white marble with draughted joints: this was also done in the thermae of Caracalla, the basilica of Constantine, etc.

The reservoir by which the baths were supplied was fed by the aqua Marcia, the volume of which was increased by Diocletian (see p. 27). It lay outside the peribolus on the south side; and, being in the angle between the baths and the vicus Collis Viminalis, it was trapezoidal in shape, 91 metres in length, with an average width of 16 metres. The last remains of it above ground were not destroyed until 1876 (Falda, Giardini di Roma, 14; LA 308, 318; BC 1872-3, 230; 1906, 106-107; Archaeologia li. 502, fig. 12; HJ 382, n. 22; JRS 1919, 190).

For the excavations and demolitions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the condition of the ruins at that period, see BA 1909, 361-372, 401-405; LS passim (esp. i. 148; ii. 135-149); DuP 125-128; HCh 245, 246, 589, 590. The ruins of the caldarium and the southern angle of the central block were in large measure removed by Sixtus V.

For the thermae in general, see Sebastianus de Oya,<sup>3</sup> 1558 (Brunet,

<sup>1</sup> The identification of the rooms at the south-east and south-west angles as *laconica* (Mitt. 1920, 168) is incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> See S. Ortolani, *San Bernardo alle Terme* (Chiese di Roma illustrate, No. 8; Rome, n.d.).

<sup>3</sup> See *Journal Royal Inst. Brit. Arch.* xxxi. (1923-4), 153.

Manuel iv. 302); Paulin, Restauration des Thermes de Dioclétien<sup>1</sup> (Paris 1890); D'Esp. Mon. ii. 162-171; Fr. i. 98; 99; LR 434-437; LS passim; IJ 377-382; BA 1911, 347-361; Paribeni, Le Terme di Diocleziano ed il Museo Nazionale Romano, 9-56; Toeb. i. 113; RA 204-210 (superseding Journal of the Brit. and Am. Arch. Soc. iv. 353-360); Mem. L. 5. xvii. 533; RE ii. 2755; ASA 106, 107.

**THERMAE DOMITII**: baths built by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the father of Nero, on the Sacra via (Sen. Contr. ix. 4. 18: *thermas prospicientes viam sacram*), probably adjacent to his house (see **DOMUS DOMITIANA**).

**THERMAE ETRUSCI**: the baths of Claudius Etruscus, described in detail by Statius (Silv. i. 5) and Martial (vi. 42). As they were fed by both the aqua Virgo and Marcia, these baths were probably on the north-eastern part of the Quirinal or the south end of the Pincian (see Vollmer's Statius, *Silvae ad loc.*).

**THERMAE GORDIANI**: see Hist. Aug. Gord. 32. 7 (the passage is probably a fabrication; cf. SHA 1916, 7. A, 6).

**THERMAE HELENAE**: baths situated on the eastern part of the Caelian hill, between the amphitheatrum Castrense and the arcus Neroniani of the aqua Claudia, and are now bounded by the Vie di S. Croce in Gerusalemme and Eleniana. They are almost entirely destroyed. They are commonly ascribed to Helena, the mother of Constantine, on the evidence of an inscription found among the meagre ruins on this site (CIL vi. 1136: d.n. He[lena venerabilis do]mini [n. Constantini A]ug. mater e[t] avia beatis[simor. et floren]tis[simor. Caesarum nostroru[m] therm[as incendio d]iestru[ctas restituit]). This inscription of course records only a restoration, and there is no actual occurrence of the name *thermae Helenae*. In 1907 a fragmentary inscription was discovered in the cloister of S. Croce in Gerusalemme which contained a list of distinguished men of the time of Maximian, with certain sums opposite their names, and it has been conjectured that this may be a list of men who made voluntary contributions to construct the baths which Helena afterwards restored (BC 1907, 114-121). In the sixteenth century much more of the building was standing, and we have plans then drawn by Palladio (Devonshire collection; Terme dei Romani, ed. Rossi, Vicenza, 1797, pl. xvii. reproduced in BC 1896, 238) and by Antonio da Sangallo the younger (Uffizi, 1439; cf. LF 31, 32). On the north-east side of the *thermae* are the ruins of a piscina, fed probably by the aqua Alexandrina, with vaulted chambers, in one of which was a church during the Middle Ages with painted walls (Mitt. 1892, 273; see also HJ 247; LR 400-401; DE ii. 2167; HCh 586, 587).

**THERMAE MAXENTII**: baths which Maxentius is said to have constructed on the Palatine (Chron. 148: *in palatio fecit*; HJ 107; Becker, Top. 436).

<sup>1</sup> On Paulin's work see Mitt. 1892, 308-311; and for unpublished drawings in Berlin, see Jessen in *Aus der Anomia* (1890), 119-121.

THERMAE NERONIANAE : the second public bathing establishment in Rome, built by Nero near the Pantheon (Suet. Nero 12 ; Aur. Vict. Ep. 5 ; Eutrop. vii. 15). According to the *Chronica* (Hier. a. Abr. 2079 ; Cassiod. Chron. min. ii. 138) they were erected in 64 A.D., but if they are to be identified with Nero's GYMNASIUM (q.v.), which was built in 62, their construction also must be assigned to that year (HJ 590). They were among the notable monuments of the city (Mart. ii. 48. 8 ; iii. 25. 4 ; vii. 34. 5, 9 ; Philostr. vit. Apoll. iv. 42 ; Stat. Silv. i. 5. 62), and evidently became a very popular resort (for incidental references, Mart. ii. 14. 13 ; xii. 83. 5 ; CIL vi. 8676, 9797, 5 = AL 29. 5).

A hypocaust was found in the courtyard of Palazzo Madama in 1871 with the brick-stamps CIL xv. 481 (123 A.D.) ; and in 1907 in another hypocaust were found ib. 164 (Severus), 364 (Hadrian), 371 *b* (Severus), 404 (Severus) on the site of S. Salvatore in Thermis. Pipes were found in the walls of the time of Nero at the corner between the Piazza and the Salita dei Crescenzi (CIL xv. 7271).

In 227 these thermae were rebuilt by Alexander Severus and thenceforth called officially thermae Alexandrinae (Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev. 24, 25, 42 ; Eutrop. vii. 15 ; Chron. 147 ; Hier. a. Abr. 2243 ; Cassiod. ad 64 and 227, chron. min. ii. 138, 146 ; Not. Reg. IX), although there are indications of the survival of the original name (CIL vi. 3052 ; Sid. Apoll. Carm. 23. 495 ; Cassiod. Varia ii. 39. 5 : piscina Neroniana). A coin of Alexander Severus (Cohen, Alex. Sev. 17 ; Gneccchi, Med. ii. 101. 6) probably represents them.<sup>1</sup> They were wrongly called templum Alexandrini in 946 (MGH iii. 716 ; HCh 200), but still retained their correct name in 998-1011 (cf. Reg. Farf. passim, cited by HCh 212 : aeclesia S. Benedicti, quae est aedificata in thermis Alexandrinis, and S. Maria de Thermis, ib. 326-327).

These baths<sup>2</sup> occupied a rectangular area extending from the north-west corner of the Pantheon to the stadium of Domitian (Piazza Navona), an area of about 190 by 120 metres, and fronted north. Nothing now remains above ground except portions of walls built into the Palazzo Madama, but in the sixteenth century the foundations of the caldarium were still visible, extending out from the middle of the south side (Palladio, ed. Vicenza 1787, pls. 3, 6 ; cf. Antonio da Sangallo the younger, Uffizi 949,<sup>3</sup> 1634 ; cod. Barb. Lat. 4333, ff. 13, 14, 28, 29 ; Giovannoli, Roma antica iii. pls. 8, 9 ; the latter is reproduced in Ill. 55 ; for a reconstruction, Canina Ed. iv. p. 201). The concrete, wherever visible, belongs to the time of Nero (AJA 1912, 406). The frigidarium was in the middle of the north side, the tepidarium between it and the caldarium ; there were large colonnaded courts on the east and west sides of the

<sup>1</sup> Bernhardt (Handbuch der Münzkunde, 138) wrongly refers it to the Thermae Antoninianae.

<sup>2</sup> For a library here, see THERMAE AGRIPPAE (p. 519).

<sup>3</sup> Bartoli, Monumenti di Roma iii. 300.

central hall, and four dressing and lounging rooms on each side of the caldarium (see plan in LF 15). Excavations made at various times have brought to light architectural remains of great beauty, among them four columns of red granite, two of which were used by Alexander VII in 1666 to restore the left corner of the pronaos of the Pantheon—white marble capitals, and fragments of columns of porphyry, pavonazzetto and grey granite, as well as an enormous basin for a fountain 6.70 metres in diameter, cut from a single block of red granite, with pieces of several others (NS 1881, 270-273; 1882, 412-413; 1883, 81, 130; 1892, 265; 1907, 529; BC 1907, 330; LR 501; JRS 1919, 183-184; for the thermae in general, see HJ 590-592; *Gilb.* iii. 298; and for the mediaeval churches of S. Andrea de Fordivoliis (near S. Luigi dei Francesi), S. Iacobus de Thermis and S. Salvator de Thermis, *Arm.* 370, 438-440; HCh 183, 184, 268-269, 455). See also *Mem. L.* xvii. 517.

**THERMAE NOVATI:** baths near S. Pudenziana which, although probably ancient, are mentioned only in the *Acta S. Praxedis* (*Mai* iv. 279: in vico Patricii). Near them were probably the thermae Timothei (*Acta S. Iustinae* 3<sup>3</sup>: *Μαρτίου τοῦ Τιμοθέου βαλανείον*, ap. BCr 1867, 55), and to them may have belonged the fragment of an inscription found in S. Pudenziana (*CIL* vi. 29769; Maximus has olim thermas; HJ 340).

**THERMAE SEPTIMIANAE:** baths built by Septimius Severus near the PORTA SEPTIMIANA (q.v.); cf. also **BALNEAE SEVERI**.<sup>1</sup> They are only mentioned in *Hist. Aug. Sever.* 19 (eiusdemque [Severi] [Septim]ianae (so Zange-meister) in Transtiberina regione ad portam nominis sua, quarum forma intercidens statim usum publicam invidit); *SHA* 1916, 7. A, 5, 6.

**THERMAE SEVERIANAE:** baths built by Septimius Severus in Region I (*Not. Cur.*), which were standing in the fourth century, but are not mentioned afterwards (*Hist. Aug. Sever.* 19; *Chron.* 147; *Hier. a. Abr.* 2216). They were probably south of the baths of Caracalla (HJ 217-218; *Merlin* 329, n. 6, 384; *Jord.* ii. 512-513).

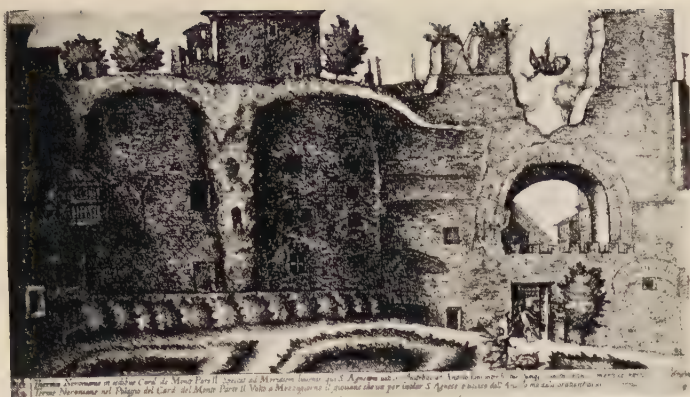
**THERMAE SEVERIANAE (?)**: in Region XIV; see **THERMAE SEPTIMIANAE**, **BALNEAE SEVERI**.

**THERMAE SURANAE:** baths on the Aventine in Region XIII (*Not. Cur.* Reg. XIII and Append.), which were built by Licinius Sura, the fellow-countryman and friend of Trajan (*Cass. Dio* lxxviii. 15: *ὅστις ἐς τοῦτο καὶ πλούτου καὶ ἀρχιμάτος ἀφίκετο ὥστε καὶ γυμνάσιον Ῥωμαίοις οἰκοδομῆσαι*, if *γυμνάσιον* here means thermae;<sup>2</sup> cf. **THERMAE COMMODIANAE**), or by Trajan himself and dedicated in the name of his friend (*Vict. Caes.* 13; *Epit.* 13). This establishment is represented on fragments of the Marble Plan (*FUR* 41, 258, 329, 387; *Atti del Congresso storico* i. 49), and its site is thereby identified with that of the modern restaurant of the Castello dei Cesari, just north of S. Prisca, where some remains have

<sup>1</sup> The two emendations are of course mutually exclusive.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *lxix.* 4, and see **GYMNASIUM NERONIS**, **THERMAE AGRIPPAE**.





# 55 THERMAE NERONIANAE

*After an engraving by ALÒ GIOVANNOLI (p. 531)*



# 56 VIA SALARIA VETUS, TOMBS ON THE (p. 567)



been found and a fragmentary inscription (CIL vi. 1703) recording the restoration of a cella tepidaria by Caecina Decius Acinatius Albinus, praefectus urbi in 414 A.D. (cf., however, Merlin 433, who makes this inscription refer to the *thermae Decianae*). A previous restoration by the third Gordian is proved by the discovery in 1920 in S. Sabina of part of a marble block, probably the architrave over a door, with a fragmentary inscription—Imp. Caes. Marcus Antonius [Gordianus Augustus] Balneum Surae o[rnandum curavit]—in which this restoration of the text seems justified, especially when compared with a passage from Hist. Aug. Gord. 32. 5: *Opera Gordiani Romae nulla extant praeter quaedam nymphia et balneas. sed balneae privatis hominibus fuerunt et ab eo in usum privatum exornatae sunt* (NS 1920, 141-142). This Sura had a house on the Aventine, presumably close to the *thermae* (Mart. vi. 64. 12-13), or perhaps converted into them by Trajan (but see RE xiii. 481-2). The latter are not mentioned after the fourth century (HJ 156-157; Merlin 314-316 and older literature cited; cf. BC 1914, 348, for the Renaissance conjecture *Varianae* for *Severianae*).

THERMAE TIMOTHEI: see THERMAE NOVATI.

THERMAE TITI: built by Titus in great haste at the time of the dedication of the Colosseum, and opened with magnificent games (Suet. Tit. 7: *amphitheatro dedicato thermisque iuxta celeriter extructis munus edidit apparatissimum*; Cass. Dio lxvi. 25. 1: *τό τε βαλανεῖον τὸ ἐπ' ὀνυμιον αὐτοῦ*; Chron. 146; Hier. a. Abr. 2105). These baths were in Region III (Not.), near the Colosseum and within the precinct of Nero's *Domus Aurea* (q.v.) (Mart. Spect. 2: *hic ubi miramur velocia munera thermas abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager*), but no actual buildings of the *domus* seem to have been removed to make room for them. In 238 A.D. some restoration was evidently contemplated (Hist. Aug. Max. et Balb. 1), and incidental references to them occur in Martial (iii. 20. 15; 36. 6) and in later inscriptions (CIL vi. 9797 = AL 29. 4; IG xiv. 956 B 15: *παρὰ τὰς Τιτιανὰς*).

Early in the sixteenth century Julius II brought to the Vatican a large granite basin, which had been seen on the site of these *thermae* in 1450; it was buried in 1565 by Pius IV, but dug up again by Paul V,<sup>1</sup> and still stands in the Cortile di Belvedere (PBS ii. 26; IJ 308; Jahrb. d. Inst. 1890, 59). Later on, a basin of porphyry was found here and given by Ascanio Colonna to Julius III. It is now in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican. In the same century Palladio made a plan of the ruins then existing (Devonshire coll. portf. v.; BC 1895, 110-113). These ruins were afterwards almost entirely destroyed, although some meagre remains have recently been found (BC 1895, 113-115; cf. LS iii. 248), and until 1895 the name was generally applied to the *thermae* of Trajan,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Orbaan, Documenti sul Barocco, 302; the inscriptions set up by Paul V are given by De Angelis, S. Maria Maggiore, appendix, 6.

though the truth was detected by De Romanis and Piale in the 'twenties of last century (see DOMUS AUREA). The *thermae* were situated just west of the later *thermae Traianae* on the edge of the slope overhanging the Colosseum, with the same orientation as the *domus Aurea*, and occupied a nearly rectangular area, about 105 by 120 metres. The façade and principal entrance were on the north side. On the south side a wide flight of steps led down to the paved area around the Colosseum, 18 metres below, where there are traces of a porticus which may have belonged to the approach to the *thermae* or have surrounded a large part of the Colosseum area (BC 1895, 118-121; NS 1895, 201, 226). The arrangement of apartments seems to have been somewhat like that of the THERMAE NERONIANAE (q.v.), with the main hall (the earliest example) in the centre of the north side flanked by colonnaded courts, and a *caldarium* projecting out from the south side (HJ 309-310; LR 365-367, fig. 138; ZA 132-133; RA 97-101; Mem. L. 5. xvii. 520).<sup>1</sup>

THERMAE TRAIANI: built for Trajan by the Greek architect Apollodorus (Paus. v. 12. 6: ἀξιολογώτατά ἐστι λουτρά ἐπώνυμα αὐτοῦ καὶ θέατρον, etc.; Kaibel, IGI 1055; Cass. Dio lxi. 4. 1: Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα τὸν τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ ὠδεῖον τό τε γυμνάσιον τὰ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ποιήματα ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατασκευάσιντα, where γυμνάσιον probably refers to the *thermae*). These baths were immediately north-east of the *thermae Titi*, and in the chronicle of S. Jerome (a. Abr. 2105) the *thermae Titianae et Traianae* are assigned to the reign of Domitian, which may perhaps indicate that the latter were planned by that emperor. Because of this statement these baths are mentioned in early church writings as *thermae Domitianae* (cf. LP xxxiv. 33; liii. 9; Mél. 1886, 3-4; BC 1886, 245; Mon. L. i. 484-485). In Trajan's time they were used by women (Chron. 146: hoc imperatore mulieres in thermis Traianis laverunt); little images (*sigillaria*) were exposed for sale in the porticus of the *thermae* in the last days of the Saturnalia (which were sometimes called *Sigillaria* from this practice; see SIGILLARIA) (Schol. ad Iuv. 6. 154); they are mentioned incidentally in inscriptions (vi. 9797=AL 29. 4; 8677, 8678); and in the fourth or fifth century they were adorned with statues by Iulius Felix Campanianus, prefect of the city (CIL vi. 1670). The correct name was attached to the gradually diminishing ruins until about the sixteenth century, when it was displaced by the incorrect name, *thermae Titianae*.

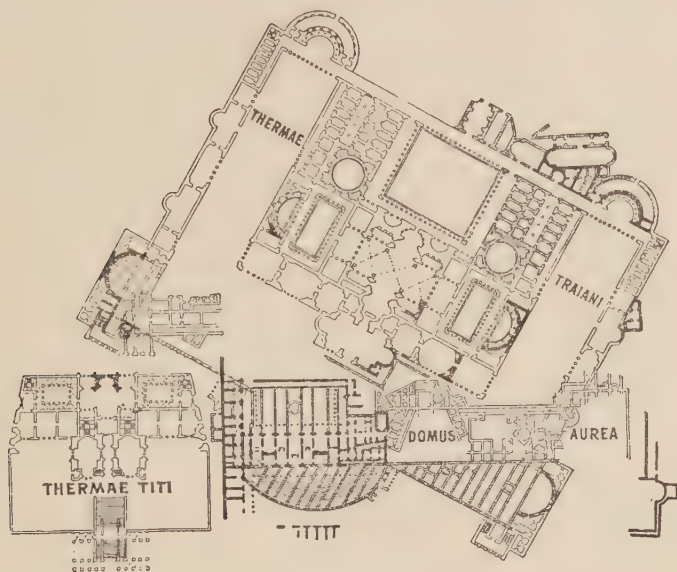
Part of these baths is represented on a fragment of the Marble Plan (109; cf. Lanciani quoted by Gatti, BC 1886, 272-274), and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries drawings and plans were made of the existing ruins—the most important being those in the Destailleur collection in Berlin<sup>2</sup> (cf. Mitt. 1892, 302-304; HJ 313, n. 72). By the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Terme dei Romani, Vicenza, 1797 pls. v., vi.; and cf. our text fig. 7 (p. 535).

<sup>2</sup> In the Kunstgewerbemuseum (Jessen in Aus der Anomia (1890), 114 sqq.).



end of the eighteenth century most of these ruins had been destroyed, and the principal remains now visible belong to the exedrae at the north-east and south-west corners of the east palestra. These baths were in Region III (Not.), on the Esquiline, just south-east of the present church of S. Pietro in Vincoli. They were within the precinct of the domus Aurea, a considerable part of which was destroyed or buried beneath them. From information at hand it is possible to reconstruct their plan in its main features (see LF pls. 23, 30; LR, fig. 138 (text fig. 7)). These thermae marked an intermediate stage between the earlier and later type, in that the central complex of buildings was partly surrounded,



TEXT FIG. 7.

on the east, west, and south sides, by a peribolus which contained reading rooms, gymnasia, and exedrae at the four corners. On the north side there was no enclosure, but the façade of the building with the main entrance in the middle. The frigidarium, central hall, tepidarium, and caldarium<sup>1</sup> were arranged in the usual order from north to south in the centre of the main structure, with apodyteria or dressing-rooms, open courts or palaestrae surrounded with colonnades in the middle of the east and west sides, and the usual number of small baths and rooms for various purposes. From the middle of the peribolus on the south side, a very large exedra projected outward which served as a theatre. This exedra was built over part of the domus Aurea, and in order to provide sufficiently strong foundations for the cavea of the theatre, additional

<sup>1</sup> Hülsen points out that the placing of the caldarium in such a position as to give it as much of the sun's heat as possible, by orientating the building from north-west to south-east, was a most important innovation, which was followed in subsequent edifices of the kind.

walls were built through the chambers of the domus, some corresponding with the walls of these chambers, and others with the orientation of the baths themselves. The axis of the domus runs north and south, while that of the *thermae* runs north-east and south-west at an angle of 30 degrees from the meridian. The extreme measurements of the baths are 340 metres in width and 330 in depth, or, excluding the *exedra* projections, 280 by 210 metres.

Presumably Trajan adorned his baths with works of art, and many traces have been found in this precinct and its immediate vicinity, but their exact provenience is difficult to ascertain. The Laokoon group was found in 1506 in a hall<sup>1</sup> between the *thermae* and the *Sette Sale* (probably in the domus Aurea, which in Pliny's time was called the house of Titus; see *DOMUS TITI*). It may have been set up in the *thermae* by Trajan, but it seems far more likely that it was actually found in the domus Aurea (for excavations and discussions, see LS ii. 222-228; LR 368; NS 1885, 474; Weege in *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1913, 201-239; for the *thermae* in general, HJ 310-314; LR 367-369; Gilb. iii. 297; ZA 133-144;<sup>2</sup> for restorations, D'Esp. Mon. ii. 155-159; for the decoration of the *exedrae*, RA 117; and for the mediaeval churches in or near the *thermae*, see AD TAURUM).

**TIBERINUS**: a shrine of the river-god on the *insula Tiberina*. The day of dedication was probably 8th December, when the festival was celebrated (*Fast. Amit. ad vi Id. Dec.*, CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 245, 336; *Fast. Ant.* NS 1921, 118). Its exact location is not known, nor anything of its history (HJ 637; WR 224; Besnier 308-309; Rosch. v. 934). See Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (Bibl. Éc. Franç. fasc. 116), 561 sqq., for a theory that *Thybris* was the original river-god, and his identification with *Volcanus*.<sup>3</sup>

**TIBURTIVS COLLIS**: a name which appears to have been given at a late date to the Quirinal hill, and occurs only in an emended passage in Lydus (*de mens.* iv. 155, ed. Bekk. 118: *τιβο[ύρτιον]* . .); cf. Wissowa, *Ges. Abh.* 233; HJ 229). Like *PRAENESTIVS COLLIS* (q.v.) the name is derived from that of a gate (*Porta Tiburtina*) in the Aurelian wall, and was probably the invention of some antiquarian.

**TIBERIS**: the most important river of Central Italy. The importance of the site of the Palatine and of Rome is mainly due to its command of the crossing of the Tiber just below the island (see *PONS SUBLICIVS*), which must be of great antiquity, and was probably the only one in the whole lower course of the river.

The derivation of the name is uncertain (Varro, RR iii. 16; LL v. 30; Serv. ad Aen. viii. 332), but its antiquity is vouched for by its appearance

<sup>1</sup> Numbered 80 on Weege's plan.

<sup>2</sup> See also Mem. L. 5. xvii. 522, 523; ASA 107.

<sup>3</sup> Mommsen (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 325) identifies him with *Portunus*.

in the augural books (Cic. de nat. deor. iii. 20). It was also known as Albula, though it is incorrect to connect the name with albus (as Servius ad Aen. cit. and Festus 4 do). Hülsen connects it with the Ligurian root ALB- or ALP-, meaning 'mountain,' so that Albula would mean the mountain stream (for a small stream of the same name in Picenum, see RE ii. 1331). Vergil (ib. viii. 64) calls it caeruleus, a colour which it not infrequently acquires when the blue sky is reflected in it; but its general and more appropriate epithet is flavus (ib. vii. 31; Hor. Carm. i. 2. 13; ii. 3. 18).

It is a turbulent river and much subject to floods, which have always been a source of great danger to the city. No less than 132 inundations have been recorded (BC 1895, 283-300, for the mediaeval and Renaissance periods). Julius Caesar had a scheme for cutting a new channel a Ponte Mulvio secundum montes Vaticanos; see CAMPUS VATICANUS (Cic. ad Att. xiii. 33. 4; HJ 493-494).

The cura Tiberis under the republic was in the hands of the censors. Protecting walls were built at least as early as the second century B.C. (see CLOACA MAXIMA, and cf. BC 1889, 165-172; Mitt. 1889, 285), and we have nineteen of the terminal stones erected by P. Servilius Isauricus and M. Valerius Messalla in 54 B.C. (CIL vi. 31540 *a-p*, gives fifteen; and four more have since come to light (BC 1897, 62, 275; 1906, 117; NS 1896, 524; 1897, 10, 252; 1906, 207). All of them are given in CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 766, *a-t*). They extend from the Pons Mulvius, at the second mile of the via Flaminia, downstream as far as the Almo on the left bank, while one was seen in the seventeenth century near S. Passera (opposite S. Paolo) on the right bank. On the other hand, it was the praetor urbanus who, a little earlier (the inscriptions are attributed to the time of Sulla), traced the boundary line between public and private property at Ostia (NS 1910, 554; YW 1911, 12; 1920, 89; Calza Ostia, 85).

The next termination was carried out by the consuls of 8 B.C., C. Asinius Gallus and C. Marcius Censorinus, and twenty of these cippi remain (CIL vi. 31541, *a-u*), and a third by Augustus himself in the following year, twenty-two cippi remaining (ib. 31542, *a-w*). In this termination the distance in a straight line *r*(ecta) *r*(egione) to the next cippus is given in feet, on the front, back or side (cf. CIL cit. p. 3110; see RIPA VEIENTANA).

In 15 A.D. a great inundation occurred, and the cura riparum was instituted by Tiberius (Tac. Ann. i. 76; Cass. Dio lvii. 14; Suet. Aug. 37 is mistaken; cf. Mommsen, RGDA<sup>2</sup> 29; BC 1894, 254-6; CIL p. 3109). The curatores, who were five in number, replaced several of the earlier cippi by new ones, adding to the original inscription the words curatores riparum qui primi fuerunt ex senatus consulto restituerunt. Their authority extended as far as Ostia, where one of their cippi and one of 24-37 A.D. have been found (NS 1921, 258-262; cf. CIL xiv.

192; YW 1922-3, 106). A little later on other curatores restored a part of the bank near the pons Cestius (CIL vi. 31543), and set up other cippi, three of which remain (31544 *a-c*—before 24 A.D.). From the reign of Claudius we have a cippus of the curatores who 'ripam cippis positis terminaverunt a Trigario ad pontem Agrippae' (31545), while under Vespasian and afterwards only a single curator is named, it being doubtful whether one functioned for the whole collegium, or whether henceforth there was only a single curator (31546-8—73-74 A.D.). We have other cippi under Trajan (31549-51—101 and 104 A.D.—seventeen set up by Ti. Julius Ferox curator alvei Tiberis . . . et cloacarum urbis), Hadrian (31552—121 A.D.), Antoninus Pius (31553-4—161 A.D.), Septimius Severus (31555—197-198). None of these later groups is very large; and then there is a gap till Diocletian (31556—286-305 A.D.).

See PONS AELIUS for the regulation of the channel there; and for the bridges, see PONS. For the termination and embankments in general, BC 1889, 165-172; 1893, 14-26; LR 9-13; Pl. 14-17, 75-77; PT 180. For the Tiber as a whole, see Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, i. 308-324; for floods in antiquity, Jord. i. 1. 128, and in the Middle Ages, Gregorovius in Buonarroti, 1876, 313-321; 345-355.

**TIFATA CURIA**: a grove of holm oaks (Fest. 366: *iliceta*), perhaps on the Quirinal, named after M. Curius Dentatus (Fest. 49), to whom a house and fifty iugera of land in the immediate neighbourhood were said to have been given by the senate after his victory over the Samnites (*de vir. ill.* 33. 10; cf. Keil, *Sext. Aur. Victor. de vir. ill.*, 2nd ed. Breslau, 1872, 38; Hermes, 1911, 305-308; for the name Tifata, see Schulze, *Gesch. d. Lat. Eigennamen* 531, n. 3; Rosch. v. 954-960; cf. TIFATA MANCINA).

**TIFATA MANCINA**: a grove of holy oaks in an unknown part of the city, and named after an unknown Mancinus (Fest. 131: *Mancina tifata appellabantur quod Mancinus habuit insignem domum quae publicata est eo interfecto*; cf. TIFATA CURIA; Hermes 1911, 305-308).

**TIGILLUM SORORIUM**: a wooden crossbar supported by two vertical posts beneath which tradition said the surviving Horatius was compelled to pass in expiation of the murder of his sister (*Liv.* i. 26. 4; Fest. 297; *Dionys.* iii. 22; *de vir. ill.* 9; HJ 322). It stood *ad compitum* (*Hem. Arv. ad Kal. Oct.*, CIL vi. 32482), perhaps on the VICUS CUPRIUS (q.v.), but in any case somewhere on the south-west slope of the Oppius. It is mentioned last in the fourth century (*Not. Reg.* IV). Various explanations of this yoke have been suggested, among them that it represented a gate in the enclosure of the original Esquiline village (BC 1898, 94), or a gate through which the army passed for purification on returning from battle (*AR* 1909, 73), or a gate in the Septimontium, sacred to Ianus Quirinus (*Pais, Storia di Roma* i. 458), or a true ianus or street gate which, with the two adjacent altars of Ianus Curiatius and Iuno Sororia, was connected with the common cult of Janus and Juno at the



beginning of the month (WR 104 ; see also *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions* 1906, 316 sqq. ; BC 1914, 104 ; Rosch. ii. 21), or that it was simply a fetish (RE viii. 3525 ; Suppl. iii. 1678 ; iii. A. 1139).

DIVUS TITUS, AEDES : see *TEMPLUM DIVORUM*.

DIVUS TRAIANUS, *TEMPLUM* : see *FORUM TRAIANUM*.

AD TO(N)SORES : a district or street near the temple of FLORA (q.v.) and the north end of the circus Maximus, which is mentioned only in one inscription, a slave's collar (CIL xv. 7172 ; Mitt. 1891, 342 ; 1892, 312).<sup>1</sup> We also find in a catalogue of artisans of the end of the fourth century (CIL vi. 31900) a 'tonsor ad circum.'

TRAIANENSES : evidently the inhabitants of some district in which some one of Trajan's great buildings stood, as the *thermae* or *forum* (CIL vi. 10099=31899. 4, 31893. 1), or perhaps the *arcus Traiani*, if we may suppose that the names are arranged in the order of the regions to which they belong (Eranos, 1923, 124-125).

A TRANSTIBERIM [*sic*]:\* an indication of locality found on a sepulchral inscription of the empire (CIL vi. 9847)—the only instance known of *Transtiberis* as a noun.

AD TRES FORTUNAS : see *FORTUNAE TRES*, AEDES.

AD TRES SILANOS : a local designation occurring on an inscription found at Grotta Ferrata but evidently belonging to Rome (CIL xiv. 2496 : Reg. VII/at · tres · Silanos/at · v). Silanus was one kind of a fountain (Fest. 352), and this inscription refers to a group of three such fountains in Region VII (Bull. d. Inst. 1879, 73 ; De Rossi, *Piante icnografiche* 40 ; NS 1879, 140).

TRIA FATA : statues of the three Fates on the north side of the Rostra, close to the Curia (Procop. BG i. 25. 9). They were said to have been set up by Tarquinius Priscus, and two of them were restored in the Augustan period (Plin. NH xxxiv. 22, 29). When the name, *tria Fata*, first came into use is not known, but its first occurrence is in 250 A.D. (Cyprian, Epist. 21, Hartel 231), where it means that part of the forum about the curia. This usage continued and is found in several later documents (Procop. loc. cit. ; S. Adriano in *tribus fatis* <sup>2</sup> vit. Honor. 6, LPD i. 34 ; vit. Stephani III. 11, LPD i. 471 : *aggregans in tribus fatis sacerdotes* ; ib. i. 501, 508 ; Jord. i. 2, 258, 349 ; ii. 482 ; Thédénat 21, 69, 101 ; HC 26, 28, 136 ; cf. also RE vi. 2050 ; Rosch. v. 1099 and *reff.*).

TRIBUNAL AURELIUM : a tribunal, or platform, evidently named after some Aurelius, in the forum, which is mentioned four times by Cicero in connection with a levy of slaves in 58 B.C. (*pro Sest.* 34, in Pis. 11 : *pro*

<sup>1</sup> Hülsen had in these articles referred the inscription to the temple of Flora on the Quirinal, but the mention of the *praefectus annonae* led him to change his opinion (IJ 118).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HCh xcvi., 260 ; SS. Cosma e Damiano and S. Martina also had the same name (ib. 242, 381).

tribunali Aurelii; de domo 54, post red. ad Quir. 13: in tribunali Aurelii).

In two other passages Cicero speaks of *gradus Aurelii*, once in connection with the trial of C. Iunius in 74 B.C. (pro Clu. 93: *gradus illi Aurelii tum novi quasi pro theatro illi iudicio aedificati videbantur*; quos ubi accusator concitatis hominibus complerat, non modo dicendi ab reo, sed ne surgendi quidem potestas erat), and again in 59 B.C. (pro Flacc. 66: hoc nimirum est illud quod non longe a gradibus Aurelii haec causa dicitur). These *gradus*, being new (*novi*), were probably built by M. Aurelius Cotta, consul in that year (74), and as they were occupied by those in attendance upon the jury trials, *gradus* and *tribunal* probably belonged together. Either the terms were used without distinction, or the *gradus* led up to the tribunal. These *tribunalia* were usually temporary structures of wood (cf. Plut. Caes. 68; Suet. Caes. 84; App. BC ii. 148): this one, or at least the *gradus*, was certainly of stone. There is no indication of its site, and since it is not mentioned after the time of Cicero, it was probably removed during the changes carried out by Caesar and Augustus (Jord. i. 2, 405; Thédénat, 148; RE ii. 2430; Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, 1904, 178-182, where, however, the identification of the *gradus Aurelii* and the so-called hemicycle of the *rostra* is erroneous).

**TRIBUNAL PRAETORIS**: the judgment seat of the praetor, always apparently a movable wooden platform, which stood originally on the *comitium* (Liv. xxvii. 50. 9; Jord. i. i. 499-500; Mommsen, Jahrb. des. Gem. d. Rechts vi. 389 ff., Jurist. Schriften, iii. 319-326).<sup>1</sup> It was transferred to the forum at some later date, perhaps about the middle of the second century B.C., and set up sometimes at least near the *PUTEAL LIBONIS* (q.v.) and the *arcus Fabianus* (Porphyrr. ad Hor. Epist. i. 19. 8; Jord. i. 2. 402-403).

In the travertine pavement of the Augustan age in front of the column of Phocas are the matrices of the bronze letters, 30 centimetres high, of an inscription—L. Naevius L. [f. Sur]dinus pr. This is the same inscription that is found on the back of the archaistic relief of Mettius Curtius (S. Sculp. 324-326; SScR 316; Cons. 36)—L. Naevius L. f. Surdinus pr[ae]tor inter civis et peregrinos (CIL vi. 1468). Naevius was triumvir monetalis in 23 B.C. (BM. Aug. 139-146; cf. p. xcv), and the inscriptions seem to indicate that he constructed a praetor's tribunal at this point in the forum, as well as repairing it (see FORUM ROMANUM, p. 234, n. 1; ZA 86; DR 73, 74; RE Suppl. iv. 504; HFP 27, 28), in connection with Augustus' rebuilding of the *rostra*. It is possible that this was the usual place for the praetor's seat after it had been moved from the *comitium* (cf. another praetor's inscription, CIL vi. 1278, found here in 1817). The structure of Naevius was not monumental, but the traditional wooden platform may have been provided with a stone foundation, or an

<sup>1</sup> See also Staatsrecht i. 399, 400; iii. 383 (cf. xii. n. 1).

enclosure wall on which the archaistic relief was placed (Hülßen, Forum, Nachtrag, Rome 1910, 15-21; CR 1906, 133; Richter, BRT iv. 28-29). But the significance of the inscription (completely misunderstood by Richter) has not been fully appreciated, and we must refer to it a general repairing of the whole Forum (JRS 1926, 134).

TRIBUNAL TRAIANI (so called): see EQUUS DOMITIANI.

TRIBUNAL VESPASIANI TITI DOMITIANI: a tribunal or platform erected in honour of these three emperors in Capitolio (CIL iii. Supp. pp. 1960-1961, dipl. hon. miss. xiv, 82 A.D.; Jord. i. 2. 56, 59). It probably supported statues of the emperors, and to it the diplomata were affixed.

TRIGARIUM: an open space where horses were exercised, originally no doubt in teams of three, *trigae* (Philox. Gloss. CGL. Lat. ii. 201: *trigarium τόπος ὅπου ἵπποι γυμνάζονται*; Plin. NH xxviii. 238; xxix. 9; cf. xxxvii. 202). It was in the north-west part of the campus Martius (Not. Reg. IX), between the stadium of Domitian and the Tiber (CIL vi. 31545: Paullus Fabius Persicus . . . ripam cippis positis terminaverunt a trigario ad pontem Agrippae; ib. 8461; HJ 600; CP 1908, 70-71; PT 138).

TROPAEA GERMANICI: trophies erected in honour of Germanicus, of which nothing is known except that they stood on the Capitol, near the temple of Fides (CIL iii. p. 856 XIII=S. p. 1964 XVIII, p. 857 XIV=S. p. 1964 XIX: *post tropaea Germanici in tribunali quae sunt ad aedem Fidei*).

TROPAEA OR MONUMENTA MARI: monuments erected by Marius to commemorate his victories over Jugurtha and over the Cimbri and Teutones, which were removed by Sulla, and afterwards restored by Caesar when aedile (Vell. ii. 43. 4: *et restituta in aedilitate adversante quidem nobilitate monumenta C. Marii*; Suet. Caes. 11: *tropaea Gai Mari de Iugurtha deque Cimbris et Teutonis olim a Sulla disiecta restituit*; Prop. iii. 11. 45-46: *foedaque Tarpeio conopia tendere saxo / iura dare et statuas inter et arma Mari*). According to Plutarch (Caes. 6: *εἰκόνας ἐποίησατο Μαρίου κρύφα καὶ Νίκας τροπαιοφόρους ὡς φέρων νυκτὸς εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέστησεν*). Caesar set up these trophies on the Capitol, and it is probable, although not certain, that they stood there originally (for a theory that they stood at first in the forum sub novis, based on Cic. de orat. ii. 266; Plin. NH xxxv. 25; Quint. vi. 3. 38, see Mél. 1908, 354-361). These tropaea have disappeared entirely, and are not to be confused with the so-called Trofei di Mario, the marble statues now standing on the balustrade of the Piazza del Campidoglio which were brought here in 1590 from the NYMPHAEUM (q.v.) in the Piazza di Vittorio Emanuele.

Besides these tropaea of the Capitol, there was another set in Rome, according to Valerius Maximus (vi. 9. 14: *cuius bina tropaea in urbe spectantur*; ii. 5. 6: *(templum Febris) alterum in area Marianorum monumentorum*; iv. 4. 8: *(domus Aeliorum) eodem loco quo nunc sunt*

Mariana monumenta). This second set is evidently referred to in the last two passages, but neither the site of the ara Febris nor that of the domus Acliorum is known. The temple of HONOS ET VIRTUS (q.v.), built by Marius from the spoils taken from the Cimbri and Teutones, is sometimes called monumentum Marii (Cic. pro Sest. 116; pro Planc. 78; de div. i. 59; Schol. Bob. 269, 305 Or.), and has been identified with the monumenta Mariana of Valerius Maximus, but this is very improbable (Jord. i. 2. 44-45; ii. 520-523; Rodocanachi, Le Capitole 45, 142; BC 1914, 360-361, 363-364).

TROPAEA NERONIS: trophies erected by Nero in 62 A.D., on the Capitol to commemorate victories over the Parthians (Tac. Ann. xv. 18; Jord. i. 2. 117, 129).

TUGURIUM FAUSTULI: see CASA ROMULI.

TULLIANUM: see CARCER.

TUMULUS IULIAE: the tomb of Julia, daughter of Caesar and wife of Pompeius, in the campus Martius (Liv. Epit. 106; Plut. Pomp. 53, Caesar 23; Cass. Dio xxxix. 64). The funeral pyre of Caesar was erected near this tumulus (Suet. Caes. 84), and it was in this tomb that he himself was probably buried (Cass. Dio xlv. 51; HJ 572-573; Hirschfeld, in Berl. Sitz. Ber. 1886, 1150=Kleine Schriften, 451). It is possible also that it is the same tomb referred to in Livy (Epit. 140) as the burial place of Drusus in C. Iulii tumulo, who, however, according to better authorities, was buried in the MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI (q.v.). In other words it was the tomb of the gens Iulia. On the other hand, the tumulus Iuliorum, in which Poppaea's body was placed (Tac. Ann. xvi. 6) is generally thought to be the Mausoleum Augusti. It is possible that this tomb is indicated by the letters VLI on fragment 72 of the Marble Plan. If so, its location just east of the thermae Agrippae, between it and the Villa Publica, and close to the SEPULCRUM AGRIPPAE (q.v.), west of the Via del Gesù, would be very probable (HJ 496, 572; Mitt. 1903, 48-54).

TUMULUS MAECENATIS: see SEPULCRUM HORATII.

TUMULUS OCTAVIORUM: a tomb of the Octavii, of unknown location, and mentioned only once (Tac. Ann. iv. 44) as the burial place of L. Antonius in 25 A.D. (RE i. 2590; Hirschfeld, Berl. Sitz. Ber. 1886, 1149-1150=Kleine Schriften 450).

TURRIS MAECENATIANA: the tower from which Nero is said to have witnessed the burning of Rome (Suet. Nero 38). It probably stood in the HORTI MAECENATIS (q.v.) on the Esquiline, and may be referred to by Horace (Carm. iii. 29. 10: molem propinquam nubibus arduis).

TURRIS MAMILIA: a tower in the Subura on which the inhabitants of that region, Suburanenses, fastened the tail of the horse which was sacrificed at the October festival in case they were successful in their annual contest with the Sacravienses, a contest that dated from the period in



the city's development before that marked by the so-called Servian wall (Fest. 178; Plut. q.R. 97; Wissowa, *Ges. Abh.* 248, 249). If another statement by Festus (131: *Mamilia turris intra Suburae regionem a Mamilio nomen accepit*) is true, the construction of this tower is perhaps to be connected with the settlement of the Mamilii, the principal family of Tusculum, in this part of the city (cf. the cognomen in C. Mamilius Turrinus, consul 239 B.C., and the plebeian aedile Q. Mamilius Turrinus (Liv. xxviii. 10)). The tower was standing in the imperial period (CIL vi. 33837: M. Octavius M. l. Attalus centonar(ius) a turre Mamilia), but is not mentioned in the Regionary Catalogue (Gilb. ii. 46-47; IIJ 330).

**TUTILINAE LOCA**: probably a small area, afterwards included within the circus Maximus, where a statue of the goddess Tutilina stood (Tertull. *de spect.* 8; cf. WR 201), and Ennius is said to have lived (Varro, *LL* v. 163: . . . *ligionem Porcius designat cum de Ennio scribens dicit eum coluisse Tutilinae loca*). See Rosch. ii. 228.

## U

**UMBILICUS ROMAE**: a monument erected not earlier than the time of Severus (AJA 1909, 186) on the north end of the hemicycle of the **ROSTRA** (q.v.), and mentioned only in later literature (Not. Reg. VIII; Eins. i. 5; 7. 7; 8. 8; DAP 2. ix. 389). It is now a cylindrical brick-faced core, rising in three stages, with a diameter of 4.60 metres at the bottom and 3 at the top, but originally it was covered with marble. It represented the central point of city and empire, probably in imitation of the *ὀμφαλός* in Delphi and other Greek cities, and may have corresponded architecturally to the **MILLIARIUM AUREUM** (q.v.) at the south end of the hemicycle (Jord. i. 2. 245; HC 80; Thédénat 134, 233).

**URBIS FANUM**: see **VENUS ET ROMA**.

**URBIS FANUM**: a temple constructed by Maxentius, and consecrated to Constantine (Aur. Victor. 40. 26: *cuncta opera quae magnifice construxerat urbis fanum atque basilicam Flavii meritis patres sacravere*). It has recently been identified with the round structure generally called the **TEMPLUM DIVI ROMULI**, which has an entrance on the *Sacra via*, the bronze doors of which are still preserved. There is a façade of four columns, behind which on each side is a niche. The construction shows a clever use of an awkward triangular site (RA 215-217). See **PAX, TEMPLUM**; and cf. BCr 1913, 143-165; YW 1913, 21, 22; JRS 1919, 177-179; DR 376, 377; RAP iii. 94-98; AJA 1927, 1-18; HFP 48, 49.

**AD URSUM PILEATUM**: the name of a cemetery on the *Via Portuensis* where the bodies of SS. Abdon and Sennen were buried (Chron. Min. i. 71; LP lxxxii. 5). Pope Leo II (682-684) transferred the bodies of SS. Faustinus, Simplicius, and Beatrix from the cemetery of Generosa (also on the *Via Portuensis*) to a church of S. Paul close to S. Bibiana, not far from the *Porta Tiburtina*, which he founded (LPD i. 361, n. 9; HCh 415). Here, in the sixteenth century, Bosio (*Roma Sotterranea*, lib. iii. c. 66, p. 585) read an inscription, which began as follows, 'anno domini . . . mense Octobris dedicatione(m) huius eccl(esia)e s(an)c(t)or(um) martir(um) Simplicii Faustini et Beatricis ad cimeterium Ursi Pileati iuxta forma(m) Claudii an(te) po(r)ta(m) Taurinam quam primus [*sic*] Leo papa maxima devotione . . . fecit.' This shows that the name had wrongly been transferred to this district in the Middle Ages and by the topographers of the sixteenth century (cf. CIL vi. 3403\*). For a statue

of a bear wearing a helmet, which is said to have been found by Bernini when rebuilding the church of S. Bibiana, see Baldinucci, *Vita del Bernini*; Adinolfi, *Roma nell' età di mezzo*, i. 282; Arm. 804-806; T. vi. 10).

**USTRINUM ANTONINORUM**: the name given by Bianchini in 1703 to the remains of a structure discovered in that year under the Casa della Missione, just north-west of the Piazza di Monte Citorio. This building, with an orientation like that of the columns of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius, consisted of three square enclosures, one within another. The two inner enclosure walls were of travertine; the outer consisted of a travertine kerb, on which stood pillars of the same material with an iron grating between them. The innermost enclosure was 13 metres square, the second 23, and the outer 30 metres square. A free space, 3 metres wide, was left between the first and second walls and between the second and third. The entrance was on the south.

According to the usual view, this was the funeral pyre on which the bodies of the Antonines were burned. It is also possible that it may have been a great altar, attached to the column of Antoninus, on which sacrifices were offered at the deification of the emperors (for Bianchini's description, still in MS., see Mitt. 1889, 48-64). Lanciani suggests (RL xiii. 1908, 92) that this may have been the *ustrinum Antonini Pii et Faustinae*, while another similar structure, of which the ruins were found in 1907 just a little to the north-east of the first, was the *ustrinum M. Aurelii Antonini* (NS 1907, 525-528, 681; 1909, 10-11; 1915, 322; BC 1907, 326-327; 1908, 86; 1909, 113; BA 1910, 315; SR 1913, 1-13; AA 1913, 140-143; PT 60, 75, 76).

**USTRINUM DOMUS AUGUSTAE**: the name in current use for the *καύστρον*, or crematory, belonging to the mausoleum of AUGUSTUS (q.v.) in the campus Martius, and described by Strabo (v. 3. 9, p. 236) as an enclosure of travertine with a metal grating, presumably on top of the wall, and planted inside with black poplars. Excavations in 1777 at the corner of the Corso and Via degli Otto Cantoni brought to light six large rectangular cippi of travertine, with inscriptions of various members of the *domus Augusta*, the three sons of Germanicus, his daughter, Tiberius the son of Drusus, and a certain Vespasianus (CIL vi. 888-893) and a fine alabaster urn (HF 213). It is very probable that these cippi, or at any rate the first three, which all end with the formula 'hic crematus est,' belonged to the *ustrinum*, and that this lay on the east side of the mausoleum (HJ 620); while the fourth and fifth, which bear the formula *hic situs* (or *sita*) *est*, may have belonged to the mausoleum. Hirschfeld, however, excludes this possibility, mainly because of the material and form of the cippi (Berl. Sitz. Ber. 1886, 1155-1156 = *Kleine Schriften*, 458-459).

## V

VALLIS EGERIAE : see CAMENAE.

VALLIS MURCIA : see MURCIA.

VALLIS VATICANA : a name occurring only once (Tac. Ann. xiv. 14 : clausum valle Vaticana spatium in quo equos regeret), which seems to mean the low ground between the Tiber and the mons Vaticanus (see VATICANUS (4), near the present Vatican.

VATICANUS. (1) VATICANUS AGER : the district on the right bank of the Tiber, between its lower reaches and the more restricted Veientine territory (Plin. NH iii. 53 : Tiberis . . . citra xvi milia passuum urbis Veientem agrum a Crustumino, dein Fidenatem Latinumque a Vaticano dirimens ; Liv. x. 26. 15 (295 B.C.) : alii duo exercitus haud procul urbe Etruriae oppositi unus in Falisco, alter in Vaticano agro). Its fertility is spoken of slightly by Cicero (de leg. agr. ii. 96), its wines are frequently derided by Martial (i. 18. 2 ; vi. 92. 3 ; x. 45. 5 ; xii. 48. 14), and references to farms or estates are very few (Gell. xix. 17. 1 : in agro Vaticano Iulius Paulus poeta . . . herediolum tenue possidebat ; Symm. Ep. vi. 58. 1 : rus Vaticanum quod vestro praedio cohaeret accessimus ; vii. 21 : urbanas turbas Vaticano in quantum licet rure declino). This name continued long in use, for it occurs in Solinus (ii. 34 : Claudio principe ubi Vaticanus ager est in alveo occisae boae spectatus est solidus infans, from Pliny, NH viii. 37, where *in Vaticano* is used for *Vaticanus ager*), and in Gellius (xvi. 17. 1-2 : et agrum Vaticanum et eiusdem agri deum praesidem appellatum acceperamus a vaticiniis quae vi atque instinctu eius dei in eo agro fieri solita essent . . . sed praeter hanc causam M. Varro in libris divinarum aliam tradit istius nominis rationem : non sicut Aius . . . ita Vaticanus deus nominatus penes quem essent vocis humanae initia . . .), who gives two current explanations of the name.

It is probable that the adjective form, Vaticanus, is derived from some substantive, perhaps Vaticanum (Elter, see below), or from the early Etruscan name of some settlement, like Vatica or Vaticum (Niebuhr), of which all other traces have vanished, except possibly the cognomen Vaticanus which is found twice in the consular Fasti in 455 and 451 B.C. (RE i. A. 1071 ; BC 1908, 23-26).

(2) VATICANI MONTES : without much doubt a general designation for the hills in the ager Vaticanus, but used, in its only occurrence in litera-



ture, of the long ridge from the Janiculum to the modern Monte Mario (Cic. ad Att. xiii. 33. 4: a ponte Milvio Tiberim duci secundum montes Vaticanos, campum Martium coaedificari, illum autem campum Vaticanum fieri quasi Martium campum). Here campus Vaticanus must be used of the whole district between Monte Mario and the Tiber, known in modern times until very recently as the Prati di Castello.

(3) VATICANUS MONS in the singular could be used of any one of the montes within the limits of the ager Vaticanus. It occurs in Horace (Carm. i. 20. 7: redderet laudes tibi Vaticani montis imago, cf. Porphyry et Acron ad loc.), where it means the Janiculum, and in Juvenal (6. 344: et Vaticano fragiles de monte patellas), where it is more general, as the clay pits are scattered all along this ridge. Festus' Vaticanus collis (379: Vaticanus collis appellatus est quod eo potitus sit populus Romanus vatum responso expulsis Etruscis) is to be explained as a mere variant of mons, introduced simply for the sake of the etymology. There is no evidence that Vaticanus mons was a specific name for any one part of the ridge during the classical period. It was in consequence of the gradual restriction of Vaticanum (see below) to the area occupied by the CIRCUS GAI ET NERONIS (q.v.), and the identification of this site as the burial place of S. Peter, that Vaticanus mons became localised in its mediaeval and modern sense (Prud. c. Symm. i. 583: qui... Vaticano tumulum sub monte frequentat quo cinis ille latet genitoris amabilis obses). With this new importance in Christian Rome, it took its place among the seven hills (Not. app.).

(4) VATICANA VALLIS: used once, by Tacitus, for the site of the circus Gai et Neronis (Ann. xiv. 14: clausumque valle Vaticana spatium in quo equos regeret, haud promiscuo spectaculo), or, if not for its exact site, for the entrance to the depression of the modern Vicolo del Gelso-mino, just south-west of the area occupied by the circus proper.

(5) VATICANUM: the substantive, either an original place name or the neuter of the adjective (see above), which was used first to designate, in whole or in part, the level district between the Janiculum-Monte Mario ridge and the Tiber, being more or less equivalent to Cicero's campus Vaticanus, and extending south, probably to the city limits proper (Plin. NH xviii. 20: aranti quattuor sua iugera in Vaticano quae PRATA QUINCTIA (q.v.) appellantur Cincinnato viator attulit dictaturam; viii. 37; xvi. 237: vetustior autem urbe in Vaticano ilex). Part at least of this district was regarded as unhealthy (Tac. Hist. ii. 93: infamibus Vaticani locis magna pars tetendit); thrice tombs are mentioned that probably stood along the line of the modern Borghi (Hist. Aug. Ver. 6. 4; Elag. 23. 1; Acro ad Hor. Ep. 9. 25: tunc levati cineres eius sunt de pyramide in Vaticano constituta); and it contained a recognised pauper element in its population (Amm. Marcell. xxvii. 3. 6: accitos a Vaticano quosdam egentes opibus ditaverat magnis).

With the building of the circus Gai et Neronis, which was also called

circus Vaticanus (Plin. NII xvi. 201 ; xxxvi. 74), increased importance was given to this particular area, and Vaticanum then came to be used of the circus itself, as well as of the whole district (Suet. Claud. 21. 2 : *circenses frequenter etiam in Vaticano commisit* ; Amm. Marcell. xvii. 4. 16 : *quorum unus (obeliscus) in Vaticano* ; Not. Reg. XIV, cf. however, Pr. Reg. 207).

Another application of the name Vaticanum seems to have been to the shrine of the Magna Mater, whose cult was established close to the circus (cf. FRIGIANUM), if we may judge from an inscription found at Lyon (CIL xiii. 1751 : *L. Aemilius Carpus vires excepit et a Vaticano transtulit* ; cf. also an inscription of 236 A.D. from Kastell near Mayence, ib. 7281 : *deae Virtuti Bellonae montem Vaticanum vetustate conlabsum restituerun(t) hastiferi civitatis Mattiacor.*) (Jord. i. 1. 438 ; HJ 623 ; Gilb. ii. 122 ; iii. 449 ; and especially Elter, RhM 1891, 112-138).

VEIOVIS, AEDES (templa, Ovid) : a temple on the island in the Tiber, the evidence for the existence of which consists of an emended text in one passage in Livy (xxxiv. 53. 7 (194 B.C.) : *et in insula Vediovis*<sup>1</sup> (for MSS. Iovis) *aedem C. Servilius duumvir dedicavit ; vota erat sex annis ante Gallico bello ab L. Furio Purpurione praetore, ab eodem postea consule locata*) ; the assumption that through ignorance of the facts Ovid used Iuppiter for Vediovis (Fast. i. 293-294 : *Iuppiter in parte est : cepit locus unus utrumque / iunctaque sunt magno templa nepotis (sc. Aesculapii) avo*) ; and another assumption that the entries in the Calendar (Fast. Praen. ad Kal. Ian., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 231 : [Aescu]lapio Vediovi in insula ; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 83 : Aesculap(io) Co[ns]o Vediove) refer necessarily to a temple of Vediovis. In the same way another passage in Livy (xxxi. 21. 12), where he is speaking of L. Furius Purpurio at the battle of Cremona in 200 B.C., may be made to refer to the same temple by reading : *aedemque Vediovi* (for the MSS. *deo Iovi*) *vovit si eo die hostes fudisset*. These emendations, and therefore the existence of the temple, near that of Aesculapius, are accepted by most scholars (cf. HJ 635 : WR 236 ; Jord. Comm. in honor. Mommsen 359-362 ; Gilb. iii. 82-84 ; Mommsen, CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 305), but not by Besnier (249-272), who refuses to accept the identification of Vediovis and Iuppiter and explains the reference in the calendar by a sacrifice to Vediovis in the temple of IUPPITER IURARIUS (q.v.). See VEIOVIS IN CAPITOLIO fin.

VEIOVIS, AEDES (templa, Ovid) : a temple of Veiovis inter duos lucos, in the depression between the arx and Capitol (Vitr. iv. 8. 4 ; Gell. v. 12. 5), dedicated on 7th March (Ov. Fast. iii. 429-430 ; Fast. Praen. ad Non. Mart., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 233, 311 ; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 89). According to Vitruvius (loc. cit) this temple was peculiar in having 'columns added on the right and left of the flanks of the pronaos' (tr. Morgan). It contained a statue of the deity with arrows in one hand and a goat by

<sup>1</sup> The form 'Vediovis' is frequently found.

his side (Gell. v. 12. 11; Ov. Fast. iii. 443), in the form of a youthful Jupiter with whom he is identified by Ovid, loc. cit. 437-439; cf. Fest. 379). It is possible that it is this statue (or another in the same temple?) that is mentioned by Pliny (NH xvi. 216: *Nonne simulacrum Veiovis in arce e cupresso durat a condita urbe DCLXI anno dicatum?*), who used 'in arce' incorrectly (Jord. i. 2. 115-116; Gilb. ii. 100; WR 236; for the date of foundation of this temple, see *AEDES VEIOVIS IN CAPITOLIO*).

**VEIOVIS, AEDES, IN CAPITOLIO:** Livy states (xxxv. 41. 8): *aedes duae Iovi eo anno (192 B.C.) in Capitolio dedicatae sunt. Voverat L. Furius Purpurio praetor Gallico bello unam, alteram consul: dedicavit Q. Marcius Ralla duumvir*—a statement so improbable that it is generally assumed that the reading of the source—*aedes Vediovi . . . dedicata*—became in Livy's text *aedes duae Iovis . . . dedicatae*, and that this error was accompanied by another which attributed the foundation of two temples in Capitolio to Purpurio, the *AEDES IN INSULA* (q.v.) and the *AEDES INTER DUOS LUCOS* (q.v.), which on the authority of this passage was vowed by Purpurio in 198 and dedicated by Ralla in 192. All the attempts hitherto made to reconcile Livy's statements involve a more or less drastic treatment, and the question of the temples of Vediovis in Rome cannot be determined until further evidence has been produced (see Jord. Comm. in hon. Momms. 359-365; Top. i. 2. 47, 111-112; Gilb. iii. 82-84; Mommsen, CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 305, 311; WR 236; Besnier, 249-265).

**VELABRUM:** the low ground lying between the north-west slope of the Palatine and the Capitoline. The name is probably ancient, and originally it may well have been given to the whole district between these two hills, the forum valley and the river, but during the historical period it was somewhat more restricted. It was bounded approximately by the forum on the north, the slope of the Palatine and the vicus Tuscus on the east, the district traversed by the vicus Iugarius on the west, while the line of separation between it and the forum Boarium passed through the present church of S. Giorgio in Velabro and is marked by the *arcus argentariorum* (CIL vi. 1035; cf. Varro, LL v. 43; vi. 24; Liv. xxvii. 37. 15; Plut. Rom. 5). According to tradition, which there seems to be no good reason to doubt, this district was originally very swampy, with sufficient water to float small boats (Varro, LL v. 44; Plut. Rom. 5; Ovid. Fast. vi. 405; Prop. iv. 9. 5; Tib. ii. 5. 33), until it was drained by the construction of the *cloaca Maxima* and the connecting system of sewers. It was always, however, subject to inundation when the Tiber was very high.

The meaning and etymology of Velabrum are uncertain. Varro (LL. v. 44, 156) derived it a *vehendo* (i.e. *ratibus*), and Plutarch (Rom. 5) also suggests a derivation from the *vela* carried in processions, but



neither these nor those of modern scholars are satisfactory (cf. Jord. i. 1. 195; Gilb. i. 103; Nissen, *Templum*, 84).

The Velabrum was an important centre of industrial and commercial activity, and in particular of the trade in food-stuffs, oil and wine (Plaut. Capt. 489; Curc. 483; Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 229; Mart. xi. 52. 10; xiii. 32; CIL vi. 467, 9184, 9259, 9993, 33933). It was a locus celeberrimus urbis (Macrob. i. 10. 15), for all the traffic between the forum and the pons Sublicius passed through the streets that bounded it, the vicus Tuscus and the vicus Iugarius (cf. Liv. xxvii. 37. 15; Suet. Caes. 37, for the line of the pompa), but it seems to have contained only one shrine, that of Acca Larentia (Cic. ad Brut. i. 15. 8). In two passages in poetry (Ovid, Propertius, locc. citt.) Velabra is used in the plural, and in Varro (LL v. v. 156: ab his palus fuit in minore Velabro, . . . ut illud maius de quo supra dictum est) a distinction is made between Velabrum maius and Velabrum minus, but it is not possible to determine what this is (cf. Pais, *Anc. Legends* 329, n. 49, for a misinterpretation of the Varronian passage, and see also Eranos, 1923, 52).

Jord. i. 1. 126-127, 194-195; 2. 473-474; Gilb. i. 69-70; iii. 439; Richter 181-183. In the Middle Ages, the name was corrupted into Velum Aureum (or avreum) (HCh 255).

VELIA: the ridge or spur that stretched out from the middle of the north side of the Palatine towards the Oppius (Dionys. v. 19), more commonly called SUMMA SACRA VIA (q.v.) in later times, and marked by the arch of Titus (for a theory that the Velia was the eastern half of the Palatine, see Gilb. i. 104-109). It was reckoned as one of the seven hills on which the Septimontium was celebrated (Fest. 341). The name appears more frequently in the singular (Varro, LL v. 54; Liv. ii. 7; xlv. 16; hemerol. Amit. ad viii Kal. Iun.), but also in the plural (Varro, loc. cit.; Non. 531; Fest. 154; Asc. in Pison. 52; Dionys. i. 68 Οὐελίαι).<sup>1</sup> The hill is described by Dionys. (v. 19) as ὑψηλὸν ἐπιεικῶς καὶ περίτομον; and a primitive grave found in 1908 near the arch of Titus lay at about 28 metres above sea-level, whereas virgin soil was found in the lowest part of the forum valley at 3.60 metres, and in connection with the excavation of the Sepulcretum, at 10.63 metres (AJA 1923, 390 sqq.). The original height of the ridge may have been somewhat diminished by the construction of the DOMUS AUREA of Nero (q.v.). The meaning and derivation of the Velia is as uncertain now as it was in antiquity (Varro, LL. v. 54: Veliae unde essent plures accepi causas in quis quod ibi pastores Palatini ex ovibus ante tonsuram inventam vellere lanam sint soliti, a quo Vellera dicuntur). The Velia is regularly mentioned in extant literature in connection with the aedes deum Penatium and the domus Valeriorum, under which rubrics the references will be found (Jord. i. 1. 196; 2. 416-419; HJ 1; Gilb. i. 38-39, 101-109).

<sup>1</sup> ὑπ' Ἐλαίας, Dionys. v. 48.



VENERENSES : see VICUS VENERIS ALMAE.

VENUS, AEDES : a temple, evidently near the forum, of which nothing whatever is known except that it was totally destroyed by fire in 178 B.C. (Obseq. 8 (62) : M. Iunio A. Manlio coss. incendio circa forum cum plurima esset deusta aedes Veneris sine ullo vestigio cremata).

VENUS CALVA, TEMPLUM : a temple which the Roman senate is said to have ordered built at some unknown date in honour of those Roman matrons who had given their hair for bowstrings (Hist. Aug. Maxim. 33 ; cf. Serv. Aen. i. 720 ; Lact. Inst. i. 20. 27 ; Pr. Myth. i. 447 ; RE iii. 1408). Nothing further is known of this temple and its existence is very doubtful (SHA 1916, 7. A, 13).

VENUS CLOACINA : see CLOACINA, SACRUM.

VENUS ERUCINA, AEDES : a temple on the Capitoline, probably within the area Capitolina, which, together with the temple of MENS (q.v.), was vowed by the dictator Q. Fabius Maximus, in accordance with the instructions of the Sibylline books, after the defeat at Lake Trasumenus in 217 B.C. (Liv. xxii. 9. 10, 10. 10), and dedicated by Fabius as duovir in 215 (Liv. xxiii. 30. 13, 31. 9). The temples of Venus and Mens were separated by a sewer (Liv. xxiii. 31. 9 ; cf. Varro ap. Philogyr. ad Georg. iv. 265). It is altogether probable that this is the temple known during the empire as aedes Capitolina Veneris, in which Livia dedicated a statue of an infant son of Germanicus (Suet. Cal. 7), and Galba a necklace of precious stones (Suet. Galba 18 ; Jord. i. 2. 42 ; Gilb. iii. 101 ; cf. however, Mommsen, CIL i<sup>2</sup> p. 331 ; Becker, Top. 404).

VENUS ERUCINA, AEDES (templum, Ovid ; *ἱερόν*, Strabo, Appian) : a temple of the Venus of Mt. Eryx in Sicily (Ov. Fast. iv. 872 ; Rem. Am. 550) vowed during the war with the Ligurians by L. Porcius Licinus when consul in 184 B.C., and dedicated by him as duumvir in 181 (Liv. xl. 34. 4). It was outside the porta Collina but not far from it (Ov. Fast. iv. 871 ; Rem. Am. 549 ; Liv. xxx. 38. 10 ; App. BC i. 93 ; Fast. Arv. ad ix Kal. Mai, CIL i<sup>2</sup> p. 214, 215, 316 ; Strabo vi. 2. 5 (p. 272) ), and probably on the west side of the via Salaria, perhaps near the present Via Belisario. Festivals were celebrated here on 23rd April, the Vinalia (Ov. Fast. loc. cit. ; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 94), and on 24th October (Fast. Praen., cf. Hülsen in DAP 2. xv. 326 sqq.). According to Strabo (loc. cit.), it was a copy of the temple at Mt. Eryx, and surrounded by a noteworthy porticus. This seems to have been a resort of questionable characters (Ov. locc. cit. ; cf. CIL vi. 2274 : *sortilegus ab Venere Erucina*). As this inscription contains the only post-Augustan reference to the temple, it is not unlikely that during the empire it was called the temple of VENUS HORTORUM SALLUSTIANORUM (q.v.), which name occurs on three inscriptions. The gardens of Sallust extended as far as the via Salaria, and it

has been held (but wrongly) that the so-called Ludovisi throne may have belonged to the temple (HJ 415-416; Gilb. iii. 91; WR 290; Mitt. 1889, 270-275; 1892, 32-80; HF 1288 (see ii. p. 78); BC 1914, 397).

VENUS FELIX, AEDES: the existence of this temple is indicated by an inscription found in the Villa Altieri (CIL vi. 781=30831, a dedication to Venus Felix; cf. *ibid.* 782, *Veneri Felici sacrum Sallustia Helpidus d(onum) d(edit)*, which may point to the site of the temple having been near the Horti Sallustiani; and see also 8710: P. Aelius Aug. lib. Epaphus aedituus Veneris Felicis). This temple may possibly have been built by Sulla (WR 291), but nothing is known of it.

VENUS GENETRIX: see FORUM IULIUM.

VENUS HORTORUM SALLUSTIANORUM, AEDES: a temple in the HORTI SALLUSTIANI (q.v.) which is mentioned in three inscriptions (CIL vi. 122, 32451, 32468: *ex hortis Sall.*). It is probable that this is only a late name for the temple of VENUS ERUCINA (q.v.) which lay within the limits of these gardens (HJ 416; WR 289), but the attempts to identify it with any ruins that have been found have proved unsuccessful (BC 1888, 3-11; 1914, 397; Mitt. 1889, 270-274; 1892, 313; Mél. 1891, 167-170).

VENUS IN PALATIO: see Ἀφροδίσιον.

VENUS (LIBITINA), TEMPLUM: a temple of Venus with whom Libitina had been identified, in the LUCUS LIBITINAE (q.v.) on the Esquiline. The date of its erection is not known, but its day of dedication was 19th August, the Vinalia rustica (Fest. 265; Plut. q. Rom. 23: *θησανρὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης*; HJ 260; WR 289; Rosch. ii. 2034-2035).

VENUS OBSEQUENS, AEDES: a temple built by Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges, out of fines imposed on women convicted of adultery. It was begun in 295 B.C., and dedicated after the close of the third Samnite war (Liv. x. 31. 9; Serv. Aen. i. 720: *dicatur etiam Obsequens Venus quam Fabius Gurges post peractum bellum Samniticum hoc nomine consecravit, quod sibi fuerit obsecuta*). It was ad circum Maximum (Fast. Vall. ad xiv Kal. Sept., CIL i<sup>3</sup>. p. 240, 325; Ant. ap. NS 1921, 108; Liv. loc. cit.; xxix. 37. 2; xli. 27. 8 (?); Fest. 265), that is probably near the south-east end of the circus on the Aventine side, near the shrine of Murcia. The day of dedication was 19th August, the Vinalia rustica (Fast. Vall. loc. cit.; Fest. 265). It is mentioned in the third century (Tert. de spect. 8; HJ 114; WR 289; Pr. Myth. i. 446).

VENUS ET ROMA, TEMPLUM\* (*ναός*, Cass. Dio cit.): the double temple on the Velia built by Hadrian (Chron. 146; Hieron. a. Abr. 2147), and dedicated to Venus Felix, the ancestress of the Roman people, and to the genius of the city, Roma aeterna. The association of these two divinities on a coin of C. Egnatius Maximus is noticed by Babelon (i. 472; but cf. BM. Rep. i. p. 399, n. 3). It was also called templum urbis

Romae (Serv. Aen. ii. 227), templum urbis (Amm. Marcell. xvi. 10. 14; Hist. Aug. Hadr. 19; Cassiod. Chron.), urbis Venerisque templa (Prud. c. Sym. i. 221), and possibly templum Veneris<sup>1</sup> (Hist. Aug. trig. tyr. 32). The plans were drawn by Hadrian himself, and evoked sharp criticism from his Greek architect, Apollodorus, who is said to have been put to death in consequence (Cass. Dio lxix. 4). The temple was dedicated in 135 A.D. (Hieron. loc. cit.; cf. Athen. viii. 63, p. 361, who erroneously gives the day as the Parilia), but perhaps finished by Antoninus Pius (Cohen, Hadrian 1420-1423, Pius 698-703, 1074-1076).

In accordance with Roman theory in such matters, it was necessary to build a separate cella for each goddess, in this case not side by side, but back to back, that of Venus facing east, and that of Roma west (Prud. loc. cit.: atque Urbis Venerisque pari se culmine tollunt templa). In 307 the temple was injured by fire and restored by Maxentius (Chron. 148; Aur. Vict. Caes. 40: urbis fanum); and the whole of the superstructure dates from his time, as was first pointed out by Nibby (Roma Antica ii. 738;<sup>2</sup> cf. AJA 1912, 429). It was one of the monuments that aroused the special wonder of Constantius when he visited Rome in 356 (Amm. Marcell. xvi. 10. 14), and was probably the largest and most magnificent temple in the city. It is mentioned in the Notitia (Reg. IV), and somewhat later by Prudentius (loc. cit.), for the last time in antiquity. The history of its destruction is unknown, but in 847-853 Leo IV built the church of S. Maria Nova in its ruins (HCh 352), and this is one of the chief arguments that it was the earthquake of his reign that wrought so much harm in and around the forum (LPD ii. 108, c. 20: terre motus in urbe Roma per indictionem factus est x (i.e. before 30th August, 847) ita ut omnia elementa concussa viderentur ab omnibus). This church was rebuilt in 1612 and is now called S. Francesca Romana. (Cf. p. 235).

The temple proper was built on an enormous podium of concrete faced with travertine, 145 metres long and 100 wide, on the north side of the Sacra via, between the Velia and the Colosseum, and on the line of the main axis of the latter, necessitating the removal of the Colossus NERONIS (q.v.). Owing to the slope of the ground, the height of the podium at the east end is considerable, and chambers were constructed in it for the storage of the machinery and apparatus of the amphitheatre. On this podium was a peribolus formed of a colonnade consisting of an outer wall and a single row of enormous columns of grey Egyptian granite on the sides, and probably of a double row of columns only at the ends. This colonnade had projections like propylaea at the corners and at the middle of the long sides. See JRS 1919, 184, for Ligorio's plan of it (the genuineness of which is doubtful). At the west end of the podium a wide flight of steps led down to the paved area in front of the temple; but at the east end there were only two small flights. The temple proper was raised on a platform, seven steps high, in the centre of the

<sup>1</sup> Ἀφροδίσιον (Cass. Dio lxxi. 31).

<sup>2</sup> ASA vii. should be corrected.



peribolus. The two cellae ended in apses placed back to back; but as the side walls of the cellae were prolonged so as to meet, the external appearance was that of one long rectangular building.

This temple was decastyle, of the Corinthian order, and pseudo-dipteral (Cohen, *Hadr.* 1420-3,<sup>1</sup> *Pius* 698-703, 1074-6; *BC* 1903, 19), the columns of the peristyle being of white marble about 1.8 metres in diameter. The cellae were narrower than the façade, and each pronaos had only four columns between the antae. The building was constructed of brick-faced concrete, and entirely covered with marble. Within the cellae, on each side, were rows of porphyry columns supporting an entablature. In the apses were five niches, alternately square and semicircular, with columns and entablatures in front of them. In the central niche of each apse was the statue of the goddess herself—Venus in one and Roma in the other. Within the precincts of the temple were silver statues of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina, and an altar on which sacrifice was made by newly married couples (*Cass. Dio* lxxi. 31), a statue of Minerva (*Serv. Aen.* ii. 227), and doubtless many more (*Hist. Aug. trig. tyr.* 32).

A single staircase, between the apses on the south side, led to the roof of the temple (*NA* 1910, 631-638; *RA* 131-132, 213-215), which was covered with gilt tiles. A part of the west front of the temple, with its sculptured pediment, is represented on two fragments of a relief, now in the Lateran and Museo delle Terme (*MD* 3519; *Benndorf-Schoene*, *Lateran* 20; *S. Sculp.* 238-240; *Mitt.* 1895, 248; *PT* 227-228; see *PANTHEON*),<sup>2</sup> which shows that on this west pediment were reliefs of Mars visiting Rhea Silvia and of the she-wolf suckling the twins. Most of the west cella has been destroyed; the apse and part of the east cella still stand in ruins, with many fragments of the columns of peristyle and peribolus (see *DAP* 2. xv. 368, and *LS* i. passim; ii. 220-222, for particulars of building materials quarried on its site). This temple with its enormous peribolus falls into the same category of buildings as the imperial fora, of which it formed a virtual continuation (*HJ* 17-20; *Gilb.* iii. 136; *HC* 243-247; *WR* 293, 340; *D'Esp. Mon.* ii. 90-95; *Fr.* ii. 88-90; *DR* 185-190; *RE Suppl.* iv. 481-484; *Mem. L.* 5. xvii. 525; *ASA* 73, 74; *HFP* 51-52; *JRS* 1925, 218, 219).

**VENUS VERTICORDIA, AEDES:** a temple built in 114 B.C., in accordance with instructions of the Sibylline books, to atone for a case of incest among the Vestals and a prodigium that followed the acquittal of two at the first trial (*Obseq.* 37 (97); *Lydus de mens.* iv. 15; *Ov. Fast.* iv. 157-160;

<sup>1</sup> These coins show an isolated column with a statue (Hadrian and Sabina) on each side of the temple; and Thiersch maintains (*Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1913, 266-267) that the prototype of this arrangement was the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, which Hadrian is known to have visited just before the erection of the temple of Venus and Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *PBS* ii. 37, pl. 64 b; iv. 234, n. 7; *HF* 1146, 1412; *SScR* 225-226. The figure of the Dea Roma in the relief of the Haterii may be an allusion to this temple (see *ARCUS TITI*). For Gorgoneia which may belong to its decoration, see *HF* 11, 14, 30.



cf. Oros. v. 15. 22). The epithet referred to the power of the goddess to turn the mind from lust to purity (Ov. loc. cit.; Val. Max. viii. 15. 12). The day of dedication was 1st April (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 314; Ov. Fast. iv. 133 ff.; Lydus, loc. cit.; Macrob. i. 12. 15). Servius speaks of a fanum Veneris Verticordiae in the vallis Murciae (Aen. viii. 636), but seems to be confusing the shrine of this goddess with that of Venus Murcia. This may show that the former was near the latter; if not, there is no indication of its location. The statue of the goddess is shown in coins of about 46 B.C. of M. Cordius Rufus (BM. Rep. i. 523. 4037-9).

About a century earlier Sulpicia (RE vii. 246), the wife of Q. Fulvius Flaccus, consul for the fourth time in 209 B.C., is said to have been selected, in accordance with the Sibylline books, as the most chaste woman in Rome, to dedicate a simulacrum to Venus Verticordia (Val. Max. viii. 15. 12; Plin. NH vii. 120; Solin. i. 126), but what relation this statue may have had to the later temple is not known (WR 290-291; Pr. Myth. i. 446; Gilb. iii. 92).

**VENUS VICTRIX**: a shrine or altar on the Capitol which is mentioned in the calendars with Genius populi Romani and Felicitas (Fast. Amit. Arv. ad vii Id. Oct., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 214, 245, 323, 331). Whether one shrine was dedicated to the triad, or each deity had his or her own, is perhaps not absolutely certain, but the latter hypothesis is most probable (Jord. i. 2. 46; DE iii. 467; RE vii. 1166; Gilb. iii. 101; Rodocanachi, Le Capitole 43).

**VENUS VICTRIX, AEDES** (templum, Tert., Plin.): a temple which, in order to escape censure for having erected a permanent theatre (see **THEATRUM POMPEI**), Pompeius built at the top of the central part of the caevea, so that the rows of seats might appear to be the steps leading up to it, and the whole structure be dedicated as a temple and not as a theatre (Tert. de spect. 10; Tiro ap. Gell. x. 1. 7, where the temple is called aedes Victoriae for Veneris Victricis; cf. Mommsen, CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 323). The dedication took place in Pompeius' second consulship in 55 B.C. (Plin. NH viii. 20), but the inscription was not put in place until 52 (Gell. loc. cit.). The day of dedication was 12th August (Fast. Allif. Amit. ad prid. Id. Aug., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 217, 244, 324), when Honos et Virtus and Felicitas were joined with Venus, indicating that shrines of these deities stood near that of Venus (cf. Suet. Claud. 21: ludos dedicationis Pompeiani theatri . . . cum prius apud superiores aedes supplicaverat). The temple is mentioned on an inscription (vi. 785),<sup>1</sup> and in the third century (Porphyry. ad Hor. Sat. i. 2. 94; HJ 525-526; Gilb. iii. 323; WR 291). For coins of about 44 B.C., depicting the goddess, see BM. Rep. i. pp. 543-551.

**VERMINUS, ARA**: an altar of the deity of the disease of vermina in cattle, found in 1876 just north of the porta Viminalis, during the removal of

<sup>1</sup> It was found among the remains of the theatre near S. Maria di Grottapinta.

part of the Servian agger. The altar was erected in the first century B.C. by the duumvir A. Postumius, in accordance with a *lex Plaetoria* (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 804=vi. 31057). It is now in the Museo Mussolini on the Capitol, is 0.75 metre square and 1.03 high, and resembles in shape that of *Aius Locutius* (q.v.) on the Palatine (WR 55; BC 1876, 24-28; OJ 1903, 142; Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, 52; HF 1043; Bocconi, *Mus. Cap.* 289. 1).

VERTUMNUS : see VORTUMNUS.

DIVUS VESPASIANUS, *TEMPLUM* : a temple begun by Titus (AJA 1912, 411) but completed by Domitian, and called *templum Vespasiani et Titi* (Chron. 146; Not. Reg. VIII), although only Vespasian's name appears in the original inscription on the upper part of the architrave (CIL vi. 938 : *divo Vespasiano Augusto spqr*). Beneath this was added a second line (Impp. Caes. Severus et Antoninus Pii felices Augg. restituerunt), which indicates a restoration, probably not extensive, by Severus and Caracalla. This inscription was complete in the seventh century and was copied by the compiler of the *Einsiedeln Itinerary*, but only the end of the last word has been preserved.

The temple was *prostyle hexastyle*, 33 metres long and 22 wide, with an unusual arrangement of the steps on account of the narrow space between the *Tabularium*, against which it was built, and the *clivus Capitolinus*. The existing remains consist of the core of the podium with some of its *peperino* lining, two fragments of the cella wall of travertine, part of the pedestal in the rear of the cella on which stood the statues of Vespasian and Titus, and three Corinthian columns at the south-east corner of the *pronaos*. These columns are of white marble, 15.20 metres high and 1.57 in diameter at the base, and support a portion of the entablature on which are the last letters of the inscription. Columns and entablature were reset in 1811, at which time it was still called the temple of Jupiter Tonans. A restored fragment of the cornice is in the *Tabularium*. The inside wall of the nearly square cella were covered with oriental marbles, and there were marble columns around its interior as in the temple of Castor. The exterior of the temple was covered with white marble (Jord. i. 2. 192-193; Reber 81-86; LR 291; HC 89-91; Middleton i. 338-340; Thédenat 158-159, 361; D'Esp. i. 50, 93; DR 201-205; RE Suppl. iv. 495, 496; HFP 20, 21).

VESTA, *AEDICULA* : see ATRIUM VESTAE.

VESTA, *LUCUS* : the grove that formed a part of the sacred precinct of the Vestal Virgins. It originally covered the space between the ATRIUM VESTAE (q.v.) and the Palatine, along the *Nova via* (Cic. de div. i. 101), but was encroached upon by the continual enlargement of the Atrium, and finally, at a very late period, disappeared entirely (Van Deman, *The Atrium Vestae* 9, 11; BC 1905, 208-210; Mél. 1908, 238-240; HC 206, 208).

VESTA, AEDICULA, ARA :\* a shrine which Augustus, after becoming pontifex maximus, built close to or within his own house on the Palatine, and dedicated 28th April, 12 B.C. (Ov. Fast. iv. 951 ; Met. xv. 864 ; Fast. Caer. Praen. ad iv Kal. Mai, CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 213, 236 ; and possibly Cass. Dio liv. 27. 3 ; cf. CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 317). It is regarded as probable that a Palladium was kept within this temple (cf. coins with Vesta and Palladium, Stevenson, Dictionary of Roman Coins, 854-855), referred to in an inscription of the fourth century from Privernum (CIL x. 6441 : praepositus palladii Palatini),<sup>1</sup> and that this temple became in time more important than that in the forum (WR 76, 156). No certain traces of it have been found, and its location is uncertain. Some sixteenth century drawings (Dosio, Florence, Uffizi 2039) have been thought to represent this round temple on the Palatine (BC 1883, 198-202 ; GA 1888, 151-152 ; Altm. 72), but this view has been vigorously combated by Hülsen (Mitt. 1895, 28-37 ; HJ 76-77), on apparently good grounds. See also JRS 1914, 211 ; 1919, 180.

VESTA, AEDES :\* the temple of Vesta at the east end of the forum, near the fountain of Juturna and the temple of Castor (Dionys. ii. 66 ; vi. 13 ; Mart. i. 70. 3-4 ; Hor. Sat. i. 9), originally within the precinct of the Vestals (ATRIUM VESTAE, q.v. ; Van Deman, Atrium Vestae, 9-10). The building of this shrine was ascribed by some to Romulus, but wrongly according to the Roman antiquarians, who attributed it to Numa (Dionys. ii. 65-66 ; Fest. 262 ; Plut. Numa 11). It was, however, outside the Palatine pomerium, and cannot have antedated the second stage of the city's growth. It was a round, tholus-shaped, structure (Ov. Fast. vi. 265-282 ; Fest. Plut. locc. citt.), probably in imitation of the ancient Italic hut (Altm. 14), and said to have been built originally of wattles with a thatched roof (Ov. Fast. vi. 261-262). It was not an inaugurated templum (Gell. xiv. 7. 7 ; Serv. Aen. vii. 153 : non augurio consecratum ne illuc conveniret senatus), although it was sometimes called templum by the poets (e.g. Ov. Fast. vi. 265, 281). It contained the sacred fire (Ov. Fast. vi. 297 ; see PORTA STERCORARIA), the Palladium brought by Aeneas from Troy (Ov. Trist. iii. 1. 29 ; Dionys. ii. 66), and other sacra (Dionys. loc. cit.), which were kept in a secret recess called the penus Vestae (Fest. 250 : penus vocatur intumus in aede Vestae tegetibus saeptus ; Serv. Aen. iii. 12 ; cf. Fest. 158, 161 ; Altm. 59-60), but no statue of the goddess herself (Ov. Fast. vi. 295-298 ; see AEDICULA VESTAE, S. ATRIUM VESTAE, ad fin.).

This temple was undoubtedly burned when the Gauls sacked the city in 390 B.C. (Liv. v. 42 ; Plut. Cam. 21), and again in 241 when Caecilius Metellus rescued the Palladium at the cost of his sight, which was miraculously restored (Liv. ep. 19 ; Oros. iv. 11. 9 ; Ov. Fast. vi. 437-454 ; Dionys. ii. 66 ; Plin. NH vii. 141 ; Val. Max. i. 4. 5). In 210 it was saved from burning by the devotion of thirteen slaves (Liv. xxvi. 27), and again

<sup>1</sup> Cf. DOMUS AUGUSTIANA (p. 165).



in 14 it was threatened and the sacra removed (Cass. Dio liv. 24). In the great fire of 64 A.D. it was burned, but soon restored, probably by Nero (Tac. Ann. xv. 41; Hist. i. 43; cf. Cohen, Nero, n. 334, 335; BM. Nero 101-106; cf. Introd. clxxv), and later in 191 (Herod. i. 14. 4: Cass. Dio lxxii. 24), when it was restored by Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus. It is mentioned in the Regionary Catalogue (Reg. VIII), and was closed by Theodosius in 394.

This temple is represented on coins dating from the end of the republic (gens Cassia 60 B.C., Babelon i. 333, Nos. 8, 9; BM. Rep. i. 482. 3781-5) to the restoration by Julia Domna (see a discussion of all these coins<sup>1</sup> by Dressel, *Zeitschrift f. Numismatik*, 1900, 20-31; Mitt. 1892, 284-287; 1893, 285-286), and on fragmentary reliefs—one in the Uffizi at Florence (catalogue No. 325; NS 1883, pl. xix. *b*; DS fig. 2944, and freq.), another in the Lateran in the fifteenth century, now lost, but known from a drawing in the Destailleur collection (Mél. 1891, 136),<sup>2</sup> and a third formerly in the Villa Negroni, copied by Winckelmann, and now lost (NS 1883, pl. xix. *a*).

The excavations of 1883 and 1899-1900 brought to light various architectural fragments and the podium (NS 1883, 434-468; 1900, 159-191; NA Aug. 1900, 437-456; BC 1900, 281-284; 1903, 57-69; CR 1899, 185; 1901, 139; Mitt. 1902, 88-92; Atti 525-530; for discoveries in 1549, see LS ii. 203). This podium consists of four strata of concrete with facings of opus incertum and brick. The lowest stratum is a circular foundation set in the soil, 15.05 metres in diameter and 2.17 thick. On this rest the three others. On the east side and here and there on the other sides of these strata are tufa blocks which were the foundation of the marble steps. Almost in the centre of this podium is a cavity of trapezoidal shape, extending to the bottom of the foundation, a depth of 5 metres. The sides measure between 2.30 and 2.50 metres in length. This cavity, or favissa, was entered from the floor of the cella, and may have been the receptacle of the stercus (Fest. 344; AA 1899, 3) or ashes of the sacred fire which were removed once a year and emptied out of the porta Stercoraria. Most of this foundation and podium dates from Augustus (AJA 1912, 393), but the favissa belongs to the early part of the principate of Domitian (ib. 413), and the highest stratum to the time of Septimius Severus (ib. 426).

The coins of Augustus (Cohen, Aug. 250-251), probably struck towards the end of Tiberius' reign (BM. Tib. 142; cf. Introd. cxxxii, cxxxix; Num. Chron. 1917, 258, for dating), represent a round structure with a conical roof (of bronze, according to Pliny NH xxxiv. 13), standing on a base of three steps, with columns surmounted by Ionic capitals as is also

<sup>1</sup> Special attention may be called to the restoration of Republican coins by Trajan (Babelon ii. 573, 574, Nos. 11, 12); for coins of Vespasian and Domitian, see NS 1900, 168.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mitt. 1892, 285. It was also drawn by Giuliano da Sangallo (Barb. 66) and by Dosio (Berol. f. 4, No. 10; cf. Mitt. 1893, 286; Ausonia, vii. 80). It has often been identified with the Uffizi relief, but wrongly.



the case on the Florence relief. The existing architectural fragments belong to the final restoration by Julia Domna, and these, together with the coins and reliefs, enable us to restore the temple with some degree of accuracy. The change from Ionic to Corinthian capitals seems to have been made during the first century, probably by the Flavians, but it is not probable that the temple of the third century differed materially from that of the first except in this respect and in the greater height of the podium. It was of white marble, peripteral, with twenty columns connected by metal gratings. The roof was dome-shaped, with an opening in the centre for the exit of smoke of the sacred fire. This opening must have been protected by metal work of some kind, which would allow the entrance of light. There are indications of at least one window in the cella wall. The shafts of the columns were fluted, 0.51 metre in diameter and about 4.45 in height. The door was on a level with the top of the podium, and not approached by steps as on the coins of Augustus.

(For restorations, discussion and literature of this temple, see Jord. i. 2. 293, 421-423; Gilb. i. 301-310; iii. 405-415; Jordan, *Der Tempel d. Vesta u. d. Haus d. Vestalinnen*, 1886; Auer, *Der Tempel d. Vesta u. d. Haus d. Vestalinnen*, *Denkschrift d. Wiener Akad.* 1888, 209-228; Mitt. 1889, 245-247; Altm. 51-60; HC 197-204; Thédenat 83-92, 312-314; Middleton i. 289-299; DR 126-137; RE Suppl. iv. 474-476; Capitulum ii. 219-224; HFP 44-46).

VIA APPIA: the road built in 312 by the censor Appius Claudius Caecus to Capua, prolonged to Venusia in 291 and then to Tarentum (281) and Brundisium (264) (Liv. ix. 29). It was among the most famous of Roman roads (Strabo v. 3. 9, p. 237; Stat. Silv. iv. 3. 1-3, 40-55; ii. 2. 12: *longarum regina viarum*; Not. app.<sup>1</sup>; Eins. II. 1, 8; 13. 20). Its independent existence began opposite the Septizonium, where the roads from the Colosseum and the circus Maximus and the vicus Piscinae Publicae all join; but we know nothing of the name of the short intramural portion. It issued from the PORTA CAPENA of the Servian wall, and through the wall of Aurelian by the PORTA APPIA, curving slightly and ascending through a cutting (CLIVUS MARTIS) before it reached the latter. This part of its course ran a little further north-east than the modern Via di Porta S. Sebastiano. It was flanked by tombs and columbaria both within and without the walls.

The first milestone was situated just inside the porta Appia (LS iii. 11; CIL x. 6812-3; HF i. p. 409). The original road was only gravelled (*glareo strata*); in 296 B.C. a footpath was laid saxo quadrato from the gate to the templum Martis (Liv. x. 23. 12); three years later the whole road was paved with silex from the temple to Bovillae (ib. 47. 4),

<sup>1</sup> William of Malmesbury, who gives a list of fourteen of the gates, adds the name of the road in each case. It has not been thought necessary to cite these separately.

and in 189 B.C. the first mile, from the gate to the temple, was similarly treated (Liv. xxxviii. 28. 3). Its further course cannot be dealt with here.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest milestone we have belongs to about 250 B.C. (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 21), and others belong to Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian and Theodoric (CIL ix. 6075; x. 6812-6880; cf. p. 991; NS 1910, 292).

For the road as a whole, see Canina, *Via Appia*, Rome 1853; T i. 35-71, 588-597; ix. 3-407; RE ii. 238-242; Mél. 1903, 375-418; HJ 200, 209-213.

For its *curatores* (who owe their institution to Claudius, with the other *curatores* of particular roads, see Senec. Apoc. 1: *Appiae viae curator est qua scis et Tiberium Caesarem et Augustum ad deos isse*), see CIL ii. 1929; CIG 4029; v. 865, 4341; vi. 3832=31719; ix. 1129; xiv. 2505, to whose staff the *tabularii viae Appiae* (CIL vi. 8466), belonged. For a *manceps viae Appiae*, cf. ib. 8468.

VIA ARDEATINA (Fest. 282; CIL vi. 13074; Not. app.; Jord. ii. 581): the road leading to Ardea, 24 miles distant, which (according to the view hitherto current) branched off to the southward from the VICUS PISCINAE PUBLICAE, passed through the PORTA NAEVIA (as far as which it was called VICUS PORTAE NAEVIAE), and then ran just inside the Aurelian wall (on the left of it is a large circular tomb—HJ 186; LF 45) as far as the postern generally known as PORTA ARDEATINA, which was removed when the great bastion was built for Paul III by Antonio da Sangallo the younger (Mitt. 1894, 320-327). Nothing is left of the course of the road just outside the gate. No milestones belonging to it have been found, but an inscription (CIL vi. 8469) records a *manceps viarum Laurentinae et Ardeatinae*.

From this it has been concluded that these two roads diverged just outside the porta Ardeatina (Mon. L. xiii. 137-142); but it has also been pointed out that the road which branches from the VIA OSTIENSIS (q.v.) at vicus Alexandri must be the via Laurentina mentioned by Pliny (Ep. ii. 17. 2: *et Laurentina et Ostiensis eodem ferunt*); and it is very likely that one was the *vetus* and the other the *nova* (EE ix. p. 375, 376), and probably the first mentioned would be the *vetus*.

Another solution is to suppose that the via Ardeatina diverged from the via Appia to the right at the church of Domine quo vadis (?), as the modern road which bears the name via Ardeatina does. In that case the road which ran through the porta Naevia and the postern just mentioned would be the via Laurentina (*vetus*?). This avoids the necessity of supposing the existence (which, if we accept the usual theory, we must do) of three bridges<sup>2</sup> over the Almo, including that of the via Appia,

<sup>1</sup> The description of the method of its construction in Procop. BG i. 14 is interesting; cf. Stat. Silv. iv. 3. 40-55.

<sup>2</sup> This is, of course, excluding the bridge of the via Ostiensis; and it is worth noting that the Tabula Peutingerana only marks three bridges, in all, inclusive of it.

within a short distance of one another. The proper name for the postern would then be *porta Laurentina*—if it had a name at all.

(Jord. i. 1. 233, 363; T. i. 72-104, 597; ix. 409-461; RE ii. 615 sq.; HJ 185; Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (Paris 1919), 240-250.)

**VIA ASINARIA**: a road which issued from the **PORTA ASINARIA** of the Aurelian wall, accessible from the *via Latina*, from which *Belisarius* diverged, in his advance on Rome, so as to enter by the **PORTA ASINARIA** (Not. app.; Procop. BG i. 14. 14). It is also mentioned by *Festus* 282 (s.v. *retricus*: *aqua eo nomine quae est supra viam Ardeatinam inter lapidem secundum et tertium, qua inrigantur horti infra viam Ardeatinam et Asinariam usque ad Latinam*), which shows that it must have run towards the *via Appia* and the *via Ardeatina*. Its course is variously indicated, but probably the modern *Via Appia Nuova* at first coincides with it (Bull. d. Inst. 1861, 72; RE ii. 1581; T. ii. 28-33; PBS iv. 42-45). The *via Tusculana* diverges from it about 400 metres from the gate (PBS iv. 51 sqq.).

**VIA AURELIA** (Not. app.; Eins. 12. 3): the road which led from the *pons Aemilius* across the low ground on the right bank of the *Tiber* (where two arches of a viaduct belonging to it were found near *S. Crisogono*, NS 1889, 362-364; BC 1889, 476-477; 1890, 6-8, 57-65; Mitt. 1891, 145-148; LF 20; KH ii.; HJ 627) up to the *Janiculum* (Mon. L. i. 480), where it passed through the Aurelian wall by the **PORTA AURELIA**. This would be the *via Aurelia vetus*; the *nova* ran south of the *Leonine wall* (LF 12-14; KH iii.) and joined it at the *Madonna del Riposo*, ran westward through undulating country until it reached the coast a little to the south-east of *Palidoro*, some 20 miles from Rome, and then followed it right up to *Vada Volaterrana*, whence it was prolonged to *Genoa* by the *via Aemilia*.

Some inscriptions of the *curatores* speak of the *via Aurelia vetus*, *nova*, the *Cornelia*, and the *Triumphalis* as being all united under one administration (CIL vi. 1512; viii. 946; xiv. 3610; CIG 2638 omits the *Cornelia*),<sup>1</sup> while others mention the *Aurelia* only (ib. ii. 1283, 1371; vi. 1462; ix. 973, 1126; EE iv. 425; BC 1891, 95-100). The road is mentioned on a gold glass inscription (T. ix. 464) and on a brick-stamp (CIL xv. 676: *officina Vari Romani, quae est via Aurelia hor(tis) [or hor(reis)] Popisci*). (Jord. i. 1. 376-380; T. i. 104-193, 598-600; ix. 463-547; RE ii. 2430; Mél. 1913, 171-192.)

**VIA CAMPANA**: a road on the right bank of the *Tiber*, which led to the *Campus Salinarum romanarum* (see **VIA OSTIENSIS**, with which it was, in imperial times, united for purposes of administration). It was probably of very early origin (see **VIA SALARIA**, **VICUS IUGARIUS**). The first part of its course was identical with that of the **VIA PORTUENSIS** (q.v.). See T. v. 1-58.

<sup>1</sup> For a curator of the *Aurelia* and *Cornelia*, see TAPA 1924, 5; CRA 1925, 228.



VIA COLLATINA : a road which led to Collatia, 11 miles from Rome, diverging from the VIA TIBURTINA just outside the PORTA TIBURTINA of the Aurelian wall. It was a road of purely local importance ; and it is mentioned only in connection with the springs of the AQUA APPIA and the AQUA VIRGO (Frontinus, *de aquis*, i. 5, 10). From Collatia a road ran to the via Praenestina (T. vi. 139-151 ; x. 460-492 ; PBS i. 138-149 ; RE iii. 365).

VIA CORNELIA\* (Not. app.) : the road which ran along the north side of the circus Gai, diverging from the via Triumphalis a little to the west of the pons Neronianus, near a large tomb (the so-called META ROMULI, q.v. ; cf. Mon. L. i. 525-527 ; LR 560 ; DAP 2. viii. 383). Various tombs orientated on its axis were found in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the rebuilding of S. Peter's, and on it was situated the tomb of the Apostle himself (Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* 126-131 ; HJ 658-660). After the construction of the pons Aelius it was prolonged eastward to communicate with it (see PORTA CORNELIA). It left the Leonine wall by the porta Pertusa (KH iii. ; LF 13), and ran westward for some 9 miles. Thus far it is clearly traceable ; but whether it turned northwards to Boccea or what course it followed after that is quite uncertain. It was under the curatores of the VIA AURELIA (Mél. 1902, 1-7 ; T. ix. 463, 464, 481-490).

VIA FLAMINIA\* (Not. app. ; Eins. 4. 10) : constructed in 220 B.C. during the censorship of C. Flaminius (Liv. Epit. xx. ; Strabo v. 217 wrongly ascribes it to C. Flaminius the younger) from Rome to Ariminum. Its importance led to its having a special curator as early as 65 B.C. (Cic. ad Att. i. 1. 2), and it was restored by Augustus himself in 27 B.C. (Mon. Anc. iv. 19 ; Suet. Aug. 30 ; Cass. Dio liii. 22 ; Cohen, Aug. 229-235, 541-544=BM. Aug. 79-81, 432-436). It was a much frequented road (Strabo v. 227 ; Tac. Hist. i. 86 ; ii. 64), and the four silver cups of about the time of Trajan, found at Vicarello, on which is the itinerary by land from Rome to Gades, prove this (CIL xi. 3281-3284). Cf. Hist. Aug. Maximin. 25. 2.

The road gave its name to one of the districts of Italy as early as the second century A.D. We have epigraphic testimony of the importance of the traffic on it (*praef. vehiculorum a copis Aug. per viam Flaminiam* CIL x. 7585 ; *praepositus [cursualis] de via Flabinia (sic)* ib. vi. 33714). For milestones and other inscriptions relating to repairs, cf. CIL xi. 6619, sqq.

The via Flaminia started in a north-north-west direction from a gate of the Servian wall on the east slope of the Capitol which had wrongly been identified with the PORTA RATUMENA, though later topographers identify it with the PORTA FONTINALIS (RhM 1894, 411). It turned slightly westward a little before passing the tomb of BIBULUS (q.v.), and passing the so-called tomb of the Claudii, resumed its former direction.



It then ran across the campus Martius, forming the boundary between the seventh and ninth regions of Augustus, and on in an absolutely straight line to the pons Mulvius, a distance of about 3 miles. Burial on it was regarded as a special honour; cf. Stat. Silv. ii. 1. 176; Mart. vi. 28, 29; viii. 75. 1, 2 (see VIA TECTA); xi. 13; Iuv. i. 170; see HJ 462-464, 471, 484, 491-492, 621. The part within the Aurelian walls was known as the via Lata from the fourth century A.D. onwards. The modern Corso coincides absolutely with the ancient line, and the two churches which flank it where it ends in the Piazza del Popolo both stand on ancient tombs, while many other tombs were sacrificed for the construction of the PORTA FLAMINIA.

The cura of the road was generally held alone (CIL ii. 4126, 4510 (cf. xiv. 3599); vi. 1333, 1529, 3836; x. 5061; Rev. Arch. 1889, i. 426, n. 92; BC 1891, 111), but once appears associated with that of the Tiburtina <sup>1</sup> (CIL xiv. 2933; BC 1891, 108-112).

The curatores of the via Clodia, which diverged from the via Flaminia at the pons Mulvius, had under them the via Cassia and a variety of other roads (the Annia, Ciminia, tres Traianae, Amerina; BC 1891, 100-107; for the relative antiquity of the Clodia and Cassia, cf. Mél. 1913, 192, 206, 240-244).

See RE vi. 2493-2496; T. i. 375-587; x. 199-375; JRS 1921, 125-190.

VIA FORNICATA: a street in the campus Martius, mentioned once by Livy (xxii. 36. 8: in via fornicata quae ad campum erat, 216 B.C.). The name is derived from certain arches that ran beside the street or spanned it, and it may possibly (HJ 485) be that which was afterwards called VIA TECTA (q.v.).

VIA GABINA: the name which the VIA PRAENESTINA originally bore, when it led only as far as Gabii (Liv. ii. 11. 7; iii. 6. 7; v. 49. 6), 12 miles from Rome (PBS i. 128).

VIA LABICANA: \* a road which diverged to the right from the via Praenestina just inside the porta Praenestina of the Aurelian wall (Liv. iv. 41. 8; Frontinus, de aquis 21; Hist. Aug. Did. Iul. 8; Not. app.; NS 1891, 203; BC 1892, 78). Between them, just outside it, is the SEPULCRUM EURYSACIS (q.v.). The fact that the gate took its name from the latter shows that the intramural portion of the road, from the porta Esquilina, should really bear the same name; though Strabo (v. 3. 9. p. 237) speaks of both roads as starting from the porta Esquilina, which has led to the impossible theory that they separated just outside the gate, rejoined just before the porta Tiburtina, and then separated again (Jord. i. 1. 358-362; PBS i. 139 n., 149-150). The first part of the via Labicana may have belonged to the original route to Tusculum; it ran, as its name implies, in the first instance, to Labici, 15 miles from Rome, and then joined the

<sup>1</sup> This is somewhat doubtful, for only the letters TI (?) were preserved; and the inscription has apparently disappeared. Cf. p. 569, n. 2.

via Latina by crossroads at three different points. In later days, however, it very likely superseded the latter as a road for through traffic, and its summit level is 650 feet lower, and the difference in length at Ad Bivium is less than a mile. The milestones in the further portion of its course will therefore agree with either numeration (contrast CIL x. p. 695). Administratively it seems to have been under the same curator as the via Latina (BC 1891, 112-121). For its first milestone (Vespasian), see BC 1903, 371; NS 1903, 513; Mitt. 1903, 336; and for others, CIL x. 6883. See Jord. i. 1. 222; T. vi. 1-121, 235-237; x. 377-459; OJ 1902, 33; HJ 355; PBS i. 215-281; iv. 6-8.

VIA LATA: the later name for the intramural portion of the VIA FLAMINIA, which first occurs in the Notitia as the name of Reg. VII (CIL xv. 7186, 7187 are even later). It frequently occurs in the liber Pontificalis, and is perpetuated in that of the church of S. Maria in via Lata first mentioned as one of the churches to which Leo III gave gifts in 806 (LP xcvi. c. 70; HJ 462, 463; HCh 376).

VIA LATINA: a road which branched off to the left from the via Appia 830 metres from the porta Capena, and after 500 metres more passed through the PORTA LATINA of the Aurelian wall. The whole triangle between the two roads was occupied by tombs (T. ii. 19; LR 321-337; LF 46; HJ 209-212; cf. SEPULCRUM POMPONII HYLAE, SEPULCRUM SCIPIONUM), which continued for a long way along both sides of the road (Iuv. i. 170: *experiar quid concedatur in illos quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina*), which, like the via Appia, ran in a straight line for the first 11 miles. Liv. ii. 39 uses it, in speaking of Coriolanus, only as a geographical description; for it was not in existence so early. Its history is unknown, but its straightness of line shows that it was not a primitive road but an artificial military highway; and it was probably constructed after the pass of Algidus had been secured in 389 B.C.; and it must have run at least as early as 334 B.C. as far as Cales (Liv. x. 36).

It was joined at three different points by the via Labicana or by branches. Strabo v. 3. 9, p. 237, shows that the via Latina was in his time regarded as the principal road, and indeed he classes it with the Appia and Valeria as among the most famous; but in later times the easier line taken by the via Labicana may have commended it to travellers, though the Latina was kept up also (for a milestone of Maxentius, see PBS i. 278). The distance being identical, the milestones will agree with the numeration along either road (PBS iv. 7, 8). In any case the independent existence of both ceased at Casilinum, where they joined the via Appia.

At the beginning of the third century A.D. the viae Labicana and Latina vetus were under one curator (CIL iii. 6154; x. 5394; EE iv. p. 223 name both roads—the via Latina is qualified as *vetus* in the first

of these—ii. 1929; iii. 1455; vi. 1337, 1450; x. 3732; xi. 2106; xiv. 2942, 3595; BCH 1879, 272; Rev. Arch. 1889, ii. 126; and Stat. Silv. iv. 4. 60, only the Latina; vi. 332; x. 1259, only the Labicana), while there was a separate official for the via Latina Nova (x. 5398; see BC 1891, 112-121). What this last road was, we do not know—nor the significance of the inscription 'Viae Latinae Gr' under a recumbent female figure holding a wheel, a personification of the road (MD 4101; T. ii. 5; CIL vi. 29811). For mention of it at a later period, see Not. app.; Eins. 10. 3. See Jord. i. 1. 359; T. ii. 1-318; xi.; PBS iv. 1-159; v. 213-432.

VIA LAURENTINA: see VIA ARDEATINA, VIA OSTIENSIS.

VIA MERULANA (see DOMUS MERULANA; cf. LP. Hadr. I. xcvii. 11; LPD i. 313, n. 8). The name occurs in the Ordo Benedicti (Jord. ii. 665; cf. Mon. L. i. 532; Fabre, Liber Censuum ii. 150). Cf. also HJ 351; Arm. 246, 247; HCh 207 (S. Bartholomaei de Merulana, or in capite Merulanae, i.e. at the southern extremity of the via Merulana); 208 (S. Basilidis in Merulana); 386-387 (S. Matthaei in Merulana)).

VIA NOMENTANA (Not. app.; Eins. 3. 8): a road which diverged immediately outside the PORTA COLLINA from the via Salaria and soon passed through the porta Nomentana of the Aurelian wall. It originally led to Ficulea (Liv. iii. 52 calls it via Ficulensis) and was then prolonged to Nomentum, 14 miles from Rome, and a prolongation of it joined the via Salaria at the twenty-sixth milestone. It was a road of purely local importance. No milestones of it have been found, and only two inscriptions of its curatores who were of equestrian rank (CIL iii. 6098=Suppl. 7271; EE. v. 194; CIL xiv. 3955; BC 1891, 129-130). Brickfields were situated on it (CIL xv. 677-682), and there are still some near the bridge over the Anio. See Jord. i. 1. 221; T. iii. 1-135; SR i. 351; PBS iii. 38-84.

VIA NOVA: see NOVA VIA.

VIA NOVA: a street constructed by Caracalla, which ran parallel to the via Appia, along the front of the THERMAE ANTONINIANAE (q.v.), which he built (Aur. Victor Caes. 21: aucta urbs magno accessu viae novae; Hist. Aug. Carac. 9: viam novam munivit, quae est sub eius thermis). It is shown on Forma Urbis, 3, as about 30 metres wide, while the via Appia is hardly one-third of this width. It is mentioned in a Christian inscription (CIL vi. 9684). It can obviously have nothing to do with the via Nova mentioned by Frontinus (see HORTI ASINIANI).<sup>1</sup>

VIA OSTIENSIS (Not. app., which also mentions the via Campana and the via Laurentina): the road which led to Ostia, a distance of 14 miles (Fest. 250; Plin. Ep. ii. 17. 2). The road from the porta Trigemina of the Servian wall, which is probably the original via Ostiensis, kept under the north-west and south-west sides of the Aventine (see PORTICUS

<sup>1</sup> It has been conjectured that it may simply refer to the VICUS SULPICIVS (q.v.) as a 'new road' (Hist. Aug. cit. ed. Loeb), but this vicus had already been in existence for a long period previously.



AEMILIA), and was joined by a branch from the porta Lavernalis and another from the porta Raudusculana, the latter (with which the SEPULCRUM CESTII is orientated) falling into it a little beyond the tomb (BCr 1866, 34; 1898, 60-76; Mon. L. i. 511-513; LF 44). A piece of its pavement was found in the ditch surrounding the old Protestant cemetery in 1824. After the intersection a road continued in the same direction (NS 1911, 42; BC 1915, 56); but the main road ran due south, and is followed by the modern road, which crosses the Almo by a bridge under which the ancient bridge is concealed (NS 1898, 450).

At the vicus Alexandri, 4 miles from Rome, a road to Lavinium diverged to the left (CIL xiv. 4086, 4087; EE ix. p. 375; Mon. L. xiii. 133-196; Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*, 240-250), which must be the via Laurentina (nova?) mentioned by Pliny (see VIA ARDEATINA).<sup>1</sup> An archaic milestone of the via Ostiensis was erected by the aediles (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 22 = vi. 31585).

For administrative purposes the via Ostiensis and the via Campana, which was on the right bank of the Tiber and ran to the campus Salinarum romanarum (EE ix. p. 337, No. 434; BC 1888, 86-89; NS 1888, 228, 229), were both under a curator of equestrian rank (CIL vi. 1610; x. 1795; BC 1891, 130). See Jord. i. i. 233, 368; T. iv. 1-153; BCr 1897, 283-321; 1898, 60-76; BC 1897, 56, 314.

VIA PINCIANA (Eins. 12. 5): see PORTA PINCIANA.

VIA PORTUENSIS (Not. app.; Eins. 12. 4): the road leading to the portus Augusti constructed by Claudius on the right bank of the Tiber, at the mouth. It started from the pons Aemilius, and the first part of its course is identical with that of the via Campana. The PORTA PORTUENSIS (q.v.) of the Aurelian wall had a double arch, probably owing to the amount of traffic it had to carry (see Mon. Linc. xxvi. 417-430), but the divergence occurred a good deal further on, probably a mile from the gate. The via Portuensis went to the right into hilly country, while the via Campana kept to the valley of the Tiber. The roads rejoined at the modern Ponte Galera. See T. v. 1-86.

With the growth of importance of the via Portuensis from the time of Constantine onwards, that of the via Ostiensis correspondingly decreased. It is to be noted that Procopius (BG i. 26. 9-13), who calls the road to Portus *ὁμαλὴν τε καὶ ἐμπόδιον οὐδὲν ἔχουσαν*, and tells us how barges were dragged up the river by teams of oxen moving along it, must be describing the towpath, and not either the via Portuensis or even the via Campana, which is in many places at quite a considerable distance from the winding course of the river.

VIA PRAENESTINA (Not. app.): a road which began at the porta Esquilina of the Servian wall (to which the CLIVUS SUBURANUS led) and separated from the VIA LABICANA just before the PORTA PRAENESTINA. A con-

<sup>1</sup> Ashby, *The Roman Campagna in Classical Times*, 209-211.



siderable amount of its pavement and some interesting tombs have been found, notably the so-called Casa Tonda (HJ 355-357; LF 24; BC 1886, 27) in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele and the MONUMENTUM AURELIORUM. Originally it was called VIA GABINA, and led only as far as Gabii; then it was prolonged to Praeneste, a distance of 25 miles, from which a branch road led on to the via Labicana; but it was mainly a road for local traffic. It is mentioned in connection with the springs of the AQUA APPIA (Frontinus, *de aquis*, i. 5, 10) and the AQUA VIRGO (Plin. NH xxxi. 42). See references under VIA LABICANA; also T. vi. 123-238; x. 460-559, 564, 565; PBS i. 131-138, 149-215.

Three of its milestones are known (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 833, belonging to the second century B.C., and x. 6886, 8306, both belonging to the time of Maxentius), but only one of its curatores (CIL xiv. 169; BC 1891, 131), who was of equestrian rank.

VIA RECTA: see VIA TECTA (I).

VIA SACRA: see SACRA VIA.

VIA SALARIA: a road leading due north and then north-east, passing through the porta Collina of the Servian wall (immediately outside which it left the via Nomentana on the right) and the porta Salaria of the Aurelian wall. It was a very ancient road, by which the Sabines came to fetch salt from the salt marshes at the mouth of the Tiber (Festus 326; Paul. ex Fest. 327; Cic. *de nat. deor.* iii. 5. 11; Strabo v. 3. 1, p. 228, who calls it *ὁ πολλή*; Plin. NH xxxi. 89; Not. app.; Eins. 12. 4, and see SALINAE), which may have thus originated even before the foundation of Rome (see VICUS IUGARIUS). There was a legend that a treaty with the Sabines was made by Tullus Hostilius (Hor. *Epist.* ii. 1. 24; Dionys. iii. 33). It was also the route to Antemnae and Fidenae (Liv. vii. 9. 6), and later on acquired importance as the thoroughfare to Reate and, through the Apennines, to Amiternum and Ausculum (Ascoli Piceno, not far from the Adriatic coast). We have inscriptions of five of its curatores (CIL vi. 1507, 1509; viii. 7033; <sup>1</sup> xiv. 2405; Rev. Arch. 1890, ii. 139; BC 1891, 121-124; and also the eighteenth milestone of Nerva (NS 1910, 366; Mitt. 1912, 223). Brickfields were situated on it (CIL xv. 478-532, 683), no doubt beyond the bridge over the Anio.

The via Salaria vetus (first mentioned in the Depos. Mart. of 335-336 ap. Chron. p. 71 (M), and then in other lists of catacombs) undoubtedly diverged to the left from the main via Salaria, and was cut by the Aurelian wall between the second and third towers west of the gate. A very large number of tombs have been found along the first part of its course (Ill. 56). It can be traced as far as the foot of the Monti Parioli, but no further; and though it has been supposed, it is more than doubtful whether it crossed the Tiber (JRS 1921, 130; Riv. Arch. Cris. i. (1924), 19-41). It is

<sup>1</sup> In this inscription we have *curatori via]rum Salariae Fo.* . . . What the second name may be is quite uncertain. For an inscription of a tabularius, cf. ib. vi. 8467.

not impossible that the name came from the fact that in 335-336 people still remembered its having been closed by the construction of the Aurelian wall. That the original road ran this way is unlikely. See Jord. i. 1. 430; T iii. 1-133; HJ 437; PBS iii. 7 sqq.; Mitt. 1908, 275-329, 376; 1909, 121-169, 208-255; 1912, 221-229, 248; RE i. A. 1845, 2078; SR i. 353.

VIA TECTA (1): a street in the campus Martius, mentioned three times in the literature of the first century (Seneca, *Apoc.* 13: *descendunt per viam Sacram... inicit illi manum Talthybius... et trahit... per campum Martium; et inter Tiberim et viam Tectam descendit ad inferos; Mart. iii. 5. 5; viii. 75. 1, 2: dum repetit sera conductos nocte penates / Lingonus a tecta Flaminiaque recens*), which seems to have connected the region of the via Flaminia and forum with the Tarentum. The pavement of an ancient street leading in this general direction has been found at various points in the Vie di Pescheria, del Pianto, de' Giubbonari, de' Cappellari, and del Banco di S. Spirito, and on the same line as the fragments of the PORTICUS MAXIMAE (q.v.). It is possible that this was the via Tecta, so called because it was protected by some sort of a colonnade before the porticus Maximae were built (HJ 485; KH iii.).<sup>1</sup> The name VIA RECTA, which some authorities apply to the road going east from the pons Aelius to the via Flaminia (LF 14), is due to a wrong reading of the first passage (HJ 503, n. 78).

VIA TECTA (2): the name of a street outside the porta Capena, found only in Ovid (*Fast.* vi. 191-192: *lux eadem Marti festa est, quem prospicit extra oppositum tectae porta Capena viae*), and probably applied to the via Appia between the porta Capena and the temple of MARS (q.v.) because it was bordered by some kind of a colonnade (HJ 213; cf. above).

VIA TIBURTINA (Not. app.; Eins. 6. 4): the road which led to Tibur, 20 miles from Rome. It probably left the city by the porta Esquilina of the Servian wall (for other theories, which made it pass through the porta Viminalis, see LF 17, 18; PBS i. 139; iii. 85-86, though the name Tiburtina vetus is not vouched for by any classical authority, and is only retained for convenience). This would account for the erection over it of the arch of Augustus (which later became the PORTA TIBURTINA), whereas the straight road from the porta Viminalis passed through a small postern (the so-called porta Chiusa) south-east of the castra Praetoria, which was closed at some unknown period (HJ 343, 367, 368). Beyond Tibur the road took the name of via Valeria as far as Cerfennia. A group of milestones has been found at the thirty-sixth mile (NS 1890, 160), and the forty-third milestone also exists in situ (PAS i. 108-140).

<sup>1</sup> In that case Claudius would have been led by Talthybius past the porticus Octaviae, Philippi and Minucia frumentaria, along the via Tecta, and so to the ara Ditis in the Tarentum.

The prolongation beyond Cerfennia was made by Claudius, as its name, via Claudia Valeria, implies (CR 1904, 187; Mél. 1907, 462; PBS ix. 75-106; CIL ix. 5973).

The via Valeria is classed with the Appia and the Latina as one of the *γνωριμώταται τῶν ὁδῶν* (Strabo v. 3. 9). For its *curatores*, who administered the whole road (being all later than Claudius), see BC 1891, 112, 124-127; CIL ix. 3667; xiii. 1803; BCH 1890, 644 (in which both the Tiburtina and the Valeria are mentioned); ii. 4126; vi. 3844<sup>1</sup>; x. 3761; xiv. 2933 (?)<sup>2</sup>; EE viii. 158 *a* (Tiburtina only); vi. 1517 (Valeria only). For the first part of the road, see Jord. i. 1. 222, 359; T. vii. 5-60; PBS iii. 84-200, 208.

VIA TRIUMPHALIS (1): a road running northwards from the Pons NERONIANUS across the Prati di Castello, ascending the southern slopes of Monte Mario to the right of the modern road, and finally joining the via Clodia at La Giustiniana, 7 miles from Rome. It was under the same *curatores* as the VIA AURELIA (q.v.) but the origin of the name is unknown (CIL vi. 10247; cf. p. 3307; Not. app.). Extensive brickfields which are still in use existed on the left of it, to which CIL xv. 684: Tac(ci?) Ruf(i?) (de) via Tri(umphali) probably belongs. See Jord. i. 1. 376; HJ 658; LF 6, 14; Mon. L. i. 525-527; T. x. 12-16; BC 1908, 125-135; 1913, 54-57; LS iii. 129; PBS ix. 205-213. Cf. APOLLO ARGENTEUS, BELLONA PULVINENSIS.

VIA TRIUMPHALIS (2): the name often given to the road from the Colosseum to the Septizonium, which passes by the arch of Constantine, but without ancient authority (HJ 25, 201).

VICA POTAE: a shrine on the site of the DOMUS P. VALERII (q.v.), which Valerius built on the slope of the Velia towards the forum (Liv. ii. 7. 12: *infra Veliam ubi nunc Vicae Potae est* <aedes> in infimo clivo; Plut. Popl. 10: *ἱερὸν*). This deity was apparently identical with or closely related to Victoria, for the shrine is called aedes Victoriae (so that the identification with a fragmentary altar in TF 87 will not hold) by Asconius (in Pis. 52; cf. Cic. de leg. ii. 28). Another derivation was from victus and potus (Arnob. iii. 25; Sen. Apocol. 9). The date of the dedication was 9th January (Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 84; Jord. i. 2. 417; WR 196; Pr. Myth. ii. 245).

VICTORIA, ARA: an altar in the curia Iulia (Fast. Maff. Vat. ad v Kal. Sept., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 225, 242, 327; Herodian. vii. 11. 3), presumably erected by Augustus at the same time (29 B.C.) that he set up a statue of the same goddess in the same place (Cass. Dio li. 22; Suet. Aug. 100; Herodian. v. 5. 7). During the bitter struggle between Christianity and Paganism in the

<sup>1</sup> Here it is restored as T[iburtinae]: but in CIL vi. 31752, where it is repeated, T[raiana] is rightly preferred.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription is far too fragmentary for us to read *Ti(burtinae) utriusque* and to suppose a reference to the road above and below Tibur. Cf. p. 563, n. 1.



fourth century, this altar was regarded as the symbol of the old religion. It was removed from the senate house first by Constantius in 357, but seems to have been restored, by Julian, no doubt, and finally banished by Gratian in 382 (Sym. Rel. 3; Ambros. Ep. i. 17. 4; 18. 1, 7, 10, 32; 57. 4-6; Seeck, Symmachus liii-liv, lviii; WR 98, 141; Jord. i. 2. 251-252).

VICTORIA, AEDES (τέμενος, Dionys.):\* a temple on the Palatine hill, ascribed by tradition to Evander (Dionys. i. 32. 5), but actually built by L. Postumius Megellus out of fines levied by him during his aedileship, dedicated by him on 1st August (Fast. Praen. ad Kal. Aug., EE ix. No. 740; NS 1897, 421; Ant. ap. NS 1921, 104) when consul in 294 B.C. (Liv. x. 33. 9). During the years 204-191, while the temple of the Magna Mater was being built, the sacred stone of that goddess was kept in the temple of Victoria (Liv. xxix. 14. 13). Near it Cato afterwards built a shrine of Victoria Virgo (Liv. xxxv. 9. 6). There is no record of any restoration of this temple (AJA 1905, 438-440; Mem. Am. Acad. ii. 61), and its exact site is still uncertain. See CJ 1920, 297, where Chase states that Boni identified this temple with foundations found near the arch of Titus. It was doubtless on the CLIVUS VICTORIAE (q.v.), and remains of two dedicatory inscriptions (CIL vi. 31059=i<sup>2</sup>. 805; 31060), found about 50 metres west of the present church of S. Teodoro, may indicate its position (HJ 47-49; WR 139; Gilb. iii. 428-429; LR 126-127).

VICTORIA VIRGO, AEDICULA: a shrine dedicated by Cato 1st August, 193 B.C. prope aedem Victoriae (Liv. xxxv. 9. 6), two years after it had been vowed (Fast. cit. supr.).

VICUS AESCULETI: a street which must have entered or passed through the AESCULETUM (q.v.). It is known only from the occurrence of the name in the inscription (CIL vi. 30957) on an altar dedicated by the magistri vici Aescleti to the Lares, which was found in the via Arenula about 100 metres north of the Tiber (NS 1888, 498; BC 1888, 327-339; 1889, 69-72; Mitt. 1889, 265-267; HJ 521-522). Fragments of pavement have been found in the Via di S. Bartolommeo, and the vicus may have run in that direction.

VICUS AFRICUS: a street somewhere on the Esquiline, known only from Varro (LL v. 159: Esquiliis vicus Africus quod ibi obsides ex Africa bello Punico dicuntur custoditi).

VICUS APOLLINIS: a street somewhere on the Palatine, in Region X, mentioned only on the Capitoline Base (CIL vi. 975).

VICUS ARMILUSTRI: see ARMILUSTRIUM.

VICUS BELLONAE: probably named from the temple of BELLONA (q.v.), but known only from one inscription (CIL vi. 2235).

VICUS BRUTIANUS: a street in Region XIV, mentioned only in the Capitoline Base (CIL vi. 975), but probably near the CAMPUS BRUTIANUS (q.v.).



**VICUS BUBLARIUS** : \* a street of which the name is preserved on a fragment of the Marble Plan if the first two letters, now missing, are correctly restored (FUR frg. 62, and p. 61; Mitt. 1892, 281; IJ 63, n. 63). It was on the Palatine, in Region X, if we are justified in the conjecture that another fragmentary inscription (CIL vi. 343=30743 mag. anni xxxii [vici] . . . ari reg. x) contains its name, and a connection with the district *AD CAPITA BUBULA* (q.v.) is possible.

**VICUS CAESARIS** : a street known only from one inscription (CIL vi. 9492) which gives no indication of locality.

**VICUS CAESETI** : a street somewhere in Region XIII (CIL vi. 975), which may possibly have derived its name from Caesetius Rufus, whose beautiful house was coveted by Fulvia, the wife of Antonius (App. BC iv. 29; Val. Max. ix. 5. 4).

**VICUS CAMENARUM** : see *CAMENAE*.

**VICUS CANARIUS** : a street mentioned in the acts of the martyrs (S. Laur. 10, Aug. AA SS. p. 578; S. Euseb. 25, Aug. 115; S. Xysti 6 Aug. 141; Passio S. Abundii, BCr 1883, 156), and in the *Mirabilia* (10), where it is called *ad S. Giorgium*, that is, near S. Giorgio in Velabro. This, however, is quite doubtful (Jord. ii. 588; LPD ii. 41, n. 61).

**VICUS CAPITIS AFRICAE** : see *CAPUT AFRICAE*.

**VICUS CAPITIS CANTERI** : a street somewhere in Region XIII (CIL vi. 975), but otherwise unknown.

**VICUS CAPRARIUS** : a street mentioned only in a bull of Paschal II of 1104 A.D. (Quellen u. Forschungen xiv. (1911) 33: vicus Caprarius in regione quinta), and undoubtedly identical with the viculus Capralicus which occurs in the false bull of John III (Jord. ii. 669-670) of the end of the twelfth century. This street seems to have run south from the aqua Virgo and campus Agrippae, and pavement<sup>1</sup> found in the line of the via Lucchesi is thought to have belonged to it (LF 22, 16, where the name is erroneously given as vicus Capralicus; HJ 459-460; cf. Kehr, Italia Pontificia i. 71, 73, for references to S. Marcello in via Lata, where, however, there is no actual citation of the vicus).

**VICUS CENSORI** : perhaps the only vicus on the island (CIL vi. 975). It is mentioned in two other inscriptions (vi. 451, 821), and was probably named after an earlier member of the family, whose first representative known to us is C. Censorius Niger, in the second century (RE iii. 1910; Gilb. iii. 54; HJ 638; Besnier 54-55).

**VICUS COLLIS VIMINALIS** : a street known only from two inscriptions (CIL vi. 2227, 2228), which undoubtedly ran along the ridge of the

<sup>1</sup> Some pavement found at the corner of the Via delle Vergini and the Via dell' Umiltà may perhaps also be attributed to it; and it is possible that remains of the *AEDICULA CAPRARIA* (q.v.) were also discovered (BC 1925, 272, 273).

Viminal to the porta Viminalis. Its pavement has been found along a line from the via Napoli to the porta Chiusa (BC 1874, 199 ; HJ 373-374).

VICUS COLUMNAE LIGNEAE : a street somewhere in Region XIII (CIL vi. 975), but otherwise unknown. The explanation of the name is obvious.

VICUS COMPITI PASTORIS : a street somewhere in Region XII (CIL vi. 975), otherwise unknown.

VICUS CUPRIUS : a street on the Esquiline, running from the TIGILLUM SORORIUM (Dionys. iii. 22. 8) north across the slope of the Carinae to the Subura. It crossed the CLIVUS ORBIUS (q.v.) at its highest point, where the daughter of Servius Tullius is said to have driven over the body of her murdered father (Liv. i. 48. 6 ; Varro, LL v. 159). The vicus, therefore, seems to have coincided with the Vie del Colosseo and del Cardello. Varro (loc. cit.) derives the name from a Sabine word and uses this derivation as evidence that the Sabines settled here (vicus Ciprius a cipro, quod ibi Sabini cives additi consederunt, qui a bono omine id appellarunt ; nam ciprum Sabine bonum. HJ 258, 263, 322 ; Jord. i. 3. 155 ; RE iv. 1761 ; cf. for an erroneous theory, Pais, Ancient Legends 273). The churches of S. Maria and S. Nicolao inter duo were so called because they stood between this street and the COMPITUM ACILII (HCh 340, 394).

VICUS CURIARUM : a street in Region X (CIL vi. 975), which was probably close to the CURIAE VETERES (q.v.) on the east side of the Palatine, and named from that building.

VICUS CURVUS : probably a street on the Esquiline, the name of which is contained in vicocurvenses [*sic*] of a fourth century inscription (CIL vi. 31893. d. 8 ; BC 1891, 357).

VICUS CYCLOPIS : see ANTRUM CYCLOPIS.

VICUS DIANAE : a street somewhere in Region XII (CIL vi. 975), otherwise unknown.

VICUS DRUSIANUS : a street in Region I, mentioned only in the Capitoline Base (CIL vi. 975). It was probably named from the ARCUS DRUSI (q.v.), which is supposed to have stood on the via Appia not far north of its junction with the via Latina. From this point a street ran north-east over the hill to the present Lateran, which can be traced by its pavement for the first part of its course, and corresponds closely with the Via della Ferratella. This may be the vicus Drusianus (HJ 216 ; LA 267-268).

VICUS EPICTETI (?) : see EPICTETENSES.

VICUS FABRICI : see COMPITUM FABRICIUM.

VICUS FANNI : a street mentioned only in one inscription (CIL vi. 7542) with no indication of locality.

VICUS . . . IONUM FERRARIARUM : a street known only from one inscription (CIL vi. 9185) found near S. Pancrazio on the Janiculum. No restoration of the name has been made.

VICUS FIDII : a street somewhere in Region XIII (CIL vi. 975), but otherwise unknown.

VICUS FORTUNAE DUBIAE : a street somewhere in Region XIII (CIL vi. 975), named from a probable shrine of Fortuna dubia (WR 262 ; RE vii. 30).

VICUS FORTUNAE MAMMOSAE : a street in Region XII (CIL vi. 975), named from a shrine of FORTUNA MAMMOSA (q.v.).

VICUS FORTUNAE OBSEQUENTIS : a street somewhere in Region I (CIL vi. 975), obviously named from some shrine of Fortuna Obsequens.

VICUS FORTUNAE RESPICIENTIS : a street on the Palatine (CIL vi. 975), perhaps on the south side, named from the shrine of Fortuna respiciens (Not. Reg. X).

VICUS FORTUNATI : a street somewhere in Region XIII (CIL vi. 975), otherwise unknown.

VICUS FRUMENTARIUS : a street in Region XIII (CIL vi. 975), in the neighbourhood of the warehouses on the Tiber below the Aventine, doubtless chiefly occupied by dealers in grain (cf. CIL vi. 814 : negotiatores frumentarii).

VICUS GEMINI : a street somewhere in Region XIV (CIL vi. 975), but otherwise unknown.

VICUS HONORIS ET VIRTUTIS : a street named after the temple of HONOS ET VIRTUS (q.v.) in Region I (CIL vi. 975). It occurs also in an inscription on a fragmentary epistyle (CIL vi. 449), and probably ran from the via Appia to the temple, which doubtless stood on the slope of the Caelian, a short distance south of the porta Capena (LA 268 ; HJ xxi.).

VICUS HUIUSCE DIEI : a street on the Palatine, in Region X (CIL vi. 975), which is supposed to have been named from a shrine or altar of Fortuna Huiusce Diei in this part of the city, like that of the same deity in the campus Martius (HJ 104 ; WR 262 ; DE iii. 1061). This is open to question.

VICUS IANUCLENSIS : a street mentioned only in the Capitoline Base (CIL vi. 975), but probably on the western slope of the Janiculum.

VICUS IOVIS FAGUTALIS : a street on the Fagutal, named after the shrine of Jupiter Fagutalis, but known only from one inscription of 109 A.D. (CIL vi. 452).

VICUS INSTEIUS (Livy), INSTEIANUS (Varro) : a street on the collis Latiaris, the southern part of the Quirinal (Varro, LL v. 52), in which a great flood of water is said to have burst forth in 214 B.C. (Liv. xxiv. 10. 8). It probably ascended the hill near the porta Fontinalis and the modern

Piazza Magnanapoli, and was destroyed by the building of the imperial fora.

VICUS IANUS : see IANUS.

VICUS IUGARIUS : a street that led from the forum, between the basilica Iulia and the temple of Castor, to the porta Carmentalis (Liv. xxiv. 27. 15 ; xxvii. 37. 14 ; xxxv. 21. 6 ; Fest. 290 ; Not. Reg. VII ; Hemerol. Vall. ad iv Kal. Aug.). Its name is said to have been derived from an altar of Iuno Iuga (Fest. 104 : dictus Romae quia ibi fuerat ara Iunonis Iugae quam putabant matrimonia iungere ; HFP 13). It is far less likely that the name was given to this street because the makers of yokes (*iuga*) had their shops here, or because it connected the forum and the district of the forum Holitorium (Jord. i. 1. 515 ; 2. 468 ; Thédénat 175, 225 ; Gilb. i. 257-263 ; iii. 416, 417). The present pavement is not ancient (NS 1883, 14), but preserves the line of the street after the building of the basilica Iulia. Before the Augustan period it was a little further towards the south-east (CR 1902, 94 ; JRS 1922, 17). A purpurarius (or dealer in purple stuffs) 'de vico iugario' is known to us from a sepulchral inscription (NS 1922, 144). See also DR 510-512.

The road later known as the vicus Iugarius was the road by which the roads from the north, north-east and east—(1) the road which preceded the via Flaminia and the clivus Argentarius ; (2) the via Salaria, the vicus Longus, the clivus Insteius and the Argiletum ; (3) the via Tiburtina and Labicana,<sup>1</sup> the Subura and the Argiletum—all reached the crossing over the Tiber just below the island. It must have kept close to the southern edge of the Capitol, to avoid the marshy ground between this hill and the Palatine. It was thus, there is little doubt, a part of the original trade route which led to the river, perhaps before there was any settlement on the site of Rome at all. And there is also a strong probability that it was the salt marshes on the right bank of the Tiber (see VIA SALARIA) that were in use in these early days ; otherwise, the roads from the north and north-east, at any rate, would have made for the west side of the Capitol (porta Carmentalis or Flumentana) and not for its east side.

Just as the line of the vicus Iugarius belonged originally to the trade route from the north, north-east and east to the west and north-west, so that of the road through the valley of the circus Maximus (see FORUM BOARIUM) belonged to the route from the west and north-west to the south and south-east, forming the approach from the Tiber crossing to the via Castrimoeniensis and the road to Conca, which approached respectively the central district of the Alban Hills and their south-western slopes, the latter going on to join the ancient road at the foot of the Volscian mountains, which led to Terracina or Anxur long before the via Latina

<sup>1</sup> The via Labicana was probably the original route to Tusculum and the north-eastern slopes of the Alban Hills, and was also the first part of the route southward through the valley of the Sacco.



and via Appia (both of them artificial military roads, taking a perfectly straight line) were even contemplated, and formed the other route to Capua, Naples, and Magna Graecia. See PBS i. 215 sqq.; iv. 1 sqq. v. 213 sqq.

VICUS LACI FUNDANI: see LACUS FUNDANUS.

VICUS LACI MILIARI, LACI RESTITUTI, LACI TECTI: streets in Regions XIII, XIV and XII, respectively, known only from the Capitoline Base (CIL vi. 975), but evidently from more or less conspicuous fountains. The meaning of Restitutus and Tectus is plain; that of Miliarius only conjectural.

VICUS LARUM ALITUM: a street somewhere in Region XIII (CIL vi. 975). The name probably came from a statue or relief of winged figures which were generally, but erroneously, called Lares (Rosch. ii. 1885).

VICUS LARUM CURIALIUM:\* the probable name of a street in Region XIV, due to an emendation of the uncertain reading *ruralium* of the Capitoline Base (CIL vi. 975). No lares rurales are known, but an ara Larum curialium<sup>1</sup> has been found on the via Portuense, with which this vicus may be connected (NS 1907, 465; BC 1908, 42-47; PT 61).

VICUS LICINIANUS: a street known only from one inscription that was found on the via Tiburtina, four miles from Rome (CIL vi. 9871).

VICUS LONGI AQUILAE: see AQUILENSES.

VICUS LONGUS: the street that traversed the valley between the Quirinal and the Viminal and joined the ALTA SEMITA (q.v.) inside the porta Collina, very near where the via Quintino Sella runs into the via Venti Settembre. It is mentioned first by Livy (x. 23. 6) in connection with the dedication of an altar to Pudicitia Plebeia (Fest. 237) in the year 296 B.C. In this street were also shrines to Febris (Val. Max. ii. 5. 6) and FORTUNA (Plut. de Fort. Rom. 10: ἐν δὲ τῇ μακρῇ στενωπῇ Τύχης βωμὸς Εὐέλπιδος), and it occurs on two inscriptions of the empire (CIL vi. 9736, 10023) and in LP (xlvi. vit. Innoc. I, 6). The pavement of this street has been found on a line that crosses the via Nazionale at an angle of twenty degrees near the Banca d'Italia, at various points between the bank and the baths of Diocletian, a distance of one kilometre. The valley through which it ran has been artificially filled up (BC 1886, 186). A considerable part of the north-east section was destroyed by the erection of these baths (RhM 1894, 382-384; HJ 417, 428; Gilb. iii. 368. See also S. Agata dei Goti by Hülsen and others (Rome 1924), 4).

VICUS LORARIUS: a street evidently named from the lorarii, or harness-makers, but known only from one inscription (CIL vi. 9796), which was found on the via Appia near the Torre di Selci, with no indication of location.

<sup>1</sup> With it were found two others, dedicated respectively to the Lares Semitales and Lares Viales (the gods of the footpaths and of the main roads).

VICUS LORETI MINORIS, MAIORIS : see LORETUM.

VICUS MAMURI : see CLIVUS MAMURI.

VICUS MATERIARIUS : a street somewhere in Region XIII (CIL vi. 975). It evidently took its name from lumber yards or carpenters' shops,<sup>1</sup> and was probably in the warehouse district between the Aventine and the Tiber (cf. however, HJ 170).

VICUS MERCURII EBRII : a street the existence of which is inferred by Lanciani (BC 1922, 3-4) from a fragment of a papyrus published by Nicole (Un catalogue d'œuvres d'art conservées à Rome à l'époque impériale (Geneva 1906)), where the words . . . tes a Mercurio Ebriu occur (l. 2). It would be a parallel to the VICUS SOBRIUS or MERCURII SOBRII (q.v.).

VICUS MINERVI : a street in Region VII, known only from the inscription (CIL vi. 766) on a small altar erected in honour of Stata Mater Augusta by the magistri of that region. This altar was found just outside the porta Pinciana, and the vicus may have run north-east from that gate (HJ 450, cf. KH ii, iii).

VICUS MUNDICIEI : a street somewhere in Region XIII (CIL vi. 975). The name may be due to the presence in the street of shops for toilet articles and luxuries.

VICUS NOVUS : a street somewhere in Region XIII (CIL vi. 975).

VICUS PACRAI . . . : a street somewhere in Region XIV (CIL vi. 975). All emendations are mere conjectures (cf. CIL and Hermes 1867, 416).

VICUS PADI : a street in Region X, mentioned only on the Capitoline Base (CIL vi. 975). It was probably on the eastern slope of the Palatine, towards the Caelian and the arch of Constantine (BC 1914, 100).

VICUS PALLACINAE : see PALLACINA.

VICUS PANISPERNAE. This name is probably derived from that of an ancient locality (a vicus?) near the church of S. Lorenzo in Panisperna on the Viminal. The name comes into use about 1000 A.D.; it was previously, e.g. in Eins. I. 11 ; 5. 7 ; 7. 13, called S. Laurentii in Formoso or ad Formosum, from the name of its founder (HCh 292-293 ; cf. HJ 376).

VICUS PATRICIUS : a street that branched off from the Subura and ran north between the Cispius and the Viminal to the porta Viminalis (FUR frg. 9), and perhaps beyond (cf. ISIS PATRICIA). It seems to have formed the boundary between Regions IV and VI, and to have corresponded closely with the modern Via Urbana. The name is of doubtful origin, although explained by Roman antiquarians (Fest. 221 : patricius vicus Romae dictus eo quod ibi patricii habitaverunt, iubente Servio Tullio, ut si quid molirentur adversus ipsum, ex locis superioribus obprimerentur ; ib. 351). It is mentioned under the empire (Plut. qu. Rom. ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ πατρικίῳ στενωπῷ ; Mart. vii. 73. 2 ; x. 68. 2), and in LP

<sup>1</sup> Compare inter lignarios, Liv. xxxv. 41. 10 (Eranos, 1923, 42, 43).

(iii. 1 (vit. Cleti); xcvi. 47 (vit. Leo III), once as a *clivus Patricius* (xlii. 6 (vit. Innoc. I)), which may have been the upper part of the *vicus* (HJ 339). Eius. mentions the church of S. Euphemia in *vico Patricio* (I. 12; 5. 7; 7. 14; HCh 249).

**VICUS PAULI**: a street somewhere in Region XIV (CIL vi. 975), otherwise unknown.

**VICUS PISCINAE PUBLICAE**: see **PISCINA PUBLICA**.

**VICUS PLATANONIS**: see **PLATANONIS**.

**VICUS PLOTI**: a street somewhere in Region XIV (CIL vi. 975), otherwise unknown.

**VICUS PORTAE COLLINAE**: see **ALTA SEMITA**.

**VICUS PORTAE NAEVIAE**: see **PORTA NAEVIA**.

**VICUS PORTAE R(A)UDUSCULANAE**: see **PORTA RAUDUSCULANA**.

**VICUS PULVERARIUS**: a street somewhere in Region I (CIL vi. 975). If *pulvis* here means *pulvis Puteolanus* (cf. Stat. Silv. iv. 3. 53 et pass.), this street may have been named from the *pozzolana* beds outside the *porta Appia* (HJ 219). See **SCHOLA CALCARIENSIS**.

**VICUS QUADRATI**: a street somewhere in Region XIV (CIL vi. 975), but otherwise unknown.

**VICUS RACILIANI MAIORIS—MINORIS**: a street in Region XIV (CIL vi. 975), otherwise unknown, but probably to be connected with the **PRATA QUINCTIA** (q.v.): for Cincinnatus' wife's name was *Racilia* (Liv. iii. 26. 9). An inscription recording the gift of a statue of Hercules to a *collegium iuvenum Racillanensium*, which was recently noticed in a shop near the *Janiculum*, no doubt came from the same locality (RAP iv. 394, 395; Marucchi, App. al Cat. del Mus. Lateranense (1927), p. 6, n. 245 B.).

**VICUS ROSTRATAE**: a street in Region XIV (CIL vi. 975), probably named from some monument decorated with *rostra*.

**VICUS SABUCI**:\* a street in Region III, known only from one inscription (CIL vi. 801) that was found in the *via Merulana* near S. Martino ai Monti. The form *Sabucus* (for *Sambucus*, the elder-tree) is also found in *Serenus Sammonicus* (fl. A.D. 230 (?)).

**VICUS SALUTARIS**: the name of two streets, one on the Palatine in Region X, the other somewhere in Region XIV. Both are known only from the Capitoline Base (CIL vi. 975).

**VICUS SALUTIS**: see **CLIVUS SALUTIS**.

**VICUS SANDALIARIUS**: a street in Region IV, probably north-east of the *templum Pacis*, which evidently derived its name from the shops of the cobblers (*sandalarii*). In this *vicus* Augustus (Suet. Aug. 57) set up a statue of **APOLLO SANDALIARIUS** (q.v.). It was near the temple of *Tellus* (Not. Reg. IV), and may perhaps have coincided with the northern

part of the Via del Colosseo (cf. CLIVUS CUPRIUS). At a later period it contained most of the book shops of Rome (Galen. de libr. propr. xix. p. 8, Kuehn; Gell. xviii. 4. 1; cf. Galen. de Paraenet. xiv. p. 620, 625). The name occurs in three inscriptions (CIL vi. 448, 761; BC 1877, 162-163; 1890, 132; IIJ 329). From its ascent the old church of S. Blasius de Ascesa took its name (HCh 213).

VICUS SAUFEI: a street somewhere in Region XIV (CIL vi. 975), otherwise unknown.

VICUS SCAURI: see CLIVUS SCAURI.

VICUS . . . MI PUBLICI: see VICUS . . . SI . . . LUC . . . I.

VICUS SCELERATUS: see CLIVUS ORBIUS.

VICUS SERGI: a street in Region XIV (CIL vi. 975), otherwise unknown.

VICUS [SIL]ANI SALIENTIS: a street on the Aventine in Region XII (CIL vi. 975), which seems to have been named from a fountain.

VICUS SOBRIUS: a street in Rome mentioned in Festus (296, 297, Sobrium vicum Romae dictum putatur . . . quod in eo Mercurio lacte non vino subplicabatur). The same street seems to be referred to in two inscriptions (CIL vi. 9483: insul(arius) a Mercurio sobrio; 9714: nummularius a Mercurio sobrio). A shrine was found in 1888 on the Esquiline near the Torre Cantarelli (BC 1888, 221-239; Mitt. 1889, 280) dedicated to Mercurius (CIL vi. 30974), but whether this is Mercurius Sobrius is purely a matter of conjecture (HJ 334; DE ii. 2161). Cf. VICUS MERCURII EBRII.

VICUS STATAE MATRIS: a street on the Caelian in Region II, known from the inscription on an altar of Stata Mater (NS 1906, 179-180; BC 1906, 186-197). This altar may have been set up here after it had been removed from its original position in the forum, perhaps by Sulla (Fest. 317; Jord. i. 1. 525; WR 230).

VICUS STATAE SICCIAE: a street somewhere in Region XIV (CIL vi. 975). This Stata may possibly be identified with STATA MATER (q.v.).

VICUS STATUAE VALERIANAE: see STATUA VALERIANA.

VICUS SULPICIUS: a street on which the baths of Caracalla were said to be situated (Hist. Aug. Elag. 17: opera eius praeter . . . et lavacrum in vico Sulpicio quod Antoninus Severi filius coeperat nulla extant; cf. the republican inscription on a round altar, CIL i<sup>2</sup>. 1002=vi. 2221: magistri de duobus pageis et vicei Sulpicei; cf. 32452). It must therefore have extended along one side of the baths. On the Capitoline Base (CIL vi. 975) in Region I are mentioned a vicus Sulpicius ulterior and a vicus Sulpicius citerior, which would seem to indicate that by the fourth century at least the street was divided. As the baths were in Region XII, the most probable location of the vicus Sulpicius is on their southern side, for the most part inside Region I. The vicus may have formed



part of the boundary between I and XII. If the vicus crossed the via Appia, ulterior and citerior may have indicated its two sections (IIJ 196, 207-209; KH ii.; for another location of this vicus, cf. LA 268).<sup>1</sup>

VICUS SUMMI CHORAGI: see SUMMUM CHORAGIUM.

VICUS TIBERINI: a street in Region XIV, mentioned only on the Capitoline Base (CIL vi. 975). There is no certain indication of its position, although this name has been given by Lanciani (LF 28) to a street of which the pavement has recently been found under the modern Via della Lungarina between the Viale del Re and the Piazza del Drago (BC 1913, 76).

VICUS TRIARI: see CLIVUS TRIARIUS.

VICUS TRIUM ARARUM: see CLIVUS SCAURI.

VICUS TRIUM VI[A]RUM: a street somewhere in Region XIII (CIL vi. 975), otherwise unknown.

VICUS TURARIUS: see VICUS TUSCUS.

VICUS TUSCUS: the street that issued from the forum between the basilica Iulia and the temple of Castor and running south along the west side of the Palatine formed the principal artery of communication between the forum and the forum Boarium and circus Maximus (Liv. xxvii. 37. 15; xxxiii. 26. 9; Dionys. v. 36. 4), and the eastern boundary of the VELABRUM (q.v.). The name is said to have been derived from a settlement of Etruscans, either those who fled to Rome after the repulse of Porsenna at Aricia (Fest. 354, 355; Liv. ii. 14. 9; Dionys. v. 36), or who had come to the assistance of the Romans against Titus Tatius (Varro, LL v. 46; Serv. ad Aen. v. 560; Prop. iv. 2. 79-50). A more plausible explanation is that this settlement was composed of workmen who had come to Rome to build the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus—an explanation that may perhaps be hinted at in Tacitus (Ann. iv. 65). The statue of VORTUMNUS (q.v.) stood in this street 'quod is deus Etruriae princeps' (Varro, loc. cit.). From its situation it must have been a very busy thoroughfare, and there were shops of various kinds in it<sup>2</sup> (Mart. xi. 27. 11: de Tusco Serica vico; CIL vi. 9976, 33923, vestiarius; xiv. 2433, purpurarius; cf. Fest. 340: magistro de vico Tusco).

The dealers in incense and perfume (*turarii*) seem to have become the most important of all, for the later commentators use vicus Turarius for vicus Tuscus (Porphyr. ad Hor. Epist. i. 20. 1; ii. 1. 269; Comm. Cruq. ad Hor. Epist. i. 20. 1; Ps. Ascon. ad Cic. in Verr. ii. 1. 154; Or. p. 200; Jord. i. 2. 469; Thédénat 174).

This street seems to have borne an unsavoury reputation (Plaut. Curc. 482: in Tusco vico ibi sunt homines qui ipsi sese venditant; Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 228: Tusci turba impia vici). In 1899 the removal of the late classical or mediaeval pavement of this street between the basilica Iulia and the temple of Castor exposed to view for a while about 15 metres

<sup>1</sup> See also VIA NOVA.

<sup>2</sup> These included book shops (CP 1914, 78).

of a pavement of small cubes of brick, which antedated the rebuilding of the temple by Tiberius and probably belonged to its earlier precinct; but this has been covered up again (BC 1899, 253; CR 1899, 466; JRS 1922, 16-17). See Jord. i. 1. 273-274, 295; 2. 469; Gilb. ii. 101-118; iii. 416; Thédénat 174, 213; DR 509, 510.

VICUS V(ALER)I (?): a street somewhere in Region XIII (CIL vi. 975).

VICUS VENERIS ALMAE: a street in Region XII (CIL vi. 975), the inhabitants of which are probably the Venerenses of a fourth century inscription (CIL vi. 31901; BC 1891, 357). This cult of Venus may possibly be connected with that in the circus Maximus valley (cf. AD MURCIAE).

VICUS VESTAE: a street in Region VIII, known only from a fragmentary inscription dedicated to the Lares Augusti (CIL vi. 30960; NS 1882, 235). It has been conjectured that this was the street that led from the temple of Vesta, past the temple of Castor, up to the north-west corner of the Palatine, in the general line of the ramp which still exists (Thédénat 173-174), and this may be referred to in Ovid (Fast. vi. 389: *qua nova Romano nunc via iuncta Foro est*; cf. Asc. in Scaurian. 23; Gilb. iii. 413-414; Jord. i. 2. 297-298; DR 508, 509). Another theory puts this vicus at the eastern end of the Atrium Vestae (Richter 88).

VICUS VICTORIS: a street somewhere in Region XII (CIL vi. 975), possibly near the porta Ardeatina (HJ 198).

VICUS VIRIDIARII: the name of a street on one inscription (CIL vi. 2225), which is reported to have been found outside Rome on the via Praenestina (Gabina), but is supposed to belong to the city. There is no indication of the location of the street.

VICUS VITRARIUS: a street somewhere in Region I, mentioned only in the Notitia and otherwise unknown (HJ 219; BC 1914, 344).

VICUS UNGUENTARIUS: a street somewhere in Region VIII, mentioned only in the Notitia (cf. Pr. Reg. 155), but evidently named from the shops of the perfume sellers.

VICUS . . . SI . . . LUC . . . I: a street in Region XIV, mentioned only in the Capitoline Base (CIL vi. 975). For conjectural emendations, cf. CIL and Hermes 1867, 416.

VICUS CEIOS (?): a street somewhere in Region XIV (CIL vi. 975). Both the actual reading of the inscription and its emendations are disputed (Hülsen, Nomenclator=VICUS . . . IOS; cf. CIL).

VIGILES: see COHORTIUM VIGILUM STATIONES.

VILLA COPONIANA: the villa of a certain Coponius, perhaps one of the two brothers, Gaius and Titus, contemporaries of Cicero (RE iv. 1215). It is mentioned once (Cic. ad Att. xii. 31. 2: *Coponianam villam et veterem et non magnam novi, silvam nobilem, fructum autem neutrius*), and may possibly have been included in the HORTI DRUSI (q.v.; cf. Tyrrell-Purser, Correspondence of Cicero v. 40).

**VILLA PUBLICA:** the only public building in the campus Martius proper before the end of the republic, built in 435 B.C. (Liv. iv. 22. 7), restored and enlarged in 194 (ib. xxxiv. 44. 5), and probably again in 34 B.C. by Fonteius Capito. It is represented on a coin of Fonteius (Babelon, Fonteia 18; BM. Rep. i. 479, 3856-60) as a walled enclosure, within which was a square building with two stories, of which the lower opened outward with a row of arches. It was also decorated with paintings and statues (Varro, RR iii. 2). If, as seems probable, the Villa is represented on fragments of the Marble Plan (FUR 103, 97; Mitt. 1903, 47-48), it existed as late as the second century, but much reduced in size and merely as a monument of antiquity. No ruins have been found, but its site, just north of the Piazza del Gesù, is determined as close to the Saepta (Cic. ad Att. iv. 16. 14; Varro, loc. cit.; cf. BPW 1903, 575; cf., however, for a site further west, BC 1918, 120-126), the circus Flaminius (Plut. Sulla 30), and the temple of Bellona, for the senate, assembled in this temple, heard the groans of the four thousand prisoners taken in the battle of the Colline Gate in 82 B.C., who were being massacred by Sulla's orders within the Villa (Joseph. b. Iud. vii. 5. 4; Sen. de Clem. i. 12. 2; Lucan ii. 197; Liv. Ep. 88; Flor. ii. 9. 24; Ampel. 42. 3; Val. Max. ix. 2. 1; de vir. ill. 75; Strabo v. 249; Cass. Dio, frg. 109. 5: ἀγρὸς δημόσιος. The building served as headquarters for state officers when engaged in taking the census or levying troops (Varro, loc. cit.; Apul. Apol. 1), and generals who desired a triumph and foreign ambassadors were lodged here, e.g. those from Carthage in 202 B.C. (Liv. xxx. 21. 12), and from Macedon in 197 (ib. xxxiii. 24. 5; cf. Joseph. loc. cit.; HJ 480, 494, 572; JRS 1921, 25-36).

**VIMINALIS COLLIS:**\* the smallest of the traditional seven hills of Rome, extending south-west from the Esquiline plateau. It is separated from the Cispius on the south-east by the valley traversed by the Vicus PATRICIUS (q.v.), and from the Quirinal on the north-west by the low ground now marked by the line of the Via Nazionale. Like the Quirinal it is a tongue of land about 700 metres long, with a present area of approximately 24 ha. and a height of 50-57 metres. Originally its height was somewhat greater (BC 1891, 317). This hill derived its name from the osiers (*vimina*) that grew there (Varro, LL v. 51; Fest. 376; Iuv. iii. 71; cf. IUPPITER VIMINALIS), and it was regularly called collis, not mons, and those who lived there collini, not montani (for an apparent exception, see Eutrop. i. 7 (6); CP 1907, 463-464). It became part of the City of the Four Regions (cf. QUATTUOR REGIONES), making with the Quirinal the third, Regio Collina. When the Servian wall was built, the Viminal seems to have been regarded as reaching across the plateau as far as the line of the wall and the PORTA VIMINALIS (q.v.). Later this district was included in the sixth region of Augustus. The Viminal was always the least important of the hills of the city, and contained few monuments, and traffic for the most part passed on either



side of it. (For topography and monuments in detail, see HJ 372-393 ; Pl. 484-506).<sup>1</sup>

**VIRGO CAELESTIS.** A shrine of this deity, the patron of Carthage, appears to have existed on the north summit of the Capitol on the spot afterwards occupied by the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli, which took its name from a misreading of the inscription on the mediaeval high altar (NS 1892, 43, 407 ; Mitt. 1893, 288 ; DAP 2. ii. 331 ; Hülse, *The Legend of Aracoeli* in *Journ. Brit. and Am. Arch. Soc.* iv. (1906-12), 39-48 ; HCh 323, 324 ; *Town Planning Review* xii. (1927), 162 ; PT 135).

**VIRTUS, ἱερόν :** a shrine built by the younger Scipio after his capture of Numantia (Plut. *de fort. Rom.* 5), of which nothing more is known (WR 149 ; Rosch. i. 2708).

**VIRTUS, SIGNUM :** a statue which probably stood outside the porta Collina, as the inscription recording its dedication was found in the Via Venti Settembre when the Ministero delle Finanze was being built (CIL vi. 3735=31061 : signu[m] Virtuti de ea sum(ma) rest[itutum] quam . . .] ius T(h)eseus Virtuti d(ono) [dederat]. This is the only dedication to Virtus that has been found in Rome. The same statue is perhaps referred to by Cass. Dio (xlviii. 43. 4 : καὶ Ἀρετῆς ἄγαλμα πρὸ πλῶν τινῶν ἐστὸς), and the existence of a statue or statues probably indicates a shrine (HJ 415), in or near the temple of Honos (q.v.).

**VINEA PUBLICA :** apparently a public vineyard or park, known only from the inscription on a terminal cippus of 75 A.D. (CIL vi. 933 ; cf. 31208 : Imp. Caesar Vespasianus Aug. . . . locum viniae publicae occupatum a privatis per collegium pontificum restituit). This was found outside the Aurelian wall between the 'porta Ardeatina' and the porta Appia (BC 1882, 155), and probably the vinea lay south of the Bastione del Sangallo, within the limits of Region XII, if this region ever extended beyond the line of the wall.

**VIVARIUM :** an enclosure in which wild beasts intended for use in the amphitheatre were kept (cf. Gell. ii. 20). It is mentioned in one inscription of 241 A.D. (CIL vi. 130), and by Procopius (BG i. 22, 23). Procopius states distinctly that it was close to the porta Praenestina, that its outer walls were low without towers or battlements, and that it opened directly into the city by a gate. This description indicates a rectangular enclosure, just outside the porta Praenestina, between the Aurelian wall where it coincides with the aqua Claudia and the via Labicana (HJ 365-367, 391-392). In the twelfth century and later the castra Praetoria was called Vivarium, and a building just south of it the Vivariolum (Vivaiolo). This fact, together with some evidence supposed to be derived from the alleged place of discovery of the inscription, has been regarded by some as proof that the Vivarium was this building south of

<sup>1</sup> For prehistoric huts found here at a deep level in prolonging the Via Milano south-eastward, see RL 1917, 761-767.



the Castra (BC 1876, 188; 1877, 93; LS ii. 247-249; Richter 298; LR 385), but this view can hardly be maintained against the direct testimony of Procopius.

**VOLCANAL**: the cult-centre of Vulcan at the foot of the Capitoline at the north-west corner of the forum, consisting of an uncovered altar of the god, ascribed by tradition to Titus Tatius (Dionys. ii. 50. 3; Varro v. 74; cf. Fest. 238), and the space, probably enclosed, immediately around it. The term *area Volcani*, which was in common use, may have been synonymous with Volcanal, or perhaps have included some adjacent ground (Liv. ix. 46. 6; xxxix. 46; xl. 19. 2; Gell. iv. 5. 4; Fest. 238; see **GRAECOSTASIS**). This area, probably always a *locus substructus*, was about 5 metres higher than the *comitium* (Gell. iv. 5. 4; Dionys. ii. 50. 2; Fest. 290), and from it the kings and magistrates of the early republic, before the *rostra* was built, addressed the people (Dionys. ii. 50. 2; vi. 67. 2; xi. 39. 1 (*Ἡφαίστου ἱερὸν*); vii. 17. 2 (*τὸ Ἡφαίστειον*)). On the Volcanal was a statue of Horatius Cocles, that had been moved from the *comitium*, a *locus inferior* (Gell. iv. 5. 4; Auct. de vir. ill. 11. 2; Plut. Popl. 16); a bronze quadriga dedicated to Vulcan, and a statue of Romulus with a tablet containing a list of his exploits in Greek letters, both said to have been erected by Romulus (Dionys. ii. 54. 2); and in Pliny's time a lotos tree, still growing and said to be as old as the city (NH xvi. 236). The Volcanal is mentioned twice in connection with the prodigium of a shower of blood (Liv. xxxix. 46; xl. 19. 2). On 23rd August, the Volcanalia sacrifice was offered here to Vulcan (Fast. Arv. ad Kal. Aug., CIL p. i<sup>2</sup>. 215), as is indicated by the entry in Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 109, under this date M[*aiae* s]upr(a) comi(tium); cf. Gilb. i. 248-257 for the worship of *Maia* here; and we are told that live fish were also brought to the *area Volcani* to be offered up to the god (Fest. 238).

A pedestal dedicated to Vulcan by Augustus in 9 B.C. has been found near S. Adriano (CIL vi. 457), showing that the cult lasted at least down to the early empire, although the Volcanal must have been diminished in size by the encroachment of surrounding buildings, and perhaps entirely covered at last (Jord. i. 2. 339-341; Gilb. loc. cit.; Mitt. 1893, 87-88). Just behind the arch of Severus some early tufa foundations have been found which probably belonged to the Volcanal, and traces of a sort of rock platform, 3.95 metres long by 2.80 wide, which had been covered with cement and painted red. Its upper surface is cut by various channels, and in front of it are the remains of a drain made of tufa slabs. This may possibly have been the *ara* itself. It shows signs of having been damaged and repaired. In the surface of this rock are cuttings, round and square, which have some resemblance to graves and are so regarded by some writers, e.g. Richter, BRT iv. 15-16, and Von Duhn (*Italische Gräberkunde* i. 413 sqq.); the latter, in connection with the discoveries of early cremation tombs in the forum, which he discusses fully, maintains that the Volcanal was in the earliest days set aside as an area in which

corpses were burnt. The tombs themselves he assigns to the Palatine, and makes the earliest of them contemporary with the later tombs of the Alban Hills. See CR 1902, 94; BC 1902, 25-26, 125-133; 1903, 159-162; Mitt. 1902, 10; 1905, 7-9; HC 82-84; HFP 2, 22; Théd. 67-71; DR 229-233; RE Suppl. iv. 494-495.

**VOLCANUS, AEDES**: a temple in the campus Martius, built before 214 B.C. for in that year—and again in 197—it was struck by lightning (Liv. xxiv. 10. 9: aedem in campo Volcani; xxxi. 29. 1). Tradition ascribed it to Romulus himself (Plut. Rom. 27; q. Rom. 47). It was outside the walls of the city (Vitr. i. 7. 1: (ut) Volcani vi e moenibus religionibus et sacrificiis evocata ab timore incendiorum aedificia videantur liberari; Plut. q. Rom. 47). Near it Verres had erected gilded equestrian statues presented to him by the aratores of Sicily (Cic. in Verr. ii. 150, 167). On 23rd August, the Volcanalia, sacrifice was offered to Vulcan (see **VOLCANAL**). The calendars differ, however, the Fasti Vallenses (ad Kal. Sept., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 240) reading Volcano in circo Flaminio, while the Arvales (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 215; cf. vi. 32482) contain no indication of place unless Volcano is to be united with the following Nymphis in campo. (Nor is there any indication of place in Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 109.) If this is so, it would suggest a possible site at the north end of the Saepta (for the discussion of this question, see CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 326-327; EE i. p. 230; Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher, 1899, 116-117; HJ 481-483; cf. BC 1914, 176 sqq.). This site, however, is far from the circus Flaminus and makes it necessary to assume an error in the Fasti Vallenses. For a discussion of the origin of the cult of Vulcan and his identification with other deities, see Carcopino, Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie 87-167.

**VOLUPIA, SACELLUM** (ara, Fasti Praen.): a shrine near the **PORTA ROMANULA** (q.v.) at the point where the Nova via entered the Velabrum (Varro, LL v. 164; cf. vi. 24; Macrob. i. 10. 7). It contained a statue of diva Angerona with her finger held to her lips (Plin. NH iii. 65; Solin. i. 6), to whom sacrifice was offered on her festival, the Divalia or Angeronalia, on 21st December (Fast. Praen. ad xii Kal. Ian., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 238, 337; RE i. 2190; Rosch. i. 350; WR 241). The exact site cannot be fixed.

**VORTUMNUS, AEDES**: a temple in the **VICUS LORETI MAIORIS** (q.v.) on the Aventine (Fast. Amit. Allif. Vall. ad Id. Aug., CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 244, 217, 240, 325; Fast. Ant. ap. NS 1921, 106), in which was a portrait of M. Fulvius Flaccus in the robes of a triumphator (Fest. 209). As Vortumnus was a deity of Volsinii, and Fulvius celebrated a triumph over the Volsinians in 264 B.C. (CIL i<sup>2</sup>. p. 172), it is probable that the temple was built by him at that time for the god who had been brought to Rome (Prop. iv. 2. 3; WR 233). The day of dedication was 13th August. The temple was probably on the north-west part of the Aventine (HJ 162; Gilb. iii. 445-446).

**VORTUMNUS, SIGNUM**: see **STATUA VORTUMNI**.

## X

**XENODOCHIUM ANICIORUM**: a mediaeval hospital mentioned twice in extant literature (Greg. Magn. reg. ix. 8; LP xcvi (Leo III) 81: oratorium S. Luciae qui ponitur in xenodochium qui appellatur Aniciorum). This must be S. Lucia delle Botteghe Oscure (HCh 306): this site just north of the circus Flaminius would correspond with that suggested for a house of the Anicii (cf. **DOMUS ANICIORUM**) by the discovery of an inscription (CIL vi. 1676). If this identification be correct, the hospital had occupied the ancient palace (HJ 549; LPD ii. 46, n. 108; Kehr i. 155-157; BC 1906, 275-277; Mem. L 5. xvi. 657, 742; ASRSP, 1919, 447).

**XENODOCHIUM BELISARII**: a hospital built by Belisarius in the sixth century in the via Lata (LP lxi (Vigilius) 2: fecit autem Belisarius xenodochium in via Lata et aliud in via Flaminia). Its site is that of the church of S. Maria in Sinodochio or in Trivio, near the fountain of Trevi (Arm. 277-286; HCh 365-366; LPD i. 300, n. 7, ii. 46, n. 108; Kehr i. 156). This lies within the limits of the **CAMPUS AGRIPPÆ** (q.v.), but the fourth-century walls found there cannot have been those constructed for the xenodochium (HJ 459; BC 1892, 278).

**XENODOCHIUM S. GREGORII IUXTA GRADUS S. PETRI**: a hospital established by Gregory the Great, near the steps of S. Peter's. It is known only from one passage, of perhaps doubtful value (Petrus Mallius de basil. Vat. 4; Cancellieri de secretariis ii. 733; Kehr i. 149; Arm. 762, 770; cf. Gregor. Magn. reg. ix. 63; LPD ii. 195; HCh 258, 259; DAP 2. x. 31).

**XENODOCHIUM VALERIORUM**: see **DOMUS VALERIORUM**.

**XENODOCHIUM DE VIA NOVA**: a hospital mentioned once in the sixth century (Greg. Magn. reg. i. 42; Kehr i. 156; LPD ii. 46, n. 108). It is doubtful which Nova via is meant.

## Z

ZATER( . . . NSES)<sup>1</sup>: the fragmentary reading on one portion (CIL vi. 31901) of the edict of Tarracius Bassus, praefectus urbi in the latter part of the fourth century, which probably is the name of those inhabiting a street in Rome. There is no indication of its location (BC 1891, 349).

<sup>1</sup> So Hülsen, *Nomenclator* ; but BC cit. gives ZATEM, and CIL cit. ZATEI. Hülsen now suggests as a possibility that there may be some connection with the municipium of Zattara in Numidia proconsularis (CIL viii. p. 511).



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- 240 (238) Temple of Flora, 209.  
 238 Clivus Publicius built and paved, 124.  
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- 214 Atrium Publicum struck by lightning, 57.
- 213 Temple of Mater Matuta burnt and restored, 330.  
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- 210 Forum Piscarium burnt and rebuilt, 230.  
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- 209 Statue of Hercules by Lysippus placed on Capitol, 49.  
 (after). Temple of Bona Dea Subsaxana, 85.
- 208 Temple of Honos restored and Temple of Virtus added, 259.
- 207 of Juventas vowed, 308.
- 206 of Quirinus damaged, 439.
- 205 of Virtus dedicated, 259.
- 204 Stone of Pessinus brought to Rome and Temple of Magna Mater, 324.  
 Temple of Juventas begun, 308.  
 of Fortuna Primigenia vowed, 217.
- 203 Clivus Publicius burnt, 124.
- 197 Temple of Juno Sospita vowed, 291.
- 196 of Faunus vowed, 205.  
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- 194 Temple of Faunus dedicated, 205.  
 of Juno Sospita dedicated, 291.  
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 Temple of Fortuna Primigenia dedicated, 217.
- 193 of Juventas dedicated, 308.  
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- 192 Temple of Veiovis on Capitol (?), 548.  
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- 191 Temple of Magna Mater dedicated, 324.  
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- 190 of Lares Permarini vowed, 315.  
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- 189 Statue of Hercules placed in Temple of Hercules Custos, 252.  
 of Pollentia set up in Circus Maximus, 114.  
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- 188 Statue of Marsyas set up (?), 499.
- 187 Temple of Juno Regina vowed, 290.  
 of Diana in Circus Flaminius vowed, 150.  
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- 186 of Ops struck by lightning and rebuilt in second half of century, 372.
- 184 of Venus Erucina outside Porta Collina vowed, 551.  
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- 181 Temple of Pietas dedicated, 390.  
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- 180 Temple of Fortuna Equestris vowed, 215.
- 179 Walls and columns of Capitoline Temple coated with stucco, 298.  
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of Juno Regina in Circus Flaminius dedicated, 290.  
of Lares Permarini dedicated, 315.  
Basilica Aemilia begun, 72.  
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Macellum near Basilica Aemilia built, 322.  
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post Spei, 15, 359, 429, 493.  
Temple of Apollo Medicus rebuilt (?), 15.
- 178 of Venus near Forum burnt, 551.
- 174. Two (?) Porticus extra Portam Trigeminam restored, 420.  
Clivus Capitolinus paved and Porticus built, 122, 463.  
Circus Maximus restored, 114.  
Emporium paved, 200.  
(ca.). Pavement of Forum (?), 232.
- 173 Temple of Fortuna Equestris dedicated, 215.
- 172 Columna rostrata of M. Aemilius Paullus destroyed, 134.
- 170 Basilica Sempronia, 82.
- 168 Porticus Octavia, 426.
- 167 Temple of Penates struck by lightning, 388.
- 159 Porticus built round Area Capitolina, 48.  
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- 150 (ca.). Columna rostrata of Duilius restored, 134.
- 148 Regia burnt and restored, 441.
- 147 Porticus Metelli, 424.
- 146 (after). Temple of Felicitas dedicated, 207.  
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- 145 Temple of Hercules Victor vowed, 256.  
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- 142 Temple of Hercules Victor dedicated, 256.  
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- 138 Temple of Mars in Circus Flaminius, 328.
- 125 Aqua Tepula built, 27.
- 123 Vestal dedicates shrine of Bona Dea Subsaxana, 85.
- 121 Temple of Concord restored, 138.  
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- 117 Temple of Castor restored, 103.
- 115 of Fides restored, 209.  
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- 114 of Venus Verticordia, 554.
- 111 of Magna Mater burnt and rebuilt, 324, 377.
- 110 Porticus Minucia paved, 424.
- 102 Porticus Catuli built, 421.



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- 101 Temple of Fortuna huiusce diei vowed, 216.
- 100 (ca.). Horrea Galbae, 261.
- (ca.). Arch at mouth of Cloaca Maxima, 127.
- (ca.). Upper room of Carcer, 100.
- Marius : Trophies of victory in Area Capitolina, 49, 541 ; builds Temple of Honos and Virtus Mariana, 259.
- 93 Part of the Capitoline hill sold, 97.
- 91 Temple of Pietas struck by lightning, 389.
- 90 of Juno Sospita restored, 291.
- (ca.). Two temples in Forum Holitorium, 277, 278.
- 87 (ca.). Gateway in Palazzo Antonelli (?), 355.
- 83 Capitoline Temple burnt, 299.
- 82-79 Rule of Sulla : he extends the Pomerium, 393 ; work in Forum, 233 : pavement of Clivus Capitolinus, 122 : of Clivus Palatinus, 124 : of Clivus Victoriae, 126 : of Lacus Curtius, 311 : of House of Vestals, 59 ; Rostra, 451, and equestrian statue near them, 500 ; restores Temple of Hercules Custos, 252 : Temple of Hercules Sullanus, 256.
- 80 Curia restored, 143.
- 78 Tabularium, 506.
- Basilica Aemilia decorated and restored, 72.
- Branch of Cloaca Maxima, 127.
- 74 Gradus Aurelii (?) (Tribunal Aurelium), 540.
- 69 Capitoline Temple re-dedicated, 299.
- 63 Statue on Capitol moved, 49.
- 62 Cicero buys house of Marcus Crassus, 175.
- Temple of Aesculapius frescoed and rebuilt soon after, 2.
- Pons Fabricius built, 400.
- 62-27 Pons Cestius, 282, 399.
- 61 (after). Arch of Pompey for victory over Mithradates, 43.
- 60 (ca.). Platform of Temple of Aesculapius on Tiber island decorated, 282.
- (ca.). Horti Luculliani, 268.
- 58 Shrine of Diana destroyed, 150.
- 56 Fornix Fabianus restored, 211.
- 55 Theatre of Pompey, 515.
- Porticus of Pompey, 428.
- Basilica Aemilia restored, 72.
- Pompey : Temple of Hercules Pompeianus, 255 ; of Minerva, 343.
- 54 Basilica Julia begun, 78.
- Cicero restores Temple of Tellus, 511.
- Terminal stones of Tiber banks, 537.
- Land acquired for Forum Julium, 225.
- 52 Pompey decorates Temple of Venus Victrix in Theatre, 516, 555.
- Curia burnt and restored, 143.
- Comitium paved, 136.
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- 51 Forum Julium begun, 227.
- 50-44 Rule of Julius Caesar : he extends Pomerium, 393 ; paves Forum, 233, and Comitium, 136 ; Rostra, 452 ; Lacus Curtius, 311 ; Equus Caesaris, 200 ; Horti Caesaris, 265 ; plans Saepta, 460 : Theatre, 513 : Basilica Julia Aquiliana, 80.
- 49 Temple of Quirinus damaged by lightning and restored, 439.
- 48 Shrine of Bellona on Capitol pulled down, 83.

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- 48 Battle of Pharsalus ; Temple of Venus Genetrix vowed, 226.  
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- 46 Temporary stadium, 495.  
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- 44 Temple of Concordia Nova vowed (probably not built), 138.  
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Temple of Clementia and Caesar, 121.  
    of Felicitas, 207.  
    of Pietas destroyed for Theatre, 390.
- 43 Naumachia Caesaris filled up, 358.  
Temple of Isis voted (if ever built ?), 283.  
Shrine of Cloacina, 128.
- 42 Rostra completed, 452.  
Temple of Saturn rebuilt, 464.  
    of Mars Ultor vowed, 220.  
    of Divus Julius authorized, 286.
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- 41 of Juno Lucina restored, 289.
- 36 Regia burnt and rebuilt, 441.  
Columna rostrata for victory over Sextus Pompeius, 134.  
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- 34 Villa Publica restored, 581.  
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- 33 Agrippa : restores Cloaca Maxima, 126 ; repairs aqueducts, 13, 23, 24, 27 ;  
    places seven dolphins on spina of Circus Maximus, 115.  
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- 32 Theatre of Pompey restored, 516.
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- 31 Temple of Spes burnt and restored (Temple in Forum Holitorium ?), 278.  
    of Ceres, Liber and Libera burnt, 110.  
Circus Maximus damaged by fire, 115.  
(ca.). Augustus restores Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, 293.
- 29-14 A.D. Augustus : he extends Pomerium, 393 ; reclaims Campus Esquilinus,  
91 ; enlarges the Rostra, 452 ; Temple of Diana rebuilt, 150 ; restores  
Temple of Flora, 209 : of Juno Regina, 290 : of the Lares, 314 :  
of Minerva on the Aventine, 342 : of the Penates, 388 ; paves  
Clivus Palatinus, 124 : Forum, 234 : Clivus Capitolinus, 122 ;  
erects Arch of Octavius, 42 ; builds pulvinar in Circus Maximus,  
115 : Porticus ad Nationes, 426 ; removes statues from Capitol to  
Campus Martius, 49 : so-called Auditorium of Maecenas, 61 ; erects  
statue of Apollo in Vicus Sandalarius, 19, 577.
- 29 Temple of Divus Julius dedicated, 286.  
Curia Julia dedicated, 143.  
Statue and altar of Victory erected in Curia, 569.  
Atrium Libertatis restored, 56.  
Chalcidicum built, 111.  
Temple of Hercules Musarum restored, 255.  
Porticus Philippi, 428.

B.C.

- 29 Arch of Augustus, 34, 42.  
Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, 11.  
House of M. Antonius on Palatine burnt, 156.  
(ca.). Augustus buys and rebuilds house of Catulus, 175.
- 28 Temple of Apollo Palatinus dedicated, 16.  
Mausoleum of Augustus, 332.  
Temporary wooden Stadium of Augustus, 495.
- 27-25 Pantheon of Agrippa, 382.
- 27 House of Augustus completed, 157.  
Porticus of Octavia built to substitute that of Metellus, 305, 427.
- 26 Temple of Juppiter Tonans on Capitol vowed, 305.  
Agrippa dedicates the Saepta, 460.  
(ca.). Temple of Juppiter Capitolinus restored, 300.
- 25 Agrippa: builds Porticus Argonautarum, 420; Thermae begun, 518;  
builds Basilica Neptuni, 81; Horrea Agrippiana (?), 260; Temple  
of Bonus Eventus, 86; Stagnum Agrippae, 496; bridge, 398;  
Porticus Vipsania, 430.
- 23 Library in the Porticus of Octavia, 84.  
(ca.). Pavement of Forum and Tribunal Praetorium, 234.
- 22 Temple of Juppiter Tonans on Capitol dedicated, 305.
- 21 Pons Fabricius restored after floods of 23, 400.
- 20 Temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitol, 329.  
Milliarium Aureum, 342.
- 19 Agrippa completes Aqua Virgo, 28.  
Altar of Fortuna Redux, 218.  
Second Arch of Augustus in Forum, 34.
- 17 Theatre of Marcellus in use, 513.
- 16 Temple of Juventas burnt and restored, 308.  
Porticus round the Temple of Quirinus, 428, 439.
- 15 Crypta Balbi, 141.  
Porticus of Livia begun, 423.  
(?) Livia builds Temple of Concord, 138.
- 14 Temples of Juppiter Stator and Juno Regina restored, 305.  
Basilica Aemilia burnt and rebuilt, 73.
- 13 Theatre of Marcellus dedicated, 513.  
of Balbus dedicated, 513.  
Senate decrees the Ara Pacis, 30.
- 12 (after). Pons Aemilius restored (?), 398.  
Fornix Augusti, 211.  
Augustus gives Domus Publica to the Vestals, 58.  
Horti of Agrippa, 264.  
Shrine of Vesta of Palatine dedicated, 557.  
(ca.). Tomb of C. Cestius, 478.
- 11-4 Augustus restores the aqueducts, 13, 20, 21, 23-4, 25.
- 10 Obelisks set up in Campus Martius and in the Circus, 366-7.
- 9 Ara Pacis dedicated, 31.  
Augustus dedicates pedestal to Vulcan, 583.  
(after). Arch dedicated to Drusus the Elder, 39.
- 8 Augustus founds the Cohorts of Vigiles, 128.  
Terminal stones of Tiber banks, 537.

## B.C.

- 7 Rome divided in XIV regions, 444.  
 (after). Augustus restores Temple of Consus, 141.  
 Porticus Liviae dedicated, 423.  
 Diribitorium dedicated by Augustus, 151.  
 Campus Agrippae dedicated by Augustus, 90.  
 Tiberius rebuilds Temple of Concord, 139 : and removes Basilica Opimia, 81.  
 Augustus builds Atrium Minervae, 57.  
 Macellum Liviae dedicated by Tiberius, 322.  
 Terminal stones of Tiber banks, 537.
- 5 Augustus rebuilds arch of aqueducts over Via Tiburtina, 417.
- 2 Temple of Mars Ultor dedicated, 220.  
 Forum of Augustus dedicated (unfinished), 220.  
 Water brought to Circus Flaminius, 112.  
 Naumachia Augusti, 357.  
 Inscriptions on Basilica Aemilia to Augustus and his grandsons, 74.

## A.D.

- 2 Tiberius resides in Gardens of Maecenas, 269.  
 Arch of Lentulus and Crispinus, 40.
- 3 Temple of the Magna Mater restored, 324.  
 Horti Lamiani, 267.  
 House of Augustus burnt, 157.
- 6 Tiberius rebuilds Temple of Castor, 103.
- 7 Altar of Ceres Mater and Ops Augusta, 110.
- 9 Temple of Isis destroyed (?), 284.
- 10 (before). Livia restores Temple of Bona Dea Subsaxana, 85.  
 Arch of Dolabella and Silanus, 38.  
 Temple of Concord completed, 139.
- 12 Basilica Julia rebuilt after a fire, 79.
- 14 Augustus restores Aqua Julia, 24.
- 14-37 Reign of Tiberius : Tiberius builds Temple of Augustus, 62 : and its library, 63, 84 ; Domus Tiberiana, 191.
- 14-16 Schola Xanthi, 468.
- 15 Cura riparum Tiberis instituted after inundation, 537.
- 16 Arch of Tiberius in Forum, 45.
- 17 Temple of Fors Fortuna dedicated, 213.  
 of Flora dedicated, 209.  
 of Ceres, Liber and Libera dedicated, 110.  
 of Janus in Forum Holitorium dedicated, 277.  
 of Spes dedicated by Germanicus, 493.
- 19 Arch of Germanicus (?), 40.  
 Arches of Drusus and Germanicus in Forum of Augustus, 39, 220.
- 21 Theatre of Pompey burnt and restored, 516.
- 22-23 Castra Praetoria built, 106.
- 22 Basilica Aemilia again restored, 73.  
 Ara Pietatis Augustae vowed, 390.  
 (?) Façade of Carcer, 100.
- 23 (after). Arch dedicated to Drusus the Younger, 39.
- 27 Tiberius restores Caelian after fire, 62, 89.



A.D.

- 28 Senate dedicates altar to the Amicitia of Tiberius, 5.  
Altar to the Clementia of Tiberius, 121.
- 34 Part of Cloaca Maxima rebuilt, 127.
- 36 Part of Circus Maximus burnt and repaired, 116.
- 36-37 Cippi of Aqua Virgo, 29.
- 37-41 Reign of Caligula : he builds Temple of Isis (?), 284 ; begins an amphitheatre near Saepta, 5, 29 : Gaianum, 246 : Circus Gai et Neronis, 113 : and erects obelisk on spina, 370 ; completes and dedicates Temple of Augustus, 62 ; extends Domus Tiberiana 192, and builds bridge to Capitol, 399 (cf. 193).
- 38 Aqua Claudia begun, 22.  
Anio Novus begun, 11.  
District called Aemiliana burnt, 1.
- 41-54 Reign of Claudius : Temple of Juppiter Depulsor on Capitol, 292 : of Felicitas burnt, 207 : of Salus burnt but restored later, 462 ; Arch of Tiberius near Pompey's Theatre, 45 ; Porticus Minucia Frumentaria (?), 425 ; Statues in Temple of Augustus, 62 ; marble carceres in Circus Maximus, 116 ; Horti Pallantiani, 270 ; terminal stones of Tiber banks, 538.
- 41 Arch for German victories (?), 36.
- 43 Ara Pietatis Augustae dedicated, 390.
- 45 (before). Façade of Carcer (?), 100.
- 44-45 Cippi of Aqua Virgo, 29.
- 46 Restores Aqua Virgo, 29, 35.
- 47 Aqua Claudia completed (?), 22.
- 49 Pomerium extended to include Aventine, 66, 393.
- 51-52 Arch of Claudius carrying Aqua Virgo over the Via Lata, 29, 35.
- 52 Anio Novus completed, 11.  
Aqua Claudia dedicated, 22.  
Porta Praenestina (Maggiore), 412.
- 54-68 Reign of Nero : before 64 A.D. Nero builds Domus Transitoria, 194 ff. ; removes Euripus in Circus Maximus, 116, 203 ; Agrippina begins Temple of Claudius, 120.
- 58 Ficus Navia withers, 208.
- 58-62 Arch of Nero on Capitol, 41.
- 59 Macellum Magnum, 323.
- 62 Trophies of Nero, 542.  
Gymnasium of Nero built and burnt in the same year, 249.
- 62 or 64 Thermae Neronianae, 531.
- 63 Temple of Fecunditas vowed (probably not built), 206.
- 64 The great fire of Nero : destroys Circus Maximus, 117 : Ara Maxima Herculis, 253 : Temple of Luna, 320 : of Vesta, 558 : Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, 11.  
After the fire Nero builds Domus Aurea, 166 ff., 195 : Temple of Fortuna Seiani in Domus Aurea, 219 : Colossus of Nero, 130 : Porticus on the Sacred Way, 166, 423 : Sacra Via, 458 ; Porticus Miliaria, 424 ; destroys or transforms Temple of Claudius, 120 ; rebuilds Circus Maximus, 117 ; builds a wooden amphitheatre, 11 ; rebuilds House of the Vestals, 59 ; Campus Neronis, 94 ; extends Pomerium, 393 ; aqueduct to Caelian, 40 ; Pons Neronianus, 401 ; pavement of Clivus Palatinus, 124 ; Balineum Tigellini, 71 : branch of Aqua Marcia to Aventine, 23, 26, 44, 405.
- 68 Galba Emperor : restores Horrea Galbae, 261 ; lays out Horti, 267.

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- 69 Otho Emperor : continues Domus Aurea, 171.
- 69 Vitellius Emperor : Capitoline Temple burnt, 300.  
(ca.). M. Vettius Bolanus restores a shrine of the Bona Dea, 85, and Balineum Bolani, 68.
- 69-79 Reign of Vespasian : restores Capitoline Temple, 300 ; rebuilds Temple of Claudius, 120 ; restores Temple of Honos and Virtus, 259 : of Juppiter Conservator, 292 ; begins destruction of Domus Aurea, 171 ; changes the head of the Colossus of Nero, 130 ; restores scaena of the Theatre of Marcellus, 513 ; begins the Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum), 6 ; terminal stones of Tiber banks, 538.
- 71 Aqueducts restored, 22, 413, 417.
- 75 Extends Pomerium, 395.  
Forum and Temple of Peace begun and dedicated in 75 A.D., 386.
- 79 (before). Temple of Augustus burnt, 62, 84.
- 79-81 Reign of Titus : Titus begins Temple of Vespasian, 556 : and Thermae, 533.
- 79 Titus restores Aqua Marcia, 25, 417.
- 80 Inaugural games in Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum), 6.  
Great fire of Titus : destroys Capitoline Temple, 300 ; Porticus of Octavia, 427 : and its library, 85 ; Temple of Isis, 284 ; Theatrum of Balbus, 513 ; scaena of Pompey's Theatre, 517 ; Thermae of Agrippa, 518 ; Pantheon, 383 ; Saepta, 460, and Diribitorium, 151 ; Domus Tiberiana, 192 ; Basilica Neptuni, 81 ; Domus Aurea on Palatine, 172, 195.
- 80-81 Arches in Circus Maximus, 45, 119.
- 81 Titus repairs Aqua Claudia, 22, 413.
- 81-96 Reign of Domitian : he restores Temple of Apollo Palatinus, 18, 19 ; Atrium Vestae, 59 ; Temple of Augustus, 62, 64, 84, 260 ; of Castor, 103 ; Domus Tiberiana, 192 ; Temple of Isis, 284 ; of Juppiter Stator (?), 304 ; Porticus of Octavia, 427 ; Porticus Vipsania (?), 430 ; Theatre of Balbus, 513 ; he builds Aula Adonidis on Palatine (?), 1 ; Arae incendii Neronis, 30 ; several triumphal arches, 38-9 ; aqueduct to Palatine (?), 41 ; Arcus Tiburii (?), 45 ; Atria Septem, 57 ; Balnea Abascanti, 68 ; Templum Divorum, 152 ; Forum Transitorium, 227 ; Horrea Piperataria, 262 ; Horrea Vespasiani, 263 ; Temple of Janus Quadrifrons, 228, 280 : of Gens Flavia on Quirinal, 247 : of Isis, 284 ; of Juppiter Custos (Conservator), 292 : of Minerva, 342 : of Minerva Chalcidica, 344 ; Naumachia, 358 ; Odeum, 371 ; earliest Porticus of the Dei Consentes (?), 421 ; Stadium, 495 : completes Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum), 6 ; and builds cryptoporticus from it to Caelian (?), 10 ; dedicates Arch of Titus, 45 ; establishes four Ludi, 320 ; erects Obelisk now in Piazza Navona, 369 ; begins Trajan's Forum (?), 237 ; Circus Maximus injured by fire, 117 ; Horti Domitiae formed, 267.
- 82 Capitoline Temple dedicated, 300.
- 88 Tunnel for Aqua Claudia under Mons Aeflanus (near Tibur), 22.
- 89 The ' Trofei di Mario,' 363.
- 91 The Equus Domitiani in the Forum, 201.
- 92 The palaces on the Palatine completed, 159.
- 93 Temple of Fortuna Redux, 218.
- 94 The Curia restored, 144.
- 94-95 The Mica Aurea, 341.
- 96 The Meta Sudans, 340.
- 96-98 Reign of Nerva : he dedicates the Forum Nervae or Transitorium, 227 ; builds Horrea, 262 ; additions to the Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum), 6.

- A.D.  
98-117 Reign of Trajan: Temple of Fortuna, 214; Ara of Pudicitia, 433; Naumachia, 358; rostra and plutei, 453-4; restores Circus Maximus, 117; builds Theatre in Campus Martius, 518; Amphitheatrum Castrense, 5; additions to Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum), 6; Odeum restored, 371; Thermae Suranae, 532; Thermae of Trajan, 534; Arch, 47; Pantheon burnt, 383; extends Aqua Marcia to Aventine, 23, 26; extends Anio Novus, 12.  
101 Books replaced in Library of Temple of Augustus (?), 84. Terminal stones of Tiber banks, 538.  
104 Remains of the Domus Aurea damaged by fire, 170, 172. Terminal stones of Tiber banks, 538.  
107 (?) Pomerium extended, 393.  
109 (ca.). Aqua Trajana, 28.  
112 Basilica Ulpia completed, 241.  
113 Forum of Trajan dedicated, 237.  
117-138 Reign of Hadrian: he builds Temple of Trajan, 244; Temple of Matidia, 331; restores Temple of Bona Dea Subsaxana, 85; restores shrine of Vesta, 59, and extends House of Vestals, 59; restores Temple of Divus Julius, 287; Mausoleum, 336; repairs Aqua Marcia, 25; cross-walls in Temple of Augustus, 64; restores façade of Palatine Palace, 160; extends Domus Tiberiana, 193; completes Palatine Hippodrome, 163; restores Forum of Augustus, 220; restores Basilica Neptuni, 81; restores Thermae of Agrippa, 518; restores Saepta, 460; medallions on Arch of Constantine, 37; Obelisk of Antinous, 366; builds Athenaeum, 56; Auguratorium, 61.  
121 Vestibule of Golden House destroyed, 172. Line of Pomerium marked out, 396. Terminal stones of Tiber banks, 538.  
126 Pantheon rebuilt, 383.  
128 Colossus of Nero moved, 130.  
134 Pons Aelius finished, 396.  
135 Temple of Venus and Rome dedicated, 553.  
138-161 Reign of Antoninus Pius: perhaps completes Temple of Venus and Rome, 553; restores Temple of Bacchus on Sacra Via, 321; of Aesculapius (?), 2; of Augustus, 62; Colosseum, 6; Graecostadium which had been burnt, 248; part of Circus Maximus collapses, 117; the Antonines build Ustrina, 545; restore House of Vestals, 60.  
139 Dedicatory inscription in Mausoleum of Hadrian, 336.  
139-143 Balineum Mamertini, 70.  
141 (after). Temple in Forum dedicated to Faustina, 13.  
143 Curia Athletarum, 142.  
145 Temple dedicated to Divus Hadrianus, 250.  
161 Terminal stones of Tiber banks, 538.  
161-180 Reign of Marcus Aurelius: Arco di Portogallo (?), 33; Temple of Mercury (?), 339; M. Aurelius and L. Verus build column of Antoninus Pius, 131; Arcus Divi Veri, 47.  
161 (after). Temple of Faustina dedicated also to Antoninus, 13.  
176 Arches of M. Aurelius, 35, 37.  
176 Temple of Juppiter Heliopolitanus near Lucus Furrinae, 294.  
176-193 Column of Marcus Aurelius, 132.  
180-193 Reign of Commodus: he builds Temple of Marcus Aurelius, 327; extends Pomerium, 396; alters the Colossus of Nero, 130; Cleander builds Thermae Commodianae, 525.  
191 Fire of Commodus: destroys Temple of Peace, 386; Bibliotheca Capitolina, 84; Horrea Piperataria, 262; Temple of Vesta, 558.

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- 193-211 Reign of Severus: he restores Temple of Peace, 386: of Divus Vespasianus, 556; of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina, 305; builds Thermae and Palace on Palatine, 164; alters exedra in Palatine hippodrome, 163; builds Septizonium, 473: Horrea, 263: Equus Severi in Forum, 202: Umbilicus Romae, 544: Porticus Severi (?), 429: Thermae near Porta Septimiana and in Regio I, 532; alters Rostra, 453; Schola Xanthi restored, 468; builds new Castra Equitum Singularium, 105; Balneae (?), 70; strengthens aqueduct of Nero, 41: Septem Domus Parthorum, 187: so-called Domus Gelotiana under Palatine, 162: house of Clemens, 177; Julia Domna restores House of Vestals, 60, and Temple of Vesta, 558; alterations in the barracks of first Cohort of Vigiles, 129.
- 196 Repairs to Aqua Marcia, 25.
- 197 Domus Lateranorum, 183.
- 197-198 Terminal stones of Tiber banks, 538.
- 202 Pantheon restored, 383.
- 203 Porticus of Octavia restored after a fire, 427.  
Arch of Severus in Forum, 43.  
(ca.). Domus Cilonis, 176.
- 204 Arch of Severus in the Forum Boarium, 44.
- 209-211 Restorations to Pompey's Theatre, 517.
- 211-217 Reign of Caracalla: he constructs Via Nova, 565; builds Aqua Antoniniana, 26, 32: Pons Aurelius (?), 399; enlarges ianuae of Circus Maximus, 117; builds Temple of Serapis, 487, 492.
- 211-216 Thermae Antoninianae, 520.  
Probable date of so-called Arch of Drusus, 32.  
Murder of Geta: inscriptions on Arches altered, 43, 44.
- 212-213 Caracalla repairs and increases Marcia, 25-26.
- 215-245 Excubitorium of the seventh Cohort of Vigiles, 129.
- 217 Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum) struck by lightning and partly burnt, 6.
- 218-222 Reign of Elagabalus.
- 221 Temple of Elagabalus dedicated, 199.  
Constructions on Palatine, 379.  
Senaculum Mulierum on Quirinal, 471.
- 222-235 Reign of Alexander Severus: he decorates Temple of Isis, 284: of Jupiter Ultor (?), 307: Aqua Alexandrina, 20: buildings on Palatine, 379; restores Stadium of Domitian, 495: Balnea, 68: Basilica Alexandrina, 76: Temple of the Dea Suria (?), 148: Diaetae Mammaeae, 149; Shrine of Jupiter Redux in Castra Peregrina dedicated to Severus and Mammaea, 106.
- 222-223 Repairs to Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum) completed, 6.
- 227 Thermae Neronianae rebuilt, 531.
- 238 The Three Gordians: restore Thermae Suranae, 533.  
Arch in Castra Praetoria (?), 108.  
Balinea, 69.  
Gordian III continues repairs to Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum), 6, and builds a Porticus (?), 422.
- 247 Naumachia of Philippus Arabs, 358.  
Theatre of Pompey burnt, 517.  
Hecatostylon burnt, 251.
- 248 (ca.). Holovitream (?), 258.
- 249-251 Reign of Decius: he builds Porticus, 421.
- 250 Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum) restored after a fire, 6.



- A.D.  
 252 Thermae Decianae, 526.  
 253-268 Reign of Gallienus : he plans a Porticus, 422.  
 262 Arch of Gallienus, 39.  
 Horti Liciniani, 268.  
 270-275 Reign of Aurelian : he extends Pomerium, 393 ; plans Thermae, 524 :  
 builds Castra Urbana, 108 ; increases height of Castra Praetoria, 107.  
 270 Balineum Antiochiani, 68.  
 272 (before). The Walls of Aurelian, 348.  
 Porta Nomentana, 410.  
 273 Temple of the Sun, 491.  
 276-282 Reign of Probus : Pons Probi, 401.  
 282-284 Reign of Carinus : fresco in Palace, 379.  
 283 Great fire in Forum, 234 ; destroys Forum Julium, 226 : Theatre of  
 Pompey, 517 : Porticus of Pompey, 428 : Graecostadium, 248 :  
 Basilica Julia, 79 : Curia, 144.  
 284-305 Reign of Diocletian : he restores Forum, 234 : Basilica Julia, 79, 80 :  
 Curia, 144 : seven bases along Via Sacra, 234 : Porticus Pompeia  
 (Porticus Herculeae et Jovia), 428 ; with Maximian restores Theatre  
 of Pompey, 517 ; increases supply of Marcia, 27 ; collapse of part  
 of Circus Maximus, 117 ; builds Nymphaea Tria, 363 ; restores  
 Forum Julium, 226 ; terminal stones of Tiber banks, 538.  
 298-306 Thermae of Diocletian, 527.  
 303 Columns of Vicennalia in front of Curia, 145.  
 303-304 Arcus Diocletiani on the Via Lata, 41, 42, 47.  
 306-312 Reign of Maxentius : he builds Thermae on Palatine, 379, 530 : Urbis  
 Fanum, 387 ; dedicates base in Comitium, 136 : Temple of Divus  
 Romulus, 450 ; begins Basilica Nova (Basilica of Constantine), 76.  
 307 Temple of Venus and Rome injured by fire and restored, 553.  
 311 Secretarium Senatus restored, 146.  
 312-337 Reign of Constantine : he completes Basilica, 76 : Equestrian statue in  
 Forum, 201 ; restores House of Vestals, 60 : Circus Maximus, 117 :  
 Basin of Meta Sudans, 340 : Arch of Janus Quadrifrons, 280 :  
 Porticus, 421 : Aqua Virgo, 29.  
 312 Castra Praetoria dismantled, 107.  
 315 (before). Thermae Constantinianae, 421, 525.  
 315-316 Arch of Constantine, 36.  
 328 Statio Aquarum restored, 313.  
 331 (ca.). Basilica of Junius Bassus, 80.  
 341 Temple of Juppiter Heliopolitanus on Janiculum destroyed, 295.  
 344-345 Baths of Agrippa restored, 518.  
 352-353 Equus Constantii, 201.  
 356 Visit of Constantius : base in Comitium, 137 ; Pantheon, 385.  
 357 Constantius sets up obelisk in Circus Maximus, 118, 367.  
 357-362 Mithraeum of Tamesius, 345.  
 357 Altar of Victory in Curia removed, 570.  
 358 (ca.). Balnea Neratii Cerealis, 70.  
 360-363 Julian : Temple of Juppiter Heliopolitanus on Janiculum rebuilt, 295 ;  
 base in Comitium, 137 ; altar of Victory in Curia restored (?), 570.  
 363 Temple of Apollo Palatinus burnt, 18.  
 364-378 Macellum Liviae restored, 322.  
 365-367 Valentinian I restores Pons Aurelius, 399.  
 367 Porticus of the Dei Consentes rebuilt, 421.  
 370 Pons Cestius rebuilt as Pons Gratianus, 399.

- A.D.  
 370 (ca.). Pantheon used for civil purposes, 385, n. 3.  
 374 (ca.). Forum Palatinum, 229.  
     Porticus Boni Eventus, 420.  
 379-383 Arcus Gratiani Valentiniani et Theodosii, 40.  
 380 Porticus Maximae, 423.  
 381 Anio Novus repaired, 12.  
 382 Altar of Victory in Curia again removed, 570.  
     Mansiones Saliorum Palatinorum restored, 326.  
 384-387 Pons Probi rebuilt, 401.  
     Valentinian and Valens set up statues in Thermae Antoninianae, 521.  
 395-423 Reign of Honorius: Quadriga for victory over Gildo (398 A.D.), 145;  
     Pompey's Theatre restored, 517.  
 403 Monument for victory at Pollentia, 145.  
     Aurelian walls restored, 349; gates, 403, 404, 407, 409, 412.  
 404 Last gladiatorial combats in Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum), 7.  
 405 Arch of Arcadius and Honorius, 33.  
 408 Earthquake injures Temple of Peace, 386.  
 410 Alaric captures Rome: Basilica Aemilia burnt, 75; Horti Sallustiani  
     sacked, 271.  
 412 Secretarium Senatus restored, 146.  
 414 Thermae Suranae restored, 533.  
 416 Basilica Julia restored, 79.  
 421 Statues set up in Theatre of Marcellus, 514.  
 442 Earthquake damages Forum, 235: Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum),  
     6: Porticus Nova, 429.  
 443 Thermae Constantinianae restored, 525.  
 450 Forum Esquilinum restored, 224.  
 455 Vandal invasion, 235.  
 468-483 Basilica of Junius Bassus becomes a Church, 81.  
 470 Earthquake injures Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum), 6.  
     Rostra Vandalica, 235, 453.  
 493-526 Reign of Theodoric: he repairs Forum, 235: the walls, 349: Atrium  
     Libertatis, 56; restores and alters Palatine Hippodrome, 163-4.  
 508 (?) Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum) restored after earthquake, 7.  
 507-511 Theatre of Pompey restored, 517.  
 523 Last venationes in Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum), 7.  
 526-527 Temple of Divus Romulus converted into a church, 450.  
 535 Library of Pope Agapetus, 181.  
 535-536 Theodohad preserves statues in Forum, 235.  
 537 Aqua Traiana cut by Vitigis and restored by Belisarius, 28.  
 549 Last games in Circus Maximus, 119.  
 571 Narses removes statues from Capitoline Temple, 301.  
 608 Column in Forum dedicated to Phocas, 133.  
 609 Pantheon dedicated as a church.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- AMPHITHEATRUM CASTRENSE. p. 5, l. 26, and n. 1. Dr. Van Deman now assigns it to the period of Septimius Severus.
- AMPHITHEATRUM FLAVIUM. p. 6, l. 26. After 'Cohen, Gord. iii. 165, 166' add ' = Gneccchi, Med. iii. 104, 5, 6.'
- p. 7, l. 6. For this earthquake see *infra*, 553 (cf. 64, 75, 235, 521).
- p. 9, l. 20. The passage between the first and second sections, which is now so conspicuous, was originally roofed over and the tiers of seats continued above it (cf. Text fig. 1, and see Mitt. 1925, 13, fig. 1).
- p. 10, l. 6. Cf. also Med. Ned. Hist. Inst. 1927, 84-88; Heemskerck ii. 47<sup>v</sup>.
- l. 16. For a photograph of the remains of this floor see LR 384.
- l. 25. The lower masts of the *velaria* are generally supposed to have been secured to the projecting corbels between the dens, round the outer edge of the arena.
- ANIO NOVUS. p. 12, l. 1. It is more probable that CIL ix. 4051 refers to the Aqua Marcia.
- ANIO VETUS. p. 13, l. 2. It is also possible that the correct reading is 53,000 paces, which is not far from the other figure (78.7 kilometres); though 63.7 kilometres is far nearer to the actual length, as far as that can be determined on the spot.
- l. 10. See also NS 1877, 86; 1879, 140.
- ANTON(IN)IANA. p. 13, l. 29. A view given by Alò Giovannoli, Roma Antica (1615), ii. 19, seems to indicate that the inscription was built into a reinforcement wall of the Arcus Neroniani: but whether it was in situ is doubtful.
- APOLLO PALATINUS, AEDES. p. 17, n. 1. Krohn (Vitruvius, praef. vii.) refers this passage to the temple of Apollo in the Campus Martius—in which case it would still be the only instance of the double name—which he is able to do owing to his rejection of the description of the basilica at Fanum Fortunae as entirely spurious, and his consequent dating of the composition of the *De Architectura* before 33 B.C.
- AQUA ALEXANDRI(A)NA. p. 20, l. 16. Cf. also Cohen, Alex. Sev. 218, 239, 255.
- AQUA APPIA. p. 21, l. 28. This seems almost impossible owing to considerations of level.
- l. 32. See Addendum to p. 40, l. 28.
- l. 36. In that case 'et currit usque ad ripam,' applied to the Aqua Marcia (p. 27, l. 3), would be due to confusion with it.
- AQUA CLAUDIA. p. 23, n. 1. See Addendum to p. 26, l. 31.
- AQUA IULIA. p. 24, l. 20. The identification of this branch as belonging to the Aqua Iulia depends on the statement that the bottom of the specus which runs upon it is only 0.289 m. below the bottom of the specus of that aqueduct at Porta Maggiore, which is at 63.739 m. above sea-level (LA 383). But in Livellazione (cited under Anio Novus) the level of the bottom of the Aqua Iulia just outside Porta Maggiore is given at 57.38 above sea-level: and if this is correct, the branch can only have come from the Aqua Claudia or the Anio Novus.
- AQUA MARCIA. p. 25, l. 1. The latter date must fall between 27th June 5 B.C. and 26th June 4 B.C.
- l. 31. The aqueduct was, perhaps, also repaired by Arcadius and Honorius (CIL ix. 4051, and pp. 682, 693).
- l. 41. A series of unnumbered cippi of the three aqueducts, three of which have been found, was set up in 39-49 A.D. (CIL vi. 1248=31559).

- p. 26, l. 17. Add 'NS 1886, 451; 1897, 104.'
- l. 31. For 'this conduit' read 'this high-level branch of the Marcia'; and add, 'there was also an aqueduct in opus quadratum (probably belonging to the branch of the Marcia going to the Aventine) in the valley of the Porta Capena, immediately adjacent to the Servian wall on the inside: and remains still exist of its reinforcement in concrete by Nero, who must have used it to carry the Claudia to the Aventine. Of Trajan's *amplum opus* there is no trace remaining.
- AQUA TEPULA'. p. 27, l. 36. It was restored with the rest by Augustus in 11-4 B.C.
- AQUA TRAIANA. p. 28, l. 19. Cf. also Mem. cit. vi. 137 sqq. It appears also to have been found in the Villa Sciarra (NS 1886, 52) though it is not shown in LF.
- AQUA VIRGO. p. 29, l. 24. An attempt by the Goths in the siege of 537 to use its subterranean channel as a passage to the city, after they had cut off the water from it as from the other aqueducts, is described by Procopius (BG ii. 9. 1-11).
- ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE. p. 31, l. 39. The dates forbid us to suppose that the Ara Pacis inspired Horace when he was writing Carm. Saec. 29-32; and it is therefore probable that both were inspired by a lost monument with a group of Tellus, which is more closely reproduced in a relief at Carthage (Loewy in Atti del Congresso di Studi Romani, Rome 1928).
- ARCUS AUGUSTI. p. 34, l. 15. The arch of 19 B.C. is also represented on coins of 19-18 B.C. struck at Ephesus (Cohen, Aug. 298; BM, Aug. 703) with the inscription SPR Signis receptis.
- ARCUS DOMITIANI (2). p. 39, l. 17. Add 'and if this is so, the position of the arch, which blocks the entrance to what Hülsen believes to be the precinct of the temple of Apollo (supra, p. 18) may be used as evidence against his identification (cf. p. 168). It should also be noticed that the road through it is blocked by brick walls of the Domitianic period only a short distance to the south of it, so that it was clearly not built by Domitian.'
- ARCUS LENTULI ET CRISPINI. p. 40, l. 28. Lanciani was led by the similarity of the inscriptions to attribute them to the same conduit, a branch of the Marcia: but if this were so, we should have an arch in the middle of the conduit constructed and accepted (*probare* is the word used) eight years later than an arch at the end. It seems better therefore to attribute this arch to the Appia, especially as this arch stood at its terminal point.
- ARCUS NERONIANI. p. 41, l. 1. Cf. also BC 1926, 265.
- l. 5. A right-angled turn at the bottom of the valley makes this a little doubtful.
- ARCUS NOVUS (DIOCLETIANI). p. 42, l. 1. See LS i. 88.
- ARCUS PIETATIS. p. 42, l. 22. See RAP iv. 291-303 for the full statement of Hülsen's theory. He further points out that the name was used for various other arches in the Middle Ages—perhaps the Arcus ad Isis, and certainly the arch of Titus.
- ARCUS SEPTIMI SEVERI. p. 44, l. 10. Add: ASA 119; HFP 21, 22.
- AREA CAPITOLINA. p. 48, l. 2. Cf. p. 96; Plin. NH xxxvi. 104.
- AREA PANNARIA. p. 50, l. 35. Richter (345) has rightly pointed out that both this and the CAMPUS LANARIUS in Reg. XII were probably open spaces on each side of the Via Appia, where the peasants bought and sold cloth and wool. This would invalidate the site assigned to the latter in the text (following HJ 198). Cf. also AREA RADICARIA.
- AREA SPLENIS. p. 51, l. 10. This is demonstrated by Engström in Göteborgs Högskolas Kurs i Rom 1909, 8, where splen is connected with splenium, a bandage (from  $\sigma\pi\lambda\eta\nu$ ), and with the titulus fasciolae (SS. Nereus and Achilleus, on the opposite side of the Via Appia to S. Sisto Vecchio: cf. HCh 388; Hülsen in BC 1926, 49-53).
- ARGEORUM SACRARIA. p. 52, l. 18 sqq. The variants of Goetz and Schoell have not been given: but they furnish no new topographical information, except that they read Suburbana for Suburana, which seems reasonable enough.
- ATRIUM VESTAE. p. 59, l. 16. There is not sufficient evidence for associating CIL vi. 30960, 30976, with this shrine (Jord. i. 2. 298).
- AUGUSTUS DIVUS, TEMPLUM. p. 62, l. 36. A diploma recently found at Wroxeter (135 A.D.) may be added (CR 1928, 13).



- p. 63, l. 45. The drains, however, appear to belong to (or at least to have been repaired in) the period of Hadrian (see *Journal of the Brit. and Am. Arch. Soc.* iii. 120, 121); and the whole structure is by some attributed to that date, but against the evidence of the brick stamps in the portion above ground.
- p. 65, l. 23. See also HFP 40-43; and, for works of art, RM 1925, 294-299.
- AVENTINUS MONS. p. 67, l. 9. The traditions of the secessions of the plebs to the Aventine in 494 and 449 B.C. cannot be treated as historical (Meyer in *Hermes*, 1895, 1-24 = *Kleine Schriften*, 351-379; cf. RE ii. A. 975): but the fact that the Mons Sacer occurs as an alternative on both occasions may indicate that a site within the city walls was considered to be illogical, and that the authors of the later version changed the place from a mistaken belief that the Aventine was originally included within the Servian wall. Cf. Addendum to IANICULUM.
- l. 16. Cf. also Addendum to p. 97, l. 5.
- BASILICA. p. 72, l. 9. This account has now appeared (Bendinelli in *Mon. L.* xxxi. 601-864).
- BASILICA AEMILIA. p. 76, l. 2. See also HFP 34; AJA 1928, 155-178.
- BASILICA CONSTANTINI. p. 76, n. 2. Omit 'so called': and see ROMULUS, DIVUS, TEMPLUM. The name 'templum Romuli' does not seem to have been applied to it at all during the Middle Ages, and Poggio was the first to make use of it (about 1450; cf. AJA 1927, 2-4; YW 1913, 21).
- BASILICA IUNII BASSI. p. 81, l. 3. For xlviii. read xlviii.
- BIBLIOTHECA APOLLINIS PALATINI. p. 84, l. 3. Cf. also HJ 71, 72; and to the passages quoted add Plin. Ep. i. 13; Galen xiii. 362 ed. Kühn (de comp. medic. i. 1) *ἡνίκα* (in the fire of Commodus) *τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος ὅλον ἐκαύθη καὶ κατὰ τὸ Παλάτιον αἱ μεγάλαι βιβλιοθήκαι*.
- CAELIMONTIUM. p. 87, n. 1. In CIL vi. 1259 (see ARCUS NERONIANI), which is no longer extant, the weight of authority is in favour of *Caelemontanos*, though some copies read *caelimonianos*.
- CAMPUS MINOR. p. 94, l. 37. It has also been suggested (HJ 499) that the passage of Catullus might be differently punctuated: *te in campo quaesivimus, minore te in circo* (i.e. the Circus Flaminius in contradistinction to the Circus Maximus).
- CAPITOLINUS MONS. p. 97, l. 1. See also Acta Lud. Saec. Aug. CIL vi. 32323, 18, 79, 81, 103, 119, 148.
- p. 97, l. 5. An interesting discovery was made in Corinth in 1927 at the north end of the Lechaian road. Several marble blocks were found, dressed to represent native rock, and four of them were inscribed in Latin (1) *Capitolinus*, (2) *Aventinus Mons*, (3) *Collis Viminalis*, (4) *[Es]cu[i]linus Mo[ns]* (YW 1926, 190).
- CASTOR, AEDES, TEMPLUM. p. 102, n. 2. For fragments of the inscription of Tiberius (CIL vi. 30303, 30304, and two unpublished) see NS 1927, 289-297.
- CASTRA PRAETORIA. p. 106, l. 36. The tower with three windows shown in the illustration is pre-Aurelianic, and there are traces of battlements above, contemporary with period II of the city wall: cf. PBS x. pl. vii.
- CASTRA RAVENNATIUM. p. 108, l. 20. The mediaeval survivals of the name are dealt with in BC 1927, 85-93, where it is also noted that the sailors were buried on the Via Aurelia (their tombs were found in the Villa Doria Pamfili), so that their barracks were probably on the intramural portion of the road.
- CHALCIDICUM. p. 111, l. 15. A law of the Codex Theodosianus (ix. 7. 6) was 'proposita Romae in atrio Minervae' (BC 1926, 66).
- CIRCUS FLAMINIUS. p. 113, l. 15. Remains (fragments of travertine) were found in 1636 when the convent of S. Caterina dei Funari was enlarged as far as the Via delle Botteghe Oscure, according to a MS. note in a copy of Ligorio's *Libro delle Antichità* (1553), sold by the Roman bookseller Luzziatti in December, 1908 (no. 25 of catalogue).
- CLEMENTIA CAESARIS, AEDES. p. 121, l. 29. Hülsen considers it probable that the temple was really dedicated to the clemency of Caesar, and that Dio and Appian's expressions are the result of a misunderstanding of the two statues which they saw.
- CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS. p. 122, l. 11. For remains of the original clivus attributable to the sixth century B.C. see YW 1926-7, 102; Capitolium iii. 383-388.

- COMITIUM. p. 137, l. 17. Add: See Van Buren, *Figurative Terracotta Revetments*, p. 6, no. 21.
- CONCORDIA, AEDICULA. p. 138, l. 4. Beloch, *Röm. Gesch.* 36, n. 1, would omit 'aeream' in the passage of Pliny: but De Sanctis, who points out that the shrine may have been extremely small, is against him (*Riv. di Fil.* 1927, 376-378).
- CURIA IULIA. p. 144, l. 21. A statue of Drusilla was set up in the Curia after her death (Cass. Dio lix. 11. 2-3): cf. FORUM IULIUM (p. 227, l. 5). For laws promulgated *in senatu* see Cod. Theod. x. 19. 8 (376 A.D.); vi. 2. 25 (426 A.D.); Nov. Valent. 1. 3 (450 A.D.) (BC 1926, 65).
- DOMUS: ANNI PLOCAMI. p. 155, l. 3. Read 'Solin. Coll. Re. Mem. 53. 8.'
- DOMUS: AUGUSTUS (2). p. 157, l. 10. Cf. Rostowzew, *Ancient World*, ii. (Rome), pl. xxxvii. 2; RM 1925, 290, for an altar with Roma holding a pillar with one of the clipei which adorned this house, and see HFP 63-65. For '76' read '70'.
- l. 11. For the 'lofty tower chamber' see SYRACUSAE ET TECHNYPHION.
- p. 158, l. 2. The paintings belong to the second period of the second Pompeian style (Mitt. 1927, 24 sqq., 66). Though the house was not fully excavated till 1869, the investigators of 1730 (or thereabouts) certainly came on the south wall of the triclinium, inasmuch as a fragment of it was in the Farnese palace as early as 1740, and is now in Naples (Mitt. 1895, 271, 272; HJ 62).
- DOMUS AUGUSTIANA. p. 160, l. 9. "columns of Numidian marble": cf. NS 1907, 282.
- l. 22. There are therefore no true aisles, and the transenna across the chord of the apse is perhaps an arbitrary modern restoration (DAP 2. xv. 130).
- l. 39. After 'pavement' add 'that of the apse being later than the rest' (HFP 72).
- l. 43. See Mitt. 1927, 66, where they are attributed to the second period of the second Pompeian style.
- p. 161, l. 13. This house belongs to the first period of the second style (ibid.).
- p. 162, l. 11. The slightly curved exedra in front of the courtyard under the garden of the Villa Mills towards the Circus Maximus may be an ornamental façade, perhaps added by Trajan when the seats of the circus were carried up thus far (Gnomon, 1927, 593). The façade of the state apartments towards the north-east, with a low portico in front of their outer walls, resembles that of early Christian basilicas; and perhaps a part of a similar façade, belonging to the Domus Faustae, was preserved at the Lateran till the seventeenth century (Gnomon, cit.; cf. Egger, *Röm. Veduten*, i. p. 42, text to pl. 86; *Festschrift für Wickhoff*, 154, 158).
- p. 166, l. 8. See also ASA 134-138; HFP 66-75.
- DOMUS AUREA. p. 167, l. 15. The blocking up of the Sacra Via by Nero must have been intensely unpopular and it seems strange to store or construct 'pegmata' there.
- p. 168, l. 6. See also HFP 49.
- p. 170, l. 44. For the name cf. D. Haterius Famulus (CIL iii. 7167; RhM 1927, 326). See also RE vi. 1985.
- DOMUS: FAUSTA. p. 179, l. 36. Cf. Addendum to p. 162, l. 11.
- DOMUS: FLAVIUS IUNIUS QUARTUS PALLADIUS. p. 180, insert after l. 5. For this house, situated opposite S. Anselmo (*infra*, p. 186, l. 34), where an honorary base and walls of the fifth century A.D. were found, see BC 1926, 35-41.
- DOMUS: C. FULVIUS PLAUTIANUS. p. 180, l. 27. See BC 1926, 145-175 and *reff.* for a full description: and for the so-called Forum Archemonium (a sixteenth century invention) see Jord. ii. 310; HJ 424, n. 84; HCh 390.
- DOMUS: IOHANNES ET PAULUS. p. 182, l. 15. Krohn's conjecture (Frontinus de *Aquaeductu*, p. vii.) that the subject of the painting is an allusion to the construction of the Anio Novus by Claudius cannot be accepted.
- l. 16. Cf. Mon. L. xxiv. 575; *Architettura ed Arti Dec.* iii. (1923-4), 17.
- DOMUS: LATERANI. p. 183, l. 35. See NA 16 Feb. 1925; BC 1927, 46.
- l. 38. See FAUSTA: DOMUS.
- DOMUS: LUCINA. p. 184, l. 19. See Kirsch, *Röm. Titelkirchen*, 79, 80.
- DOMUS PALMATA. p. 187, l. 1. The passage of Cassiodorus runs: *testatus es porticus curvae, quae iuxta domum palmatam posita forum in modum areae decenter includit, superimponendis fabricis licentiam condonari. As Hülsen*

points out, the reference cannot be to the Forum Romanum, but must be to the Forum Traiani, which is often called simply forum in late sources (e.g. LP xxvi), and in the period of Theodosius was the regular place for the promulgation of laws (see also CURIA IULIA).

**DOMUS : PERCENNII.** p. 187, insert after l. 10. The remains of a house found a little south-east of the Porta S. Lorenzo have been attributed to the Percennii from the supposed discovery there of lead pipes bearing the names of two of the family, and of fragmentary inscriptions which may be attributed to them (BC 1881, 27; LF 24; CIL vi. 31745; xv. 7509—from which it appears that the provenance of the pipes is uncertain).

**DOMUS : PINCIANA.** p. 187, l. 22. The *παλάτιον*, to which a shaft of the Aqua Virgo led (see addendum to p. 29, l. 24), must refer to this building, as there is no possibility that the Palatine can be meant.

**DOMUS TIBERIANA.** p. 192, l. 26. For the fine stucco decorations of the cryptoporticus see Mem. Am. Acad. iv. 44, 45. It certainly was not in this cryptoporticus, but perhaps in the smaller one to the south-east, that Caligula was murdered (supra, 158; YW 1911, 10; contrast HJ 78; HFP 68); for such an underground passage may have been left as a ruin even by a fire which consumed the rest of the house.

**DOMUS : TRANSITORIA.** p. 195, l. 2. For the Maison aux jardinières cf. Ballu, Guide de Timgad, (n.d.) 40; Ruines de Timgad (1897), 224.

l. 4. For the paintings (fourth Pompeian style) see Mitt. 1927, 66, 81.

l. 44. Important remains of this and earlier buildings have been found between the Caelian and the Palatine (Lugli, The Classical Monuments of Rome and its Vicinity, i. 182).

**ESQUILIAE.** p. 203, l. 15. Cf. addendum to p. 97, l. 5.

**FORNIX AUGUSTI.** p. 211, l. 12. These two inscriptions, which mention both Gaius and Lucius as consules designati, belong to 1 B.C.

**FORTUNA VIRILIS.** p. 219, l. 28. See AA 1926, 86, 87.

**FORUM AUGUSTUM.** p. 221, l. 25. For the copy of the birth certificate of a Roman citizen in Egypt (128 A.D.) on a wax tablet, the original of which was a 'tabula proposita in foro Augusti,' see Transactions of the American Philological Association, liv. 187-195; CP 1927, 409, 410; Michigan Pap. 766.

p. 222, l. 11. The Via Bonella has now been removed, and the Arco dei Pantani cleared to the bottom; like the three smaller openings to the north-west of the temple, it was traversed only by steps. (YW 1927-8, 115).

p. 223, l. 10. In the space between this courtyard and the temple is a hall, in which stood a colossal statue, probably acrolithic, and about 14 metres high, perhaps that mentioned by Martial, viii. 44; while in the panels on its north-west wall we may place the paintings mentioned by Pliny (NH xxxv. 94) in which Augustus was substituted for Alexander. To the south-west of it was an antechamber, the entablature of which was supported by Caryatides, which were known to the artists of the sixteenth century. See YW 1926-7, 101, 102; 1927-8, 115; Lugli, The Classical Monuments of Rome and its Vicinity, i. 48-56.

p. 223, n. 1. See RM 1925, 294-299.

**FORUM NERVAE.** p. 229, l. 4. Excavations have been begun to the south-west of these two columns, but without important results up till now.

**FORUM (ROMANUM S. MAGNUM).** p. 236, l. 21. Boni published a preliminary account of his first excavations in a little known brochure entitled 'Esplorazioni e Lavori in corso' (Calzone Villa, Rome, 1899), some of the illustrations in which are valuable.

**FORUM TRAIANI.** p. 240, l. 5. See Cohen, Hadr. 1210-1213 (JRS. 1925, 214, 215).

l. 9. Cf. also BC 1926, 65.

l. 17. Recent excavations have shown that this hemicycle was divided from the forum by the enclosure wall of an exedra, belonging to the latter and paved with fine marbles, which was concentric with the hemicycle. The hemicycle is the lowest story of a series of large and extensive brick structures which extend up the slopes of the Quirinal almost as far as the mediaeval Torre delle Milizie, and seem to have been of a commercial character. They are connected by stairways: and the most interesting feature is a hall of basilican plan, already known in the sixteenth century (YW 1927-8, 115, 116).



- p. 243, l. 3. For the entasis of the column see *Mem. Am. Acad.* iv. 122, 142 (where that of a column of the Basilica Ulpia is also given).
- l. 37. See also *JRS* 1926, 261-264.
- p. 244, l. 26. For an erroneous theory that coins of Trajan of 117 A.D. representing a temple with eight columns between two porticoes refer to this temple, and that it was built by Trajan and dedicated to his father, see Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde*, 129, 130.
- HERCULES CUSTOS, AEDES. p. 252, l. 25, and n. 1. These two temples stand in an area paved with slabs of travertine. Not far to the south of the circular temple is a rectangular one, probably of the second century B.C., and to the south of it another. Both are of uncertain attribution, and neither of them can well be that of Bellona. Neither of them is shown on fig. 140 of the Marble Plan, which must therefore be set aside (see CURIA POMPEI). A supposed later basilica to the west of the whole group is a large latrine. Cf. *Capitolium*, ii. 105-109; iii. 345-356; *YW* 1927-8, 116.
- HERCULES POMPEIANUS, AEDES. p. 256, l. 12. Giovenale (*La Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin* (Rome, 1927), 351-371) returns to the older identification (*Jord. cit.*; *LR* 522) of these remains with the temple of CERES, LIBER and LIBERA (q.v.).
- HORTI EPAPHRODITIANI. p. 267, l. 20. For 'Le Galluzze' read: 'the so-called temple of Minerva Medica: see *NYPHAEUM* (2).'
- HORTI REGULI. p. 270, l. 40. Cancel the whole article (see *HORTI AQUILII REGULI*).
- IANICULUM. p. 275, l. 4. A secession of the plebeians to the Janiculum occurred in 287 B.C. (*Liv. Epit.* xi.; *Dio frg.* 37; *Zonar.* viii. 2), and is regarded by all scholars as historical: cf. addendum to *AVENTINUS MONS*.
- IANUS, AEDES. p. 277, l. 6. For all three temples see Fasolo, *I tre templi a S. Nicola in Carcere*, Roma, 1925.
- IUPPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS CAPITOLINUS. p. 301, l. 14. It is, however, worth noting that the author of the Acts of S. Callistus (*AA. SS.* 14 Oct., vi. 440), who wrote before the eighth century, had accurate knowledge of the site of the temple (cf. *BC* 1927, 86).
- n. 3. The name Piazzetta della Rupe Tarpea (cf. p. 351, l. 20) refers, not to the real Tarpeian rock (see *TARPEIUS MONS*), but to a cliff wrongly identified with it, on the north side of the Capitol.
- LACUS PROMETHEI. p. 314, l. 9. It was no doubt decorated with a figure of Prometheus (*Pr. Reg.* 113).
- MACELLUM LIVIAE. p. 322, l. 27. Fragment 230 belongs to the same building as 4: and the scale, in Hülsen's opinion, is too small for them to have anything to do with the Macellum Magnum.
- MAGNA MATER, AEDES. p. 325, l. 7. If Arnobius is right, it would have supported the silver statue of the goddess, in which the stone was set in place of the head.
- MAUSOLEUM AUGUSTI. p. 333, n. 3. For recent excavations see *YW* 1927-8, 117; *Capitolium*, iv., 11-22.
- p. 334, n. 1. Peruzzi as a matter of fact says nothing about the material.
- MAUSOLEUM HADRIANI. p. 336, l. 30. The description occurs in a sermon which is, as a matter of fact, preserved (together with some apocryphal works of the Pope), but it adds nothing to our knowledge.
- META SUDANS. p. 340, l. 37. It is also shown on coins of Titus (Cohen, 399, 400; cf. *Mitt.* 1925, 29).
- p. 341, l. 4. This 'church' is considered to be a series of baths by Lugli, *Classical Monuments of Rome and its Vicinity*, i. 164.
- MINERVA, TEMPLUM. p. 343, l. 7. Hülsen now conjectures that the oratory of the Forty Martyrs (*supra*, 313) may be identified with the shrine of Minerva (*HFP* 39).
- MURI AURELIANI. p. 350, l. 4. The subject will be fully dealt with in Richmond's forthcoming work: *The City Wall of Imperial Rome*. The four principal gates, the Porta Appia and Porta Flaminia, from which the great highways to the south and to the north left the city, and the Porta Ostiensis and the Porta Portuensis, the two gates leading to the harbours on each side of the Tiber mouth, had double arches; while the other gates all had single arches (*YW* 1927-8, 117).



p. 350, l. 12. Add: The towers shown are the third and fourth to the east of the Porta Pinciana. In the former Mr. I. A. Richmond draws my attention to the elaborate moulding at the rampart walk level, and points out that it is a tower of the second period type; while the latter is a first period tower, unconverted. p. 351, l. 6.

For 'discovered' read 'uncovered.'

MURUS SERVII TULLII. p. 351, l. 15. Add: (b) This piece has recently been re-excavated. As Lugli has pointed out, the existence in it of a tower or postern, which would have no *raison d'être* in a retaining wall at the back of the agger (and which has, further, been repaired in blocks 2 feet high) proves that this wall once had an independent existence (i.e. without an agger in front of it), and is another argument in favour of its being the original wall of Servius Tullius. If its original ditch could be discovered by excavation, the question would be decided. The words 'while . . . first' (l. 29) should therefore be cancelled. Other fragments of it were noticed by Lanciani in the Palazzo Antonelli, between the Quirinal and the Via Merulana, and under the Ministero delle Finanze (BC 1876, 37, 38).

(e) Two courses of blocks of cappellaccio exist, the upper 0.42 m. high; the lengths of the only two blocks which can be measured are 1.10 and 0.90 m.

PALATINUS MONS. p. 379, l. 10. A law was promulgated 'in Palatio' in 326 A.D. (Cod. Theod. x. 8. 3), cf. BC 1926, 65.

PAX, TEMPLUM. p. 387, n. 2 (cf. p. 389, l. 10). The implication would be that the plan was itself partially restored at this time; but this raises a larger question, which cannot be dealt with at present (RAP cit. 102-107; AJA cit. 16-17).

POMERIUM. p. 393, l. 19. The tradition of the secessions of the plebeians to the Aventine in 494 and 449 B.C., whatever its historical value, if any (RE ii. A. 975), has far more point if we suppose that the Aventine (like the Mons Sacer which occurs in alternative forms of the tradition, and the Janiculum, which appears in the secession of 287 B.C., which all scholars agree in regarding as historical) was outside the city walls. Cf. Addendum to AVENTINUS MONS.

PORTA COLLATINA. p. 406, l. 22. Festus wrote Conlatia and Conlatina, but only because he proposed an absurd derivation for the name (eo quod ibi opes aliarum civitatum fuerint conlatae); see RE iv. 365.

PORTA CARMENTALIS. p. 406, l. 4. See however p. 414, n. 1.

PORTA PRAENESTINA. p. 413, l. 2, read '32 metres wide and 24 high.'

PORTA TRIUMPHALIS. p. 418, l. 24. See Noack, Triumph und Triumphbogen (Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg V (1928), 147-201).

PORTICUS DECII. p. 421, l. 24. The fragments were left on the site because they were too heavy to be removed, according to Bianchini (ap. HJ cit.), and are probably still lying under the church of S. Venanzio.

PORTUNIUM. p. 431, l. 16. Lugli now attributes it to the period of Augustus (The Classical Monuments of Rome and its Vicinity, i. 334).

PUTEAL LIBONIS. p. 434, l. 40. There does not, on the other hand, appear to be any evidence that the well remained open during the existence of the Basilica.

REGIA. p. 442, l. 12. It must not be forgotten that, of the two courses of stone of which this substructure is now composed, the upper one, of brown tufa, is a modern restoration, though shown in all the photographs (CR cit.).

REGIONES QUATTUORDECIM. p. 445, n. 1. The suggestion was first made by Elter, *De forma Urbis Romae* diss. i. (Bonn, 1891), xvi.

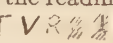
RIPA VEIENTANA. p. 448, l. 13. Others hold that the origin of the name may date only from the foundation of the municipality of Veii (Beloch, *Röm. Gesch.* 562; *Athenaeum* (Pavia) 1928, 277).

ROMULUS, DIVUS, TEMPLUM. p. 450, l. 4. The coins, it is true, might also represent the sepulchral temple of Romulus on the Via Appia.

SEP. C. CESTII. p. 478, n. 1. See also Mitt. 1927, 66, where they are assigned to the third Pompeian style.

SEP. SCIPIONUM. p. 486, l. 5. The reference should read YW 1926-7, 104.

SERAPIS, AEDES. p. 487, l. 28. For the temple on the Quirinal see also Martino Lunghi ap. Ehrle Mem. AP ii. 27.

- TEMPLUM SOLIS AURELIANI. p. 492, l. 38. The two porphyry columns in the Vatican library with two pairs of emperors embracing were certainly in the choir chapel of Sixtus IV in S. Peter's, and, according to Albertini, *De Mirabilibus* (1515), 84, came from the thermae of Domitian, which he, like his contemporaries, placed near S. Silvestro in Capite (ib. 21v: cf. BC 1894, 296, 297).
- STABULA IIII FACTIONUM. p. 495, l. 3. For an attempt to explain the discrepancy see Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, iii.<sup>2</sup> 521.
- SUC(c)USA. p. 502, n. 2. See also Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii. 1. 163. The substitution of Suburana for Sucusana occurred when Sucusa had been forgotten, and the better known Subura took its place; there is no question of any phonetic change.
- TABULA VALERIA. p. 506, l. 29. This view was preferred to (2) by Platner; but Hülsen rightly urges that we have no other instance of a law designated as a *tabula*; they were generally on several *tabulae* (the *lex xii tabularum* is no fair parallel). Nor is the statement of the scholiast to be lightly rejected.
- THEATRUM MARCELLI. p. 514, n. 2. Pernier now attributes Uffizi 626 to Baldassare Peruzzi, and believes it to be the plan which was thought to be lost, as against the attribution of it by Ferri and others to G. B. da Sangallo (BC 1927, 5-40; cf. Sangallo Barb., text, pp. 4, 5, 77).
- THEATRUM POMPEI. p. 517, l. 42. This estimate is based on the number of *loca* (17,580) given by the *Notitia* (cf. supra, 515).
- THERMAE AGRIPPAE. p. 518, l. 7. A restoration by Mr. Edwin Williams, formerly Jarvis student of the British School at Rome, will, it is hoped, soon be published.
- THERMAE DIOCLETIANI. p. 530, l. 6. For the church of S. Ciriaco in Thermis see Roma, vi. (1928), 160-168.
- A TRANSTIBERIM. p. 539, l. 16. Transtiberim also occurs at the head of the list in Note of the buildings of the fourteenth region, and may, as Elter supposed, be the name of an open space in it.
- VENUS ET ROMA, TEMPLUM. p. 553, l. 15. Cf., however, *URBIS FANUM*. p. 554, l. 21. This relief is now considered to be Julio-Claudian.
- VESTA, AEDICULA, ARA. p. 556, l. 36. The passage of Dio, though referred by Mommsen to this shrine, is more generally taken as referring to the *Domus Publica* (see *ATRIUM VESTAE*).
- VESTA, AEDES. p. 558, l. 8. The following coins of the Flavian period may also be cited, Cohen, *Vesp.* 577-582 (578 is reproduced in NS 1900, 168), Tit. 347-351, Dom. 613-616 (614 is reproduced in NS cit.).
- VIA CORNELIA. p. 562, l. 15. See also Lietzmann, *Petrus and Paulus in Rom* (ed. 2, 1927), 189-209.
- VIA FLAMINIA. p. 562, l. 42. See also HJ 479, 484.  
p. 563, n. 1. Hülsen prefers to read Ti[berinae], though this road is only mentioned in *Not. App.* (see *Mem. AP* i. 2. 130).
- VIA LABICANA. p. 563, l. 31. After 'just inside' insert 'the double archway of the Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus which later became.'
- VICTORIA, AEDES. p. 570, l. 16. Boni's identification would be inconsistent with the fact that in *Reg.* this temple is referred to as *Victoria Germaniciana*, no doubt from its nearness to the *Horrea Germaniciana* (Gilb., HJ cit.), and cannot be accepted for other reasons.
- VICUS BUBLARIUS. p. 571, l. 3. Hülsen informs me that FUR frg. 62 does not in his opinion belong to the Palatine, but rather to the region of the *Horrea* or *Testaccio*. The reading ta]blarius (tabularius) is a possible alternative.
- VICUS LARUM CURIALIUM. p. 575, l. 15. Hülsen states that the reading CURIALIUM is impossible: RURALIUM may be correct, though  is all that can now be distinguished.
- VICUS SABUCI. p. 577, l. 29. The name may also have originated from the gentile name Sabucius, two members of which, of senatorial rank, are known (CIL vi. 1509, 1510).
- VIMINALIS COLLIS. p. 581, l. 27. See the addendum to p. 97, l. 5; and for supposed independent fortifications of the hill see *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871, 46.











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